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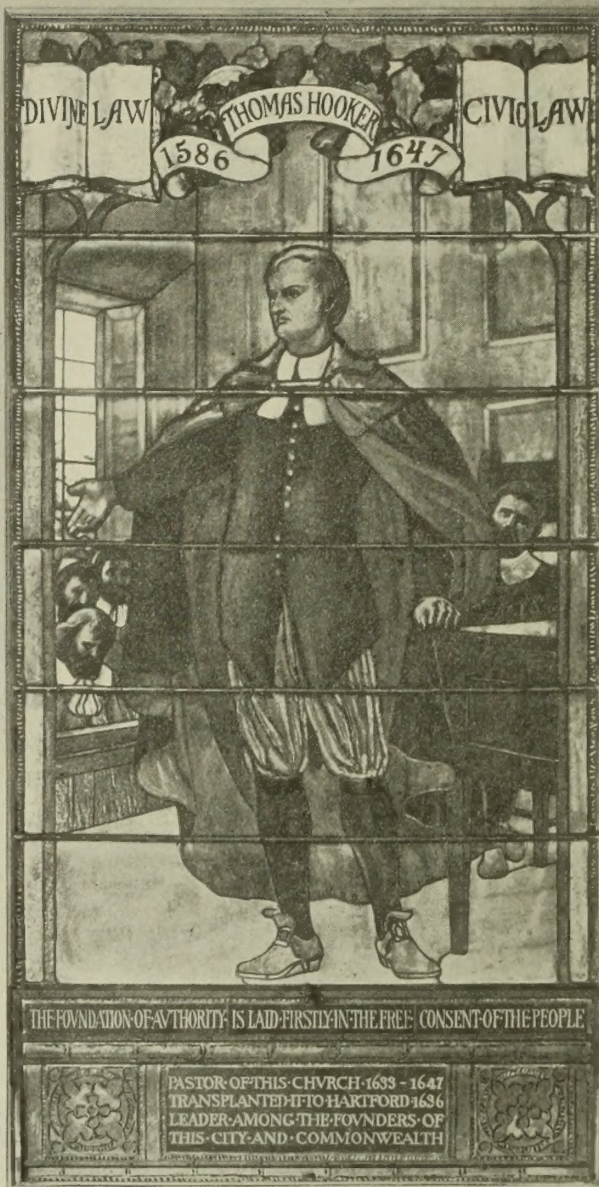


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"CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE"

Thomas Hooker delivering before the General Court the Sermon on which the World's First Written Constitution was based. From Memorial Window in the Edifice of his Church today.

HISTORY
of
Hartford County
CONNECTICUT

1633-1928

Being a Study of the Makers of the First Constitution and
the Story of Their Lives, of Their Descendants
and of All Who Have Come

BY
CHARLES W. ^{inslow} BURPEE

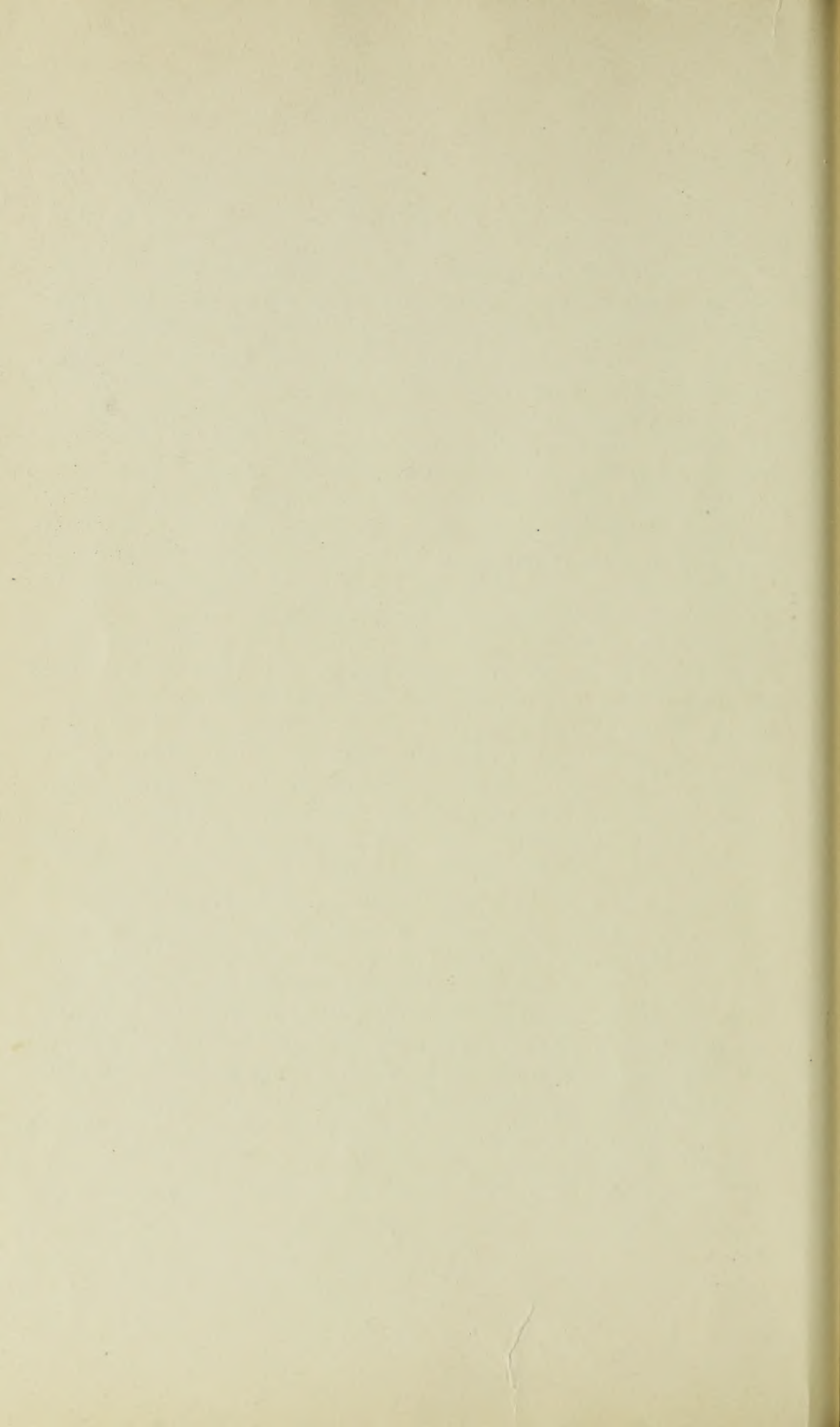
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HARTFORD COUNTY

CONNECTICUT

I

FIRST STEPS TOWARD FREE GOVERNMENT

CONDITIONS IN ENGLAND—INDIAN INVITATIONS TO PILGRIMS AND PURITANS—THE DUTCH GAINING GROUND IN "CHAMPAIGN" COUNTRY—ENGLISH LEADERS APPEAR—FIRST HOUSE IN WINDSOR.

On the eve of the tri-centennial of the birth of American democracy there is a demand, now world-wide, for its story. What were the circumstances, what the antecedents and causes, what the kind of people whose minds conceived this remarkable document of free government? These are some of the questions from afar and from those newly come to make their homes under this government. Patient research of more than a century, in ancient chests and musty archives, in documents and books, continuing up to the present generation, has supplied the material for answer. Each consequential item has been found, each knotty problem has been solved, and all have been tested by experts, till now at this anniversary it remains to bring the very last of them into one account, simple in character but retaining that dramatic and often romantic touch which simplicity alone can give. For him who would trace the research, a bibliography accompanies this writing.

Hartford County has fame in other ways, has other claims as a favored locality, other joys in being a unit in a greater democracy, and moves onward with new ambitions, but it is for this distinction in the eyes of the nations, especially since the treaty of Versailles, that it first must meet inquiry. The little group of settlers adopting their "Fundamental Orders," or Constitu-

tion, has been taken as marking the real beginning of the movement by and for the people. An English lord had drafted a form of government for the Carolinas, based upon advanced principles but adhering to class distinctions; the Virginians with their House of Burgesses in 1619 and constitution in 1621 had aimed at government by representation but under, by and with royal consent through a governor appointed by the Crown; the Pilgrims in the *Mayflower* had agreed upon rules for and by themselves, under royalty, and Massachusetts Bay had a church-limited method. All denoted progress—progress toward final free government; hence we should trace the steps back further, though not, herein, to the sophistries of Plato or the failure in Rome. The gropings must have begun with civilization.

In England—coming on after King John and the Magna Charta—when Henry VIII changed one form of “established” religion for another with himself the calculating head of it, when sovereigns followed who did not have appreciation of the Anglo-Saxon spirit of liberty, schisms were begotten. Through subsequent reigns, the old spark, fanned by Calvin in the brief days of Edward VI the one Puritan King, was kept down by blows, prison and banishment, but it was not quenched. The English translation of the Bible appeared in James’ time, as an instrument of hierarchy—in reality as food and strength for the oppressed. And through this seventeenth century, it must be kept in mind, the Bible was like the “latest book” among people who had but few at best. Charles I took a long step farther in tyranny than had the vain and headstrong James. In him the warm, southern Guise blood drove out the faintest conception of the ideals of old England. Laud, a fit tool at hand, was made primate so that the King might better strain away from freedom in religion to the kind of Catholicism he had in mind. The kind, inasmuch as it was a cloak to power, was as repugnant to those of Romish faith as it was to the Protestants, now gaining their distinctive name. It became the lot of Puritans and Pilgrims, under test of fire, to develop the saving grace for the people. They were not always unfortunate.

Cabot in 1498 had espied the shores of New England. Under the European rule set by the Church of Rome when there were vast areas untrodden by white men, the land thereafter belonged to England to utilize. In the days of abundance of land, it was

neglected till there was at least similitude of need, and the King would extend his domains before it was too late. The richest but never suspected fruit of this materialistic revival of interest in America was to be the furnishing of a place of refuge for the oppressed. James' first grant, in 1606, was to the mercantile corporations of London and the "West" of England, and his others, in 1609 and 1612, yielded thrilling experience in Virginia. Then, in 1628, at odds with the London company, he turned to the lords and gentlemen of Plymouth ("West" company) and as a stronger barrier against the French of the north granted its representatives, forty of the wealthiest nobles who were to be known as the Council of Plymouth, a charter for the whole territory between the fortieth and the forty-eighth parallels, with unlimited power of legislating, for the "governing" of New England. Finally, and also through providence or by unwitting act of human progress, a charter from the Plymouth company, confirmed by King Charles almost at the moment he was abolishing his Parliament, gave Massachusetts Bay Colony its momentous rights.

Puritans and Separatists had suffered much. The Puritans were not opposed to the Established Church itself and hoped to work reforms within, in accord with their strict tenets. The Separatists, who were in the minority, sought freedom of thought and of form of worship and could find it only in secret assemblages outside the church circles. To many of them, like the Pilgrims who came to New England, the name Separatists was obnoxious. In argument against it for those at Plymouth and Salem, Edward Winslow in England declared that they were not for separation but simply could not approve corruption or a communion of worthy and unworthy; the primitive churches were the "only pattern." There was special desire to avoid suspicion of "Browneism," the worst kind of separatism in the eyes of the royal court. Robert Browne, with his secret meetings, had been a particular thorn in the flesh. Pastor John Robinson had warned the Pilgrims against the name, which he considered a brand to make religion odious to the Christians.

The thought that Plymouth people had not heeded his warning is by many supposed to have been the reason why relations between Massachusetts and Plymouth were not more cordial from the beginning. The Winthrop party, when starting for

America, took pains to broadcast their request—to the “governor and company” and the rest of their “brethren in and of the Church of England”—for prayers and the “removal of suspicions and misconstructions of their intentions,” and declared: “We esteem it our honour to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our deare mother. * * * We leave it not, therefore, as loathing the milk wherewith we were nourished there.” Inference is fairly supported that there was little practical difference of sentiment between Puritans and Pilgrims in America. Both were Congregational, but in England, the members of the first Congregational Church in history, the Southwark in London, were imprisoned after their secrecy had been penetrated in 1632. The Puritans were cautious. Even so, Sir Richard Saltonstall with other leaders had to appear before the council to clear himself of suspicion, and earnest entreaties to be careful were sent over to the Bay.

§

This brings us close to those who were to locate at Windsor, the northern of the “Constitution towns,” in 1633. These Pilgrim fugitives to Holland, after the war with Spain had ceased, were of humble antecedents, few having the culture of Pastor Robinson or of Elder William Brewster who, withal, had retained friendly relations with men of good station at home and is the ancestor of several Hartford County families. To them, whatever the issues, the Reformation, the break with the Holy See, had more religious meaning than it had with King Henry. They relished a king as supreme head of a church no more than they would have relished a pope. In Leyden they were not hounded. But when another war cloud appeared on their European horizon, they sought safety in far Virginia, to which end Brewster was able to secure patent rights for them from the London (Virginia) company.

Those who could be accommodated, leaving Pastor Robinson behind to assemble still more, sailed in the *Mayflower* in 1620 but, by adversity of winds, reached Cape Cod instead of Delaware Bay. Thus having no rights for organization under their Virginia charter, they signed the compact which gave their leaders formal recognition but, while creating a sub-“body politic,”



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DUTCH MAP OF CONNECTICUT, 1650

Drawn by N. Visscher from map of Jasper Danker and used in Van der Donk's "Description of New Netherlands." 1656. "Versche" (fresh), Connecticut River; "Pisners Cleyne Val," Pynchon's Little Falls (Warehouse Point); "Voynser," Windsor (east side); "Herfort," Hartford; "Fort de Goede hoop," Dutch Point; "Watertuyn," Watertown (Wethersfield's east side); "Weeters Velt," Wethersfield (west side); "Stratfort," "Milfort," "Nieuhaven," "Gilfort," along the shore. Names of Indian groups, including "Conittekock," in larger print.

was not a constitution. The English came to America with their families to make homes, colonize; the motive of the Dutch was commerce with the natives and to exploit resources. But what with being compelled to go heavily in debt to buy their charter privileges finally, the Pilgrims became not unlike the Dutch in their immediate anxiety to acquire something more than subsistence.

The Council of New England, newly organized in England, looked upon them with favor rather than as trespassers when they were unable to push on to Virginia. Governor Bradford and Edward Winslow (other ancestors of Hartford County people of today) and ten others were allowed six years' monopoly of trade in order that they might get rid of the debt and secure newcomers from Leyden. They pushed their trading posts to Maine, where the earliest but brief English settlement in America had been made (at Sagadahoc in 1607), and lent attentive ear to the Indian Wahginnacutt who came in 1628 with his description of Connecticut Valley possibilities. After Winslow himself that same year had verified the Indian's statements, he and Bradford proposed to Governor Winthrop of the Bay colony that they follow up. Winthrop, with no such pressure of debt upon his colonists, was not convinced about a land "all champaign but very stony and full of Indians." But in 1631 individual traders had had success in that region, going by boat, and in 1633 John Oldham, against whom the New England Council had warned them as a turbulent character, with three others trekked through the forests. If the authorities themselves would gain precedence there must be no delay. (Thus early was it Plymouth's ambition to have Windsor antedate Wethersfield, creating an issue never yet settled to the satisfaction of all).

Moreover, the Dutch outposts were creeping up. The men from New Amsterdam frankly had told the Pilgrims that there was good prospect in this quarter and they themselves had started a trading post at present Hartford in 1623, under direction of Jacob Van Corlear. They held claim to Long Island, whence came the choicest wampum. A dove of peace bore to Plymouth a letter of faith and of invocation of old friendship which Bradford accepted as "testimony of love" but with firm reminder of territory covered by English patent. The Dutch replied that the authorization to the Dutch West India Trading

Company was from the States General and they would defend it, after which they sent a messenger of high station, with military splendor. De Rassières was received "with the noise of trumpets" and returned home to New Amsterdam, incidentally with a written description of Plymouth of much historical value and specifically with an agreement for mutual trade. But the warning that the Dutch should "clear their title" and the Dutch response that the English should allow time for the home governments to confer were followed by signs of aggression on both sides and by request from the Dutch that their home government send over forty soldiers for defense. Governor Van Twiller quoted Holland's rights by Hudson's discoveries in 1609 and Admiral Block's voyage of exploration up the Connecticut in 1614; the English stood for Cabot's voyage in 1498 and for the royal grants in 1606. The Dutch bought land at Saybrook in 1632, set up the standard of the States General and in June, 1633, bought twenty acres around their post at the House of Hope, present Hartford.

Ere long the good and ever active ship *Blessing*, from Winthrop of Massachusetts, had sailed into New Amsterdam harbor, its commander had shown Van Twiller his colony's authority from the King, the Dutch standard at Saybrook had been replaced by a mocking fool's emblem, and Lieut. William Holmes of Plymouth had sailed defiantly by the hurriedly constructed "fort" with two guns at the House of Hope (Connecticut's first fortification) to set up on September 26, 1633, Connecticut's first frame house at Matianuck or present Windsor, he having brought the frame of the house in his boat. Considering the times, these events were as rapid as those in Europe in August, 1914.

And other incidents leading up to the situation in 1633 must be kept in mind. In Indian councils the advent of a new class of traders had been under discussion. The Dutch were not the favorites if for no other reason than that they had recognized the obstreperous and usurping Pequot tribe from near present New London. The results of this will be considered after more formally introducing the new and powerful factor in Hartford County and in all American history—the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

The Plymouth Council of New England was inefficient in

Nieuw Nederlandt.



VIEW OF FORT AMSTERDAM (NEW YORK)

This the menace to the Constitution settlements. The picture (Hudson River in the foreground) is copied from an ancient engraving made in Holland. The fort was erected in 1623 and was finished by Governor Van Twiller in accord with this drawing in 1635.

America and unpopular in England, destined to have a stormy and brief career. Roger Conant, agent of the New England Plymouth, remained firm in the purpose to make a home at the Bay for religious exiles and selected Salem as the place. A revival of interest in the west of England in 1627 resulted in earnest coöperation by men of influence; the Earl of Warwick, member of the council, secured the assent of Ferdinando Gorges, governor general of New England and founder of the council, and on March 19, 1628, the council granted a charter, a body politic, for the "governor and company of the Massachusetts Bay." The grantees included Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young and John Endicott (governor); they added to their number Sir Richard Saltonstall, Theophilus Eaton, William Pynchon and others. Years later King Charles declared "the principle and foundation of the charter was freedom of liberty of conscience." That was true and it was because he denied it to them in England that lovers of freedom, of high or low degree, of the Puritan party or not, fled by hundreds to the new country. That such a grant was affirmed is indicative of the power of those now arousing for the coming war in the cause of liberty. It was a victory which opened the way to the drafting of Connecticut's Constitution.

July 20, 1629, the ballot was used for the first time in America. The day had been set apart by Endicott "for the choice of a pastor and a teacher at Salem." Samuel Skelton and Francis Higginson were elected and "the gravest members of the church" laid hands on them so that they came in by act of the congregation and not by clerical authority. The two leaders of certain Episcopal dissenters found in the town, prominent and learned men who would maintain a separate organization, were sent back to England, charged with being "factionous and evil-conditioned." The argument was that people who had come to escape church conformity could not have conformity practiced in their community.

When the General Court voted to transfer the government of the "plantations" from London to the Bay, John Winthrop and his associates came over and the mother company was reorganized as a commercial corporation. Winthrop kept up the courage. He was royalist to the core and against democracy, but a devotee of liberty while desiring that the "least part"—"the

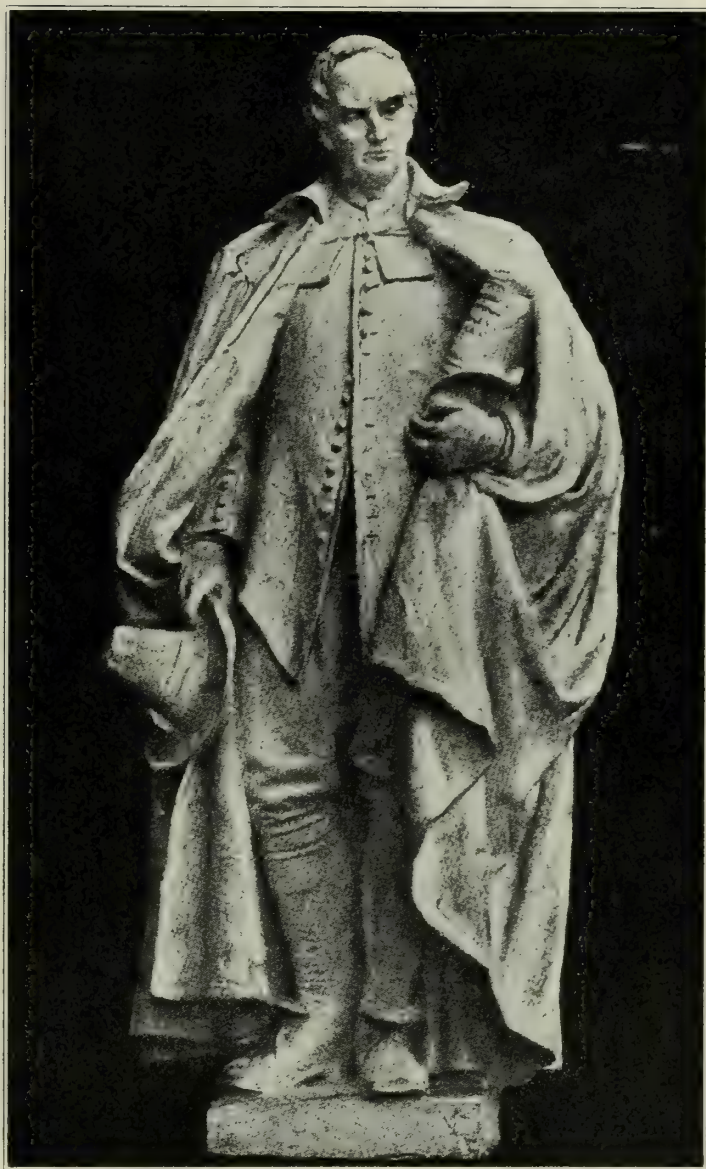
wiser of the best"—should govern. The "general rumor of this solemn enterprise" moved all England deeply.

But it was the Dorchester ship, the first of the fleet and the one of most interest in this history, that arrived ahead of the Winthrop party's, bearing the first fully organized church. It had sailed from Plymouth March 20, 1630, and on May 30 reached not Salem but Nantasket, where the shipmaster landed the 140 people because he had no pilot. Later they made their way to Matapan, renamed Dorchester. Rev. John White of Dorchester, England, an eminent divine remaining in the established church, had been instrumental in assembling them from the western part of England and in privately forming their church on the eve of their departure. For their spiritual leaders, Rev. John Maverick and Rev. John Warham were selected. Mr. Maverick was a graduate of Exeter College and a clergyman in the established church with his home about forty miles from Exeter. Mr. Warham was the ordained, youthful and very popular minister of a church in Exeter. He was a graduate of Oxford.

Dr. Bray Rosseter and Roger Ludlow were sent as directors by the main company, chosen by the stockholders in London. Ludlow gave promise of being, and long was, one of the foremost of all the immigrants. Born in Dinton, Baycliffe, Wiltshire, in 1590, and having won honors in Balliol College, Oxford, he was preeminent as a lawyer and a scholar. As compared with New England and its possibilities, uncertain England was not a place for a man of his ambitious, restless nature. He hated sycophancy and demanded the right of free thought. Also in the party were three men of military experience, Capt. John Mason, Capt. Richard Southcote and Quartermaster John Smith, who had fought under De Vere in the Palitinate war.

The Winthrop party arrived at Salem June 12 to find famine and disease that chilled their hearts. The groups sought new places for themselves. Saltonstall and others chose Watertown, Pynchon and a few began Roxbury and Winthrop favored first Charlestown and then Boston, the third of the communities named as towns along with Dorchester on September 7. The nucleus of each town was what would now be called a church society and they soon had a selectman system.

With this summary of the purposes and characteristics of the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonists coming to America, with



REV. THOMAS HOOKER
Statue at Capitol

this tracing of the revolt against tyranny in the land of the Magna Charta, and with the introduction of early leaders in the Connecticut River colonization—Ludlow, Warham, Oldham, Mason, and Pynchon,—there can be better appreciation of the circumstances and the conditions which confronted the other leaders when they landed. Interest for the present centers in three of them who came in the *Griffin* September 3, 1633. They were John Haynes, Rev. Thomas Hooker and Rev. John Cotton. Haynes was sacrificing large estates in Hertfordshire and Essex. His son in later years wrote that he “nearly ruined his family” by having in all £8,000 sent him during his twenty years here and £1,000 of his second wife’s estate, “so that the children by his first wife suffered exceedingly.” He was of a “heavenly” mind, “dear to the people by his benevolent virtues and his disinterested conduct.” Cotton, a Cambridge man, was persuasive and genial rather than commanding and shunned democracy because he feared the animal instincts of the mass while claiming “the ultimate resolution for the whole body of the people.” He went to the Boston church, though not exactly according to his preference.

Thomas Hooker was the type of the harried but sturdy young minister, and more. He was born in Marfield, county of Leicester, in 1586, of family of fair estate. An able scholar at Cambridge, he taught for a time, or until he obtained a living in the manor of Francis Drake, nephew of the circumnavigator, for which office he did not have to qualify according to the rules of the church since the position was donative, in the interests of Mrs. Drake, an invalid. The manor was at Escher, in Surrey. Mr. Hooker lived in the family, forming friendships that later stood him in good stead. He married Mrs. Drake’s companion, a woman of education and refinement. His acceptance of a lectureship in connection with the church of St. Mary at Chelmsford was displeasing to those subservient to Laud since it implied friendliness with the people, and Laud, transferred to the see of London in 1628, was becoming more brutal. Mr. Hooker was ordered to appear before the Court of High Commissioners, under bond of £50, July 15, 1630. For one so guilty, the penalty might be imprisonment, torture, slitting of the nostrils or some other cruel indignity.

His bond being paid by friends and his family looked after

by the Earl of Warwick, he secretly boarded a boat for Holland, barely eluding Laud's men. He did not accept position in the British Presbyterian Church till he had removed from Amsterdam to Delft where he became associate of Pastor John Forbes. Upon the pastor's being removed by request of the British government, Mr. Hooker continued at Delft two years and then accepted pastoral duties in Rotterdam with Rev. Hugh Peters, later prominent in the colonies, and Rev. William Ames. Meantime the American project was a matter of careful consideration. The reorganization of the company for colonists together with the increasing fury of Laud and his King was deciding the course of many who had been hesitating. Hooker was a conspicuous figure. One suggestion was to have him and Cotton go together with a group from Essex to settle near Boston, but inasmuch as better results might be obtained by separating the two leaders, this plan was changed. The "Braintree Company" was known as the "Hooker Company" because of its devotion to him with whose teaching they were familiar. Hooker was democratic and likewise tolerant. He says in a letter, "I would do the devil no wrong though he never did me good."

This group went out from England in August, 1632, expecting Hooker to join them with Rev. Samuel Stone of Hertford County, a Cambridge graduate and a lecturer, as teacher. Not long after the party had sailed, Hooker crossed over to England to join Eaton, and Cotton with him. There, finding that Laud's men had detected their presence, all three went secretly aboard the *Griffin* and after an eight weeks' voyage reached their destination September 4, 1633. Among those to greet them was William Goodwin, who had arrived September 16, 1632, and had been in charge of the advance Hooker party as elder. The Braintree Company was transferred from Mount Wollaston to Newtown (now Cambridge) where Hooker and Stone were inducted into their offices as pastor and teacher October 11, 1633.

Meantime, Plymouth, Hartford County's first connecting link with the mother country, was adjusting itself more or less to irritating conditions of parent-corporation ambition to get on financially. The remainder of the church members were brought over, but by 1630 there still were not more than 300 in the colony. Their governor continued to be elective, restricted by a council of assistants; the body of freemen, being the legislature, held



(Photographed by Dudley from mural painting by Alfred Herter in Supreme Court Chamber, Hartford)

DRAWING UP THE "FUNDAMENTAL ORDERS," THE WORLD'S FIRST WRITTEN CONSTITUTION—HOOKER MAKING AN ADDRESS

veto power, till by 1639 (Connecticut's Constitution year) population had increased to an extent to necessitate representation by chosen "committees." They had to be self-reliant for they had no friends at court and never had royalty confirmed their charter; they had to agree among themselves in all governmental matters if enforcement were to be assured; they were approaching the democratic ideal in something of a tribal fashion. People of different religious views, they did not welcome nor yet did they persecute. The prophecy by friends in England in hour of greatest stress was to be fulfilled: "Let it not be grievous to you that you have been the instruments to break the ice for others. The honor shall be yours to the world's end."



CONFLUENCE OF THE FARMINGTON RIVER WITH THE CONNECTICUT RIVER

First house in the colony beneath the X

II

THE SOIL AND ITS OCCUPANTS

HOW HILLS WERE FORMED—LOCAL EVIDENCE OF PREHISTORIC CREATURES—VAGARIES OF CONNECTICUT RIVER—THE INDIANS AND THE DUTCH—DORCHESTER PUSHES FORWARD—SALTONSTALL'S ATTEMPT.

Thus had begun the movement from England toward the Connecticut River. While the second step was being considered, while new aspirations for freedom of thought were being nourished, is the time to look upon the new territory to which they were to go and the people who were living there. The sachem Wahginnacutt had told of the fertility of the valley; he could not tell of the intensely interesting geological history. Between the early-formed hills of western and eastern Connecticut lay a depression from the Massachusetts northern line to Long Island Sound, beautiful in its variety and marked with broken formations of a date much earlier than that of the higher lands. When this depression had been an arm of the sea, streams from the hills had left a deposit of mud. Some volcano poured its lava over the whole area. Upon this another mass of mud accumulated, another and heavier flow of lava came, and thus a third time, forming layers of shale, sandstone and conglomerate between lava, while near Mount Lamentation at Meriden was left buried under lava a great bed of volcanic ashes and of molten rock poured from the volcano.

Then occurred tremendous upheavals; the layers of lava and of the mud in which man was to find evidences of the animal life of the prehistoric period, were tilted upward and were broken at points along the length of the original depression, forming the hills which were to make the eastern and western borders of the Connecticut Valley. The second volcanic eruption formed a sheet of lava 500 feet thick in places, the edges of which, when the upheaval tilted them, made the Talcott Range, Cedar Mountain, Hanging Hills at Meriden and the other hills down to the shore.



GLACIER MARKS, SUMMIT PARK, NEAR TRINITY
COLLEGE, HARTFORD

One of the best evidences of nature's powerful performances in those remote ages is at the very doors of Trinity College—the "Summit," now preserved as a park ground. Old-time quarrying of trap rock (lava) for city streets revealed strata, showing the deep-down layers of mud and then the thick upper crust of lava, with plain exhibit of the effect of the intense heat from the lava. On the surface can be seen the scratches made by the glaciers which thousands of years after the volcanic era wore down the rock formation and left deposits of sand and stone.

In Manchester in particular (Buckland quarries), wonderful remains of the saurians of the Triassic Age have been found, the first of them by Maj. Charles H. Owen in 1884, after a part of a valuable specimen had been built into the foundations of a building. In Farmington, in more recent years, on the land of A. A. Pope, a fine skeleton of a mastodon was unearthed. Footprints of the monsters of millions of years ago have been removed to museums from the sandstone below Glastonbury.

The earth convulsions changed the courses of the streams that had flowed into the disappearing arm of the sea. The Connecticut kept on toward the Sound but, checked by the upheavals at Wethersfield and Berlin, was compelled to cut its way toward the southeast through the hills at the Narrows and find its new course along the steep bluffs below Middletown. The Farmington, which probably always had flowed from the northwest, was driven by the Talcott Range and the rising land near Bristol to run northerly sixteen miles before it could find its way through the range to the easterly slope, as can be seen on the county map. By miles it is one of the longest as it is one of the most picturesque streams in New England, but the direct line from its source in Massachusetts to its mouth at Windsor is not much over thirty miles, while within the state there are nearly sixty miles of it, or more than the entire width of the state.

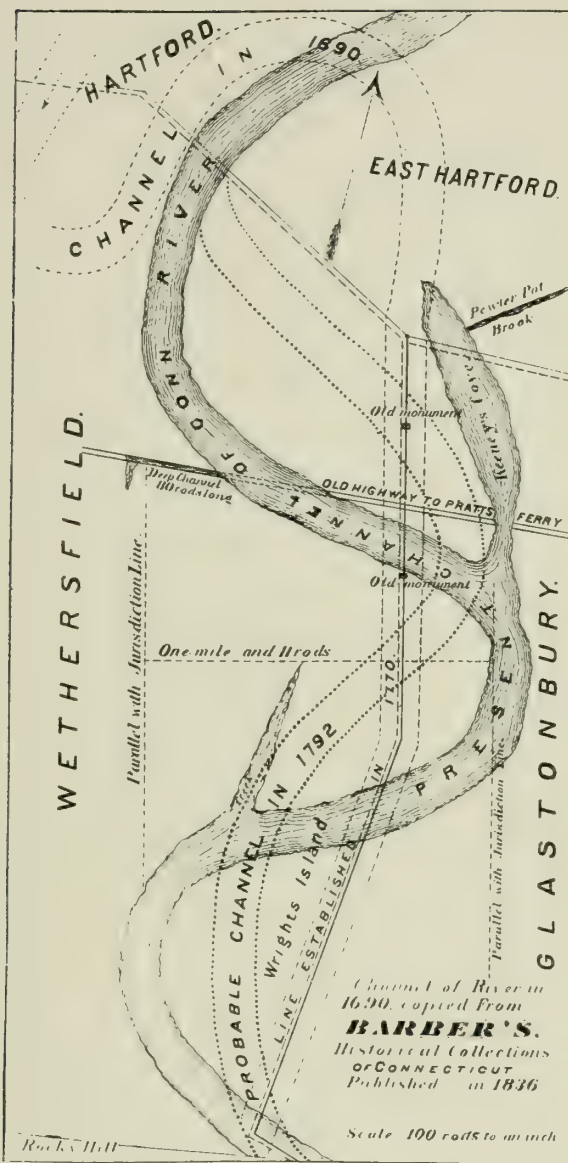
On the east of the Connecticut the Scantic rises in Somers, winds up into Massachusetts, then back through Somersville, Enfield, East Windsor and South Windsor and thence into the Connecticut, a total length of about twenty-three miles. The Hockanum is fed by Shenipsit ("Snipsic") Lake in Ellington, Tolland and Rockville, comes away westerly and southerly through Vernon, veers off into South Windsor, dips down into Manchester and makes westerly into the Connecticut at East Hartford near

Silver Lane—a distance of eighteen miles. Between this and the Scantic is the Podunk, in East and South Windsor.

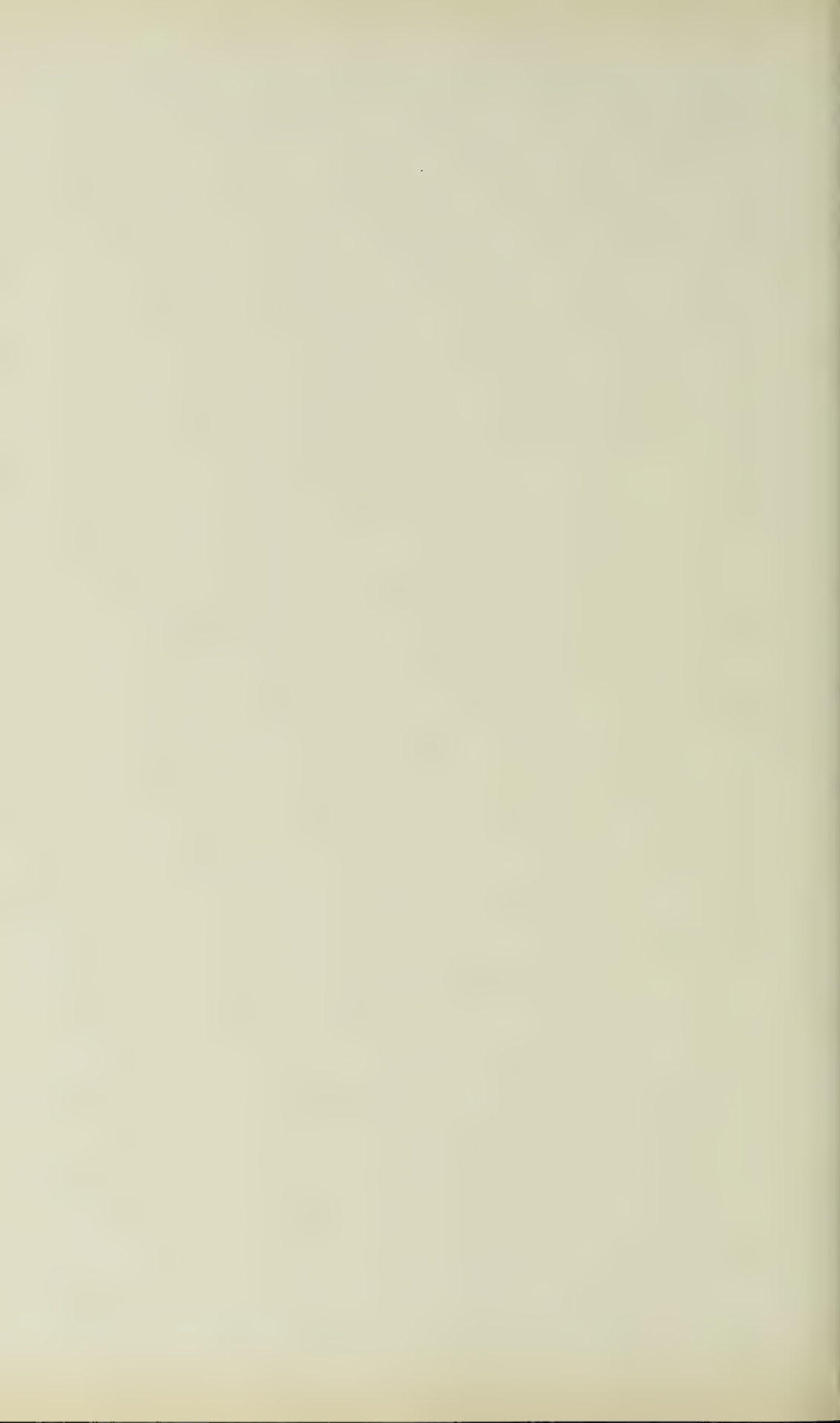
As will be seen by the map from "Barber's Collections," the Connecticut ever has been a river of vagaries. The map shows how it has changed contours in Wethersfield and Naubuc (Glastonbury) since colonial days, forming Wethersfield Cove, obliterating Wright's Island, shifting meadow lands. The whole river body moved eastward as far as the point where it formerly had reached its most northeasterly course, north of the Wethersfield town line, which means north of the mouth of Pewter Pot Brook on the Glastonbury side. Then, had it not been for the underlying shale it would have cut through the present village of Wethersfield. Hartford got an addition to its South Meadows, including a knoll which had been Pennywise Island in the old channel; the promontory at the elbow when the old channel turned northeasterly included the new basin Wethersfield Cove.

In modern times the vagaries have been the source of litigation. The law of natural accretion, by which gradual action of the river gives permanent possession to the soil deposited was maintained by the Supreme Court in 1887 when the Thaddeus Welles estate in Glastonbury failed in a suit to establish right to land washed to the Wethersfield side of the river. It so happened, however, that in the course of a few more years, a little further down the stream, soil worth \$100 an acre had been washed from the Wethersfield side for a total of about eighteen acres to the Glastonbury side and in such way as to increase by that much the southerly part of the property of this same Welles estate. A Wethersfield man who tried to recover value of part of this failed, though in lower court he had nine of the jury with him. By riprapping and dredging, the Government has considerably checked further changes in that locality.

But despite such demonstration of the river's powerful wilfulness, the present generation appears little affected by possible evidence of a tendency which might even leave the great stone bridge at Hartford extending over fairly dry land while the river to be bridged would be flowing through the East Hartford meadows. The meadow bluff at one time was undoubtedly the eastern bank, but between that and the river since the first settlement much of the land has yielded crops. The low-water mark at Hartford is 1.8 feet above that at the Sound, and the tide is



VAGARIES OF THE CONNECTICUT RIVER



about one foot. Since the settlement the Hartford shore has receded about fifteen feet. On the east side, nearly opposite the steamboat dock, was a large island; Dutch Island was just south of it. They became a part of the mainland and were built upon, but today a once small pool to the east of them has become the good-sized Long Pond, south of the large causeway with its now single under-pass for flood water. A long island off present Riverside Park on the Hartford side joined the mainland, and today the water is more shallow there while along the east side, above the stone bridge, is a deep channel. On the west side of this channel was an island. It was removed at the time the bridge was built but soon reformed and now is kept down only by constant dredging by steam buckets from the shore as a commercial enterprise.

At the South Windsor shore, the river is giving its most pronounced evidence of its proclivity. Within a few years a fine broad beach, a mile long, enjoyed for recreation purposes, has appeared where the water once flowed. But south of this and down to the railroad bridge, the east bank has been cut back considerably over a hundred feet in the last decade; good farm land and the road thereto, together with trees, have disappeared; Clay Point, a strong promontory, is no more; a deep, swift pool grows larger while a sand bank forms at the opposite shore; the land along the meadow bank is lower, and thus Olmstead's Brook has been diverted till it makes a marsh extending to Long Pond south of the bridge causeway. Especially in the 1927 fall flood, it looked plainly as though the river were seeking a channel from above the railroad bridge straight south, cutting out the present Hartford bow. What the river in flood time can do along its present banks will be shown in the latter part of this history.

At the actual mouth of the river, where silt finds lodgement, little more has been done than to keep the west channel clear, abandoning the east channel which was the main channel in Revolutionary days.

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The Sequin Indians in the river valley were a comparatively modern out-cropping of the bands that had pushed along from perhaps Bering Strait, following the lake line. Sowheag was chief of the group in this immediate section and Sequassen was

his son. That there was no great chieftain as in other sections of New England may be taken as evidence that the Sequins were of a mild and complacent sort. Like most Connecticut natives they paid some tribute to the warlike Mohawks of northern New York; they were on good terms with the Rhode Island Narragansetts but they were in awe of the Pequots at New London, the latest comers into southern New England. Apparently the Pequots had not conquered them in strife; they simply had usurped authority over lands, and yet not to an extent to demand tribute, possibly through fear of clashing with the Mohawks. Clearly it was with such conception as this that the Englishmen, from time immemorial precise about land titles, made their purchases of those who were the real possessors; the Dutch on the other hand making them of those they thought were more powerful. The groups of Sequins—and the settlers designated their sections by the names of the groups—were: Matianuck (Windsor), Sachem Natawanute whom Holmes had brought along with him in his boat and had reestablished, let the Pequots say what they would; Suckiaug (Hartford), Sachem Sequassen; Pyquaug (Wethersfield), Chief Sowheag, and across the river the Wongunks, the Podunks (South Windsor and East Hartford), with a “fort” near the Podunk river for the summer and another on the Hockanum for the winter; and the Tunxis (Farmington), a branch of the Suckiaugs. The summer village of the Suckiaugs was where Village Street Green now is and they planted the land along the river from there south, the only open space. North Meadow Creek, until recent times quite a stream, furnished shelter for their canoes. Before the arrival of the Dutch doubtless the mouth of Little River had been a favorite place. Their chief hunting grounds were along that stream and in Farmington. Their only known story will weave in with that of the Englishmen.

The same may be said of the Dutch. At the present juncture, preceding the arrival of the actual settlers, they and the Suckiaugs were having nothing to do with each other; the Dutch had reported Holmes’ audacity to New Amsterdam; forty soldiers, with trumpets and guns had been sent up overland, had seen Holmes’ stockade and had marched back to report that the position was too strong to take without much bloodshed. Thereupon traders had been sent farther up river to cut off the Englishmen’s business, only to find the Indians decimated by the periodical

plague of smallpox; the Dutchmen, themselves falling victims, worked their way back to Windsor where they were nursed till able to complete their journey to the House of Hope. This significantly named post was made partly of brick brought from Holland (specimens of which are now with the Connecticut Historical Society) on the south bank of Little River some rods back from the Connecticut, where the bend in the tributary made good harborage. Had the guns aimed at Holmes been fired when he sailed by, the balls would have had to sweep across the sandy promontory on the north side of the creek, ever since known as Dutch Point, much wider then than now. Around the house was a palisade where fifty people could find refuge. Attempt was made to raise hay and vegetables in the soil just outside of it. For his land Van Corlear alleged that he paid "one piece of duffels, 27 ells long; six axes, six kettles, 18 knives, 1 sword blade, 1 shears and some toys" to "Tattoepan, chief of Sirkenames River" (which was the name for Mystic River near New London) "and owner of Connecticut." The papers of this first Hartford real estate transaction never were producible in the long international arguments of later years, but the statement suffices to show the custom of the time, the value set upon the property and the fact that the Dutch did not search titles so thoroughly as did the English.

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In these days when the movement from the Bay Colony was fast taking shape and scouts were looking over the "promised land," Jonathan Brewster, son of Elder William, was made resident agent at Windsor for the Plymouth Company. In 1635 he was reporting that "Massachusetts men" were coming almost daily and casting covetous eyes on the additional land that had been bought north of the Tunxis River. The tone of the letter indicated that he had thought nothing of the earlier visits of prospectors who doubtless had included the wandering Oldham in 1633 when with his three companions he went on to Wethersfield and tested the goodly soil, nor of the visit of men bearing a letter from Pynchon who went north and selected Agawam, nor yet of a few who had gone down near the House of Hope and fixed upon Suckiaug (Hartford); but the 1635 strain upon his hospitality had caused him to break forth in protest. He cried

out that he did not know who might not come next. Right here is a bit of evidence that the Plymouth Company contemplated a genuine settlement and not a mere trading post as has been asserted in the arguments over priority of founding, for he wrote that this Windsor land might become a "great towne and have commodious dwellings for many years together."

Those whose conduct provoked the letter were in reality representatives of the foresighted Ludlow of Dorchester—twelve of them who tarried nine long days, not "consulting" Brewster but using his freely proffered guides and boats and partaking of his limited supplies. He took them to interview the Dutch on a location but the Dutch "did peremptorily withstand them." As later appeared, the Dorchester men, seeing that these meadows north of the Tunxis were not being occupied, felt that they must still be in the open market, and when the hegira from the Bay became irresistible arranged in 1637 terms of purchase; still later the Plymouth pioneers (1638) sold the original Plymouth site, south of the Tunxis, to Matthew Allyn of Hartford.

The Oldham incident was a matter of no concern until in modern times when pride of priority asserted itself. Oldham and his "adventurers" chose the beautiful fields at Pyquaug, built their huts in the fall of 1634 and turned the soil. Fifteen years after the settlement of the three towns, the General Court adopted boundary regulations, and after the words "most annient towne" in the record there appears a parenthesis in different handwriting reading "which for the river is determined by the courte to be Wethersfield."

Among the other visitors of whom Brewster complained was one who represented a new and important element in the whole history of the "River Towns." This was "Mr." Francis Stiles, a London builder, accompanied by twenty-seven others, including Rachel (Mrs. John) Stiles and two other women, the first of the Connecticut colony. Enter the "Warwick Patent." In England, despite Saltonstall's recent successful defense of the New England colonies before the court, Laud had assumed official supervision with purpose to crush religious and civil systems in force among them; a royal governor was to be imposed; emigration from England of any above a servile station could be only by permission; lords of the New England Council were hastening to divide up New England territory between themselves without regard to company patents; judgments were being procured

against individuals of the Massachusetts Bay Company living in England, their fellows left as outlaws; the council was at an end and the indifferent Sir Ferdinando de Gorges was ere long to be appointed governor-general. In its last days the Earl of Warwick was president of the Plymouth Council in England. To himself and with only his secretary at the session, he granted this patent which in controversial history bears his name. By it, shrewdly, Viscount Saye and Sele, Lord Brooke, Richard Saltonstall, Pym, Hampden and other leaders in the cause of liberty were to establish a colony for "lords and gentlemen," precisely as should accord with Laud's fierce decree. As for "royal governor," John Winthrop, Jr., was commissioned—for one year. The territory covered was from Narragansett River westward indefinitely and the northern boundary inadvertently overlapped that of the Massachusetts Bay. Lion Gardiner, war veteran, was to erect a fortification at the mouth of the Connecticut—palpably the best of locations,—George Fenwick was to be local agent, and Lady Fenwick accompanied him.

In this way, Warwick got something to stand on in the crash that was impending. But what with the rumbling of civil war already in the air, there was need of all Puritans of rank on their native soil, and Lady Fenwick was to be the only "lady" of the colony. She was a charming woman who became a member of Hooker's church in Hartford and whose body was buried at Saybrook. Saltonstall, for his part, sent out Stiles' party with directions to establish a fine estate up the river. He surprised the Brewster Pilgrims at a moment when the Dorchester party happened to be out prospecting. Taking dates together it would seem that this was what caused Ludlow's men to arrive at the decision that Windsor's north meadows (or "Great Meadow") was the ideal place for them. It eventuated that Stiles was allowed a little land at the north end (where the Oliver Wolcott homestead now stands) and many acres for the "estate" east of the river where also the Dorchester people bought wide territory of the Indians. Absorbed by the rush of events in England, Saltonstall abandoned his plan, after writing that his party had "carved well for themselves." He added with a significance of deep import in subsequent history that in the future they would see how much help could have been afforded them. Ludlow did not like the idea of a royal governor and was too impetuous or disingenuous to perceive what was beneath the surface.

III

THE WARWICK PATENT

THE HOW AND WHY OF THE "ADVENTURERS" WITHIN ITS BOUNDARIES—
FIRST WINTER AT HARTFORD—SIGNIFICANCE OF PROVISIONAL GOV-
VERNMENT DOCUMENT.

That the Warwick Patent had much to do with the history of the River Towns and thereby with the birth of the Constitution interpretation of modern data, long obscured and sometimes even now handled too shrinkingly, confirms. What actually prompted Warwick in giving the grant in 1631 to important land hitherto passed by and how he did it for "lords and gentlemen"—perhaps riding two horses at once, the mad king's horse and the horse of the colonists—has nothing to do with subsequent operations. Those operations, together with his letter about future helpfulness at Windsor, lend color to the supposition that in 1631 he may have foreseen the ugly attitude of the King in 1635 and therefore have been riding on the colonists' horse all the while. Patriots Pym and Hampden were associated with him.

It may be remarked again at this point that full comprehension of the why and wherefore of the historic achievement of the men of the River Towns cannot be had if one is too absorbed in the romance of the flight from the mother country and the thoughts, customs and doings of the people as pioneers. There have been other pioneers and other romances. These were not of the category of the hegira from Egypt, yet America today, with its government as originally established, is a hardly less historic outcome.

There cannot be comprehension without an appreciative understanding of the period in England from 1629 to 1640, the years of no Parliament and of the tyranny when England's constitution lay crushed. At the time of the Warwick Patent, King Charles and Laud were seeking in various ways to correct what they considered a blunder in approving charters as they had been approved, but never so fiercely as after Laud's advancement to

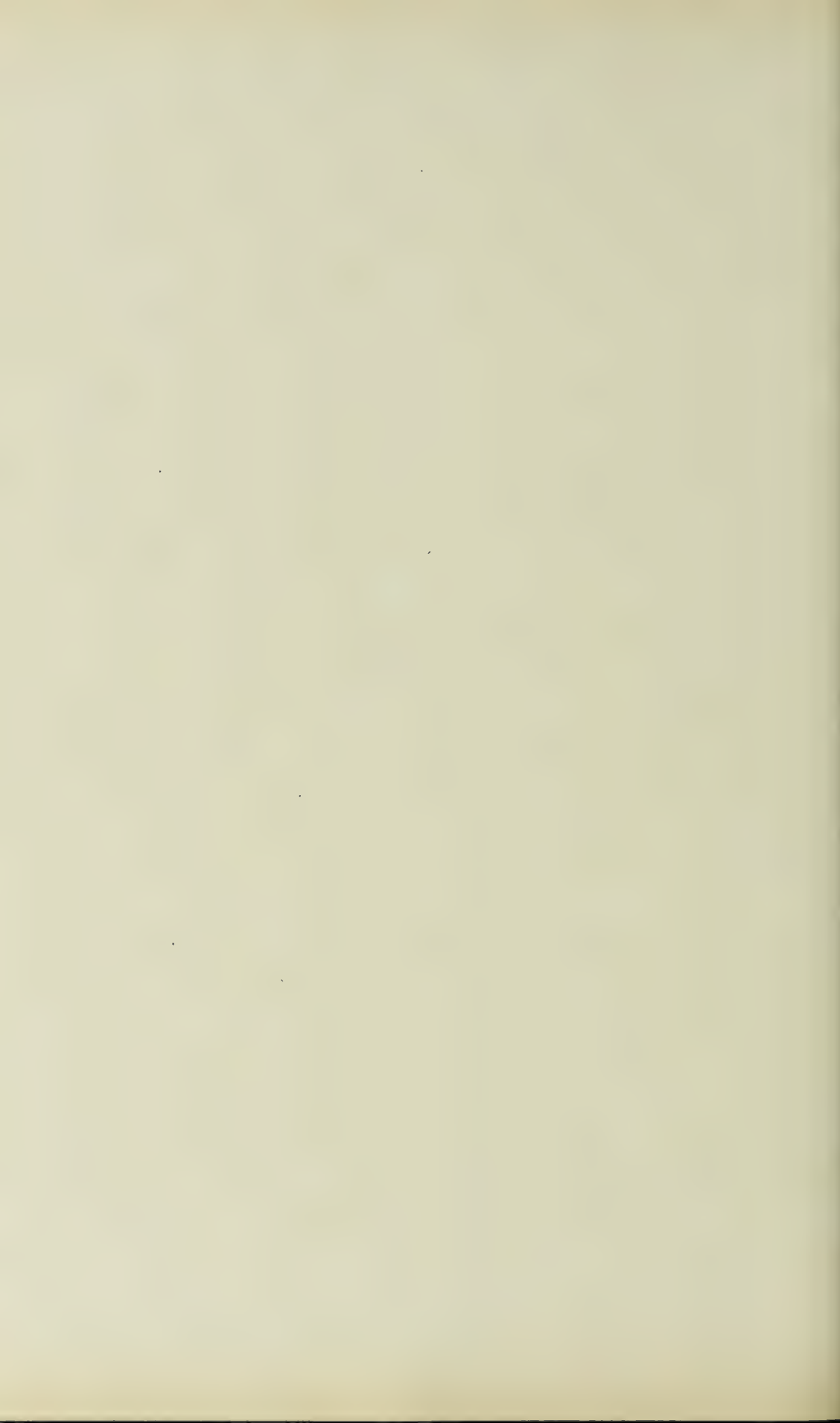
the archbishopric in 1633. Companies and councils under the charters were being upset; blind power, tumbling the pillars of English tradition, would seize its victims overseas and would check development by terrorizing. The small mass in America like the great mass in England was stunned, bewildered. Men of the Pym and Hampden calibre did not, in America, have the opportunity of their prototypes; their private correspondence itself revealed caution and anxiety; they were driven to veiling their thoughts—and some students have not yet penetrated the veil; it was for them, in the wilderness, to get still farther away from terrorizing influence, to assert themselves, unobtrusively, for their good, and bide the results. There was reason for those who would remain at the Bay, under the shadow of Laud's sceptre, to adhere to high prerogative, whatever their mental reservations, and to class distinction. There was reason for Ludlow, in civil life, and for Hooker, in religious life, to follow the impulse to seek some other place, more remote. Bits of written phraseology are evidence of the anxiety of Winthrop and others who would remain, and there is presumptive evidence that they came into veiled collusion with the outgoers, particularly through Winthrop's own son.

It was natural that men of Massachusetts, with more wealth and less financial obligation than the Plymouth Pilgrims, gave more thought to what they were accustomed to in England—affairs of church, of state, and of towns. Taken together they believed and, with Cotton, earnestly asserted that God never ordained democracy for the government of the church and people; the intolerant oligarchy and then the aristocracy they and their successors maintained till the Revolution forced Hooker, Ludlow, Haynes and others to seek new homes. Hooker's Newtown, Ludlow's Dorchester and Watertown by indirection were the seats of disaffection. The hunger for freedom of belief could not be appeased in a locality where only church members could be freemen and where the ministers were civic dictators. The conditions were too analagous with those in England; in fact there were indications in some quarters of the Bay's yielding to the recent royal demand to surrender; Laud and the King could not see constitutional government suppressed in England and cultivated in her colonies. It was true that more space was required, but Newtown's boundaries were enlarged without silencing the for-

mal petition to the General Court to go elsewhere. Mr. Hooker, calmly but eloquently, was showing the error of government by church; Ludlow, in the elections, had seen a new light. The importuned General Court voted May 6, 1635, that petitioners might seek some "convenient" place. This did not particularly include Newtown people, but their six visitors to Windsor whom the hospitable Brewster had mentioned had been sent to find a convenient place, with final choice of Suckiaug, "commodious and beautiful," Hooker understood. Agawam might have been the choice but Rev. Thomas Parker's men—Pynchon's party—had pre-empted that. The permission was given specifically to the people of Dorchester and Watertown, the court voted two cannon for the "river plantations" and in September, 1635, William Westwood of Newtown was appointed constable, with authorization to the towns to choose officials of that rank. Oldham in May of 1635 had gone by special permission to Pyquaug with members of the Watertown congregation, including Rev. Richard Dana, but not as a church, and their new home was called Watertown.

Ludlow, all his life an adventurer, had been the most energetic of the outgoers. It has been seen that he had established and maintained claims at Windsor. Rev. Mr. Warham, not enthusiastically, joined with a number of his congregation in making the journey in 1635. Rev. Mr. Maverick, deterred by age, remained in Dorchester and reorganized the church. The pioneers took their livestock with them. The terrors of the winter were increased fourfold when the boats carrying their provisions were frozen in near the mouth of the Connecticut. Starvation threatening, a party of seventy sallied forth in the snow and cold and with almost superhuman effort made their way to the *Rebecca*, a distance of sixty miles. Fortunately a warm rain aided in releasing the boat and in making it possible to get back to Massachusetts. A smaller party struggled back overland. Those who remained subsisted on acorns, malt and grain, assisted by the Plymouth and Stiles men. The Indians also were helpful. By early spring all were on the frontier again and more were coming.

Not as in the case of Watertown, there was practical unanimity for the pilgrimage in Mr. Hooker's church. Elder Goodwin himself was of those who went in the fall to Suckiaug to prepare the way. The other men were John Steele, William Westwood, Thomas Scott, Stephen Hart, William Pantry (who in



Watertown, which is now Cambridge, had occupied the land which was to form a large part of Harvard Square), John Barnard, William Butler, William Kelsey, Noah Ely, Richard Webb, Michael Clark, Richard Goodman, Edward Elmer, Matthew Marvin and Sergeant Thomas Stanley. With their families these numbered about fifty; nine others came but returned to Watertown to sell their houses. The following March, Westwood and Steele were the plantation's representatives in the river General Court.

The terrain that Goodwin's party found at Suckiaug north of the "rivulet" sloped eastward toward a low meadow along the Connecticut. The slightly hilly upland was for the most part densely wooded and it was along this that they marked off their lots, from Little River northward. Thanks to the long research of Rev. Dr. William DeLoss Love and the data gleaned by William S. Porter in 1839, eked out by A. L. Washburn, a map of the first settlement is furnished. Their main road (Front Street now) ran from the ford leading to Pyquaug (Wethersfield) to the north meadow (Village Street). Below the falls in Little River (at the ledges over which, though cut down, the water still swirls), a small palisado was erected with Sergeant Stanley's lot close by. Thence a roadway (now Main Street) was run northerly to a knoll called Sentinel Hill (where Main now runs northeasterly) and beyond to Matthew Allyn's lot. A watchman was stationed on the hill. The bend of both roads westerly was due to the presence of an Indian village in the north meadow. The river made the island previously referred to and another just below, a large part of which, on the East Hartford side, is well within the memory of men today.

About half way from the palisado to the hill a large space was set aside, as customary with the New England settlers, for their "Meeting-house Yard." From this "yard" ran a lane (Prospect Street) to the Indian trail by Little River, and there, on the east corner, a lot was reserved for Thomas Hooker, while on the west corner one was marked off for the "teacher," Rev. Samuel Stone. The "Goodwin's Corner" of that day was about where the Municipal Building stands; the "Goodwin's Corner" of later generations was then Goodman's corner. Those named on the Love map include, in white space, those who returned to Newtown for the winter and suffered much on the journey. "Adventurers," a name

sometimes applied to several of these in the land records, means those who selected land before the formal laying out of the plantation. The man Chaplin, named on the map, forsook Suckiaug for Pyquaug, where he is mentioned as the "proud and wealthy ruling elder" of the church, and became a trouble maker.

Much of that first winter at Suckiaug was spent discussing title to the soil and the relation of the Warwick Patent thereto. Though officially (and publicly) they were supposed to be within the Massachusetts boundary, else they could not have brought along a pretense at formal government, they knew they were outside of it, and they must have some definite legal right to settlement, especially if trouble with the Dutch should arise. Whatever the evils in England there must be some form of connection with that government. It was farthest from sane thought to throw off allegiance and stand alone against the perils of savages and sturdy Dutch traders. There had been communication between the elder Winthrop at Boston and the younger Winthrop, Connecticut governor under the Warwick Patent, relative to Stiles' adventure at Windsor under patent rights. The Dutch, on their part, had communicated to Winthrop relative to the presence of the settlers. Elder Goodwin had had one amicable conference with him. The Windsor problem could wait, and with it the Agawam problem which Pynchon's settlement was creating.

There certainly was an undertone of harmony with the Suckiaug men, while neither Winthrop could be unaware of Hooker's aversion to a royal governor. The elder Winthrop recorded in his diary that a Watertown man went to and returned from Suckiaug during that winter. It must have been a message of importance that would cause him to brave the perils of such a journey. The message seems to have confirmed the "Adventurers" in their hope that the settlement could continue and therefore they could hasten to buy their land. And it is well to mark that the patentees were willing to yield the point that the settlers must acknowledge a foreign appointee (the younger Winthrop) as their governor even until the end of his year in July; he could build the fort and houses at Saybrook, placing Lion Gardiner in command—which he had done just before the Dutch reached there on a similar errand,—and what should come after that could be a matter of adjustment; neither side in the state of affairs existing abroad could foresee what was to come. So the compromise was reached, giving ac-

knowledge of the patentee's rights and permitting a freedom of action in government, with provisional government by commission till organization could be effected.

The agreement which took the form of the General Court's "Commission for a Provisional Government" makes that somewhat neglected document of utmost value in tracing the steps of development toward the establishment of a free government. According to ancient custom, the whole 700 words of it are put into one sentence, and then there is still much to be understood between the lines through the study of contemporary activities summarized in this narrative. Taken in sequence, the points are:

First—(Acknowledgment of cause.) "Upon *some reasons and grounds*, these "loving friends" of the three towns and other places "are to remove from this our government and commonwealth."

Second—(Acknowledgment of Warwick Patent.) "We" and "John Winthrop, Jr., Esq., governor," * * * "appointed by certain noble personages and men of quality interested in" the river plantations and yet in England, "on their behalf" * * *.

Third—(Acknowledgment of freedom to form a government.) "And in regard to said noble personages and men of quality have something engaged themselves and their estates in the planting of said river, and by virtue of a patent do require jurisdiction of the said place and people, and neither the minds of the said personages (they being writ unto) are as yet known, nor any man of government is yet agreed on, and there being urgent necessity for some government" * * *.

Fourth—(Ludlow, chairman.) Commission to be Roger Ludlow, Esq., (Windsor), William Pynchon, Esq., (Agawam), John Steele (Hartford), William Swaine (Wethersfield), Henry Smith (Agawam), William Phelps (Windsor), William Westwood (Hartford), Andrew Ward (Wethersfield). Ludlow's name was first because he was an assistant in the General Court.

Fifth—(People as court.) The commission, on day or days which they shall appoint and upon convenient notice, shall assemble "the inhabitants" of the towns to proceed as a court in administering justice, to look to the ordering of all affairs, including business, building, planting and defensive war (if need require).

Sixth—(To be satisfactory to Massachusetts.) The commis-

sion should not continue beyond one year and should cease sooner "if there may be a mutual and settled government" agreeable to "said noble personages, or their agent," to the inhabitants and to "this commonwealth."

Seventh—(Warwick boundaries left undefined.) And this was not to prejudice the interests of those "noble personages" in the said river and confines thereof within their several limits.

There unmistakably are indications here of the keen mind of Ludlow and of the touch of Hooker and both Winthrops. There was enough of "royal personages" to distract Laud's attention should Warwick or other be compelled to read it to him, and there was ample for Hooker's first steps. Furthermore, such a document never would have been approved in Massachusetts had the necks of all the authorities been as stiff as other incidents and certain letters would betoken; the arguments of Hooker and Ludlow had had more weight than otherwise is indicated; the younger Winthrop was helpful in what today might be analyzed as an adroit plan to enable the Hooker people to have their way, even to the uttermost, for independent government, and there was no breach between Winthrop the son and Winthrop the father, the leader in the Massachusetts hierarchy. Still further it is probable that the popular Governor Haynes of the Bay had had a voice in this. Incidentally, it was an hour when a new royal threat against the Bay charter could not have been taken as appreciation of constant loyalty of noble personages to the government.

The rest is chiefly incidents familiar in most part from much writing. Rev. Samuel Stone, John White, Samuel Wakeman (sworn in as constables in April) and one or two others hastened to Hartford in the spring of 1636, and the first General Court under the provisional government was held April 26. Winthrop had reached his fort at Saybrook in March. On Mr. Stone's arrival at Suckiaug, the purchase of land from Sequassen was made by him and Elder Goodwin. The original was lost later—as also was the Dutchmen's—but it was confirmed in 1670 by the descendants of Sequassen who gave it, and a letter of Lord Saye and Sele's had spoken of it. The first-comers had kept off the Dutchmen's land south of Little River. Now the purchase had been made of all territory from Wethersfield to Windsor, White and Wakeman took lots just across the "rivulet." More land in the Dutch section was

occupied but none that was under cultivation. The Dutchmen's diplomatic protest to Winthrop entered upon a long sleep.

Rev. Mr. Hooker and his large company, men, women and children, his feeble wife in a horse-litter, left Newtown May 31 (1636) and were in the plantation two weeks later. They drove 160 cattle with sheep, swine and fowls. Thomas Bull was in special charge of "six cows, four steers and a bull" which the elder Winthrop was sending to Saybrook. Their course was along the path already familiar to the English since Oldham first reported it. It was the regular Indian trail, well marked and with Indian villages along the route, and led to the former "Bissell's ferry" at Windsor. The name "Bay Path" or "Connecticut Path" was applied to it for a dozen years or until new paths were taken, by the exigencies of new settlements, when it was called the "Old Path." Crossing the river at Windsor, the party came down on the west side. The conventional story has the party carrying household goods. Imaginative artists, hard put to it by such an account, drew pictures showing something like "prairie schooners." Better information is furnished by the diary of Lion Gardiner, commandant at Fort Saybrook, who reported many boats carrying people and goods. Other colonists came later in the year and several the following year.

The three river towns were "plantations" in correct parlance till the Constitution was adopted, but Hartford anticipated official authorization and organized at once on the town plan; whence its claim to being the oldest organized town in the state. In effect and for convenience in distributing land, it was two plantations after the Hooker party took locations, one north and one south of Little River, but in relation to the colony and for the Pequot war so soon to follow, it was one. Windsor acted only as a body of inhabitants, not even townsmen being chosen. In Wethersfield the plantation system was adhered to after town organization had been decreed by the General Court, presumably because of a disagreement between the church and inhabitants over prior rights relative to distribution of land.

This provisional commission or body of magistrates, whose terms would expire about one year from March 3, 1636, held their first court April 26 in Newtown (Hartford). In all there were seven sessions, concluding February 21, 1637, at which session the towns were given their permanent names. Ludlow, Phelps, Steele

and Westwood attended all sessions; Swaine did not arrive from Watertown, where he was a deputy, till after the first two sessions; Pynchon was present at but one, in November, and his son-in-law, Smyth, at none. According to the terms of the agreement, it would be necessary to continue some consistent form of government; the method was at hand for this and the existing system was satisfactory. The inhabitants undoubtedly convened as a court of election on March 28, 1637, and reelected the magistrates excepting Westwood of Hartford's north plantation, who was succeeded by Thomas Welles of the south plantation, in order to have both places represented. All the "inhabitants," or admitted dwellers in the plantations, had the franchise.

In general the pioneers in this formative period were in four civic classes: The "inhabitants" were those admitted by a majority vote of the voters and took the oath of allegiance; the "householders" were heads of families, men or women, and owned a certain amount of real estate; the "proprietors" were the original purchasers of land, not necessarily residents, or those to whom such sold their rights, voting as "admitted inhabitants" and entitled to share in "common and undivided lands."

The election court was held in Hartford as the most "convenient place." The court sessions also had been held there, with the exception of one at Windsor and one at Wethersfield. But there were disadvantages. Hartford, being central, was preeminently the most convenient place for meeting, and yet no one place could be convenient for the body of electors when convened. Town government not having been adopted, a good solution was found in having inhabitants in each plantation elect three "committees" each (not "committees" in the modern sense but rather trustees, in the old-time sense) who should elect the magistrates and also should share the responsibilities of government. They should be like town deputies and such they were denominated after towns were established.

It would appear that the first session, May 1, 1637, adjourned twice, according to later custom; and then there was a new election with only two "committees" from each plantation before the November session, and at the next and last session in February, 1638, adjournment was sine die with a new election in prospect. The magistrates convened as "particular courts" as well as General Court.

The one graver problem than government had obtruded itself at the first session of 1637, and that was war—offensive that it might be defensive. The story of the rapid development of free government has to be interrupted.



(From Barber's "Historical Collections")

THOMAS HOOKER AND HIS CONGREGATION
PASSING THROUGH THE WILDERNESS, 1636
Hartford's First Conveyance

IV

PEQUOT WAR INTERRUPTION

CAUSE OF THE WAR AND ITS TIMELY EFFECT—MURDER OF OLDHAM A CLIMAX — WETHERSFIELD MASSACRE — BAY COLONY COÖPERATES — UNCAS FAITHFUL.

Casual history credits the origin of the Pequot war, Connecticut's only war, to the murder of John Oldham and his crew of two Narragansetts off Block Island and to the hasty action of Governor Henry Vane of Massachusetts in sending soldiers to avenge on suspects the death of a resident of his colony. Causes of war are not readily determined but in this instance the early grievance of the Pequots has been overlooked. A proud and warlike race, never forgetting, had resented the acts of the Englishmen in not recognizing their supremacy over the mild Sequins of the valley. The moment Lieutenant Holmes restored a Sequin sachem to his clan and bought land of him, the Pequot pride was touched; when Newtown also recognized the original owners instead of the haughty usurpers, anger was kindled.

Whether or no the greater peril was from Indians or Dutchmen, the colonists had sensed that there must be a state of preparedness, and to that end it was written in the first year's records, June 7, 1636, that every man must have constantly ready for the constables' inspection two pounds of powder and twenty bullets or be fined ten shillings, and there must be monthly training. The first decree of the court, when it was learned that Henry Stiles of Windsor had bartered a "piece" for corn, was that no firearms should pass to natives under any circumstances. On their side the wrathful and wary Pequots were still in dread of blunderbusses. They actually had acquired a few, but could rely only on the knife and tomahawk, arrow and ambush. And it was likely to be necessary to include all white men in their hostility; for Sassacus, their chief, earlier had had special cause for smiting. His father, who had sold land to the Dutch, had been killed by them because he had killed a hostile Indian who

had come to trade with the Dutch, contrary to agreement. That had been followed by the especially brutal murder of Captain Stone and Captain Morton, Massachusetts men, and their crew of nine in their boat on the Connecticut on their way up from Virginia to trade with the Dutch. With false promises and much obeisance to Massachusetts, Sassacus had escaped punishment for that and his awe had not been increased. Now that more white men were coming within his realm and treating him disdainfully, and now that the Narragansetts to the east were in unfriendly mood, and Uncas, his rebellious son-in-law, was courting the favor of the whites, it was time to spread terror. If war resulted, he outnumbered the able-bodied whites of the river towns four to one, and moreover they were unfamiliar with the wilderness and with Indian tactics. Oldham, with George Fenwick and Rev. Hugh Peters, had been parties to the conferences with the Pequots after the Connecticut River murders.

If Oldham's murder, July 5, 1636, was a part of Sassacus's campaign, there was no evidence of it. The final outcome, however, was to set him and all the other Indians right in their estimate of English strength. John Gallop, sailing from Connecticut to Massachusetts, inflicted first punishment when he came upon the vessel, fired into the Indian assailants, driving most of them into the water to drown, saved two boys who were kinsmen of Oldham, recovered Oldham's mutilated body, rammed the craft, left it to drift ashore with two Indians in the hull and made off with one prisoner. Almost immediately Governor Vane hurried a force of ninety men, under John Endicott and Captain John Underhill, military trainers in the colony, to bring back women and children as slaves and to compel the Pequots to give up all who had had a part in any of the several murders. Endicott discharged his mission except as to securing slaves and the possible murderers. On his way he went by Saybrook where Gardiner declared a "hornets' nest had been stirred up," yet allowed twenty of his men to join Endicott.

There was much devastation at Pequot (New London) harbor, and altogether the warriors of Sassacus were thoroughly aroused. They would have brought the Narragansetts into alliance had it not been for Roger Williams. Gardiner put his fort in readiness for an attack. Two of the garrison, Butterfield and Tilly, were caught in the fields and suffered death by torture.

Outbuildings were burned and the fort was besieged through the winter. In March Gardiner was wounded while escaping with his men from an ambush. This news in Hartford caused the hastening of twenty men to the fort under Capt. John Mason of Windsor who had been a soldier with Miles Standish, Underhill and Gardiner under Fairfax in Holland. Forthwith the Indians turned toward the weakened river towns. Sowheag, the old chieftain at Mettabesset (Middletown) who had sold land to the Wethersfield settlers and who had been banished after a quarrel over the sale, was induced to join with the Pequots. April 23 they stole upon Wethersfield and killed six men and three women. Two daughters of Abraham Swain were carried down river in canoes that Gardiner might be witness to the Indian victory, but a cannon ball dispersed the craft. The Dutch later rescued the girls in Pequot harbor.

In a letter to Governor Vane the Connecticut magistrates deprecated his course of action and begged for assistance in defending the weak settlements. Arrival of a few Massachusetts men at Saybrook enabled Mason and his contingent to return to take over the home defense which Ludlow had been conducting. From Uncas, now at Podunk fort with twenty-five of his Mohegans who had followed him from the Pequot land, the colonists learned of the general preparations Sassacus had been making.

Eight days after the Wethersfield massacre, the General Court held its second session, Ludlow presiding. Their total population was about 350, their able-bodied men not over 100. With annihilation confronting them, there was but one alternative. Attempted flight would mean death in the wilderness; of food they had little and none could be had by boat or from the soil or forests while the Indians lay in ambush; the local Indians in their terror were likely to become hostile; their own men were too few and inexperienced for forest warfare; averse as they were to bloodshed, the preservation of their women and children demanded that they find the lair of their enemy and destroy him.

The brief record says that it was ordered that there be an offensive war and that ninety men be levied on the plantations—Hartford 42, Windsor 30, and Wethersfield 18, under Captain Mason's command, Robert Seeley of Wethersfield, lieutenant, and the oldest sergeant next in rank. Rev. Samuel Stone was appointed chaplain by the captain. Mr. Hooker wrote Governor

Winthrop—and sundry critics of later years should have read it: “Against our minds, being constrained by necessity * * *. The Indians here, our friends, were so importunate with us to make war presently that unless we attempted something we would have delivered our persons into contempt of base fear and cowardice and caused them to turn enemies against us.”

Accompanied by Uncas and his followers, they embarked in their pink, pinnace and shallop, after a blessing by Mr. Hooker. The scanty rations were supplemented by “one good hogshead of beer for the captain, minister and sick,” and “if there be only three or four gallons of strong water, two gallons of sack.” Mr. Pynchon furnished the shallop. The agony, terror and privations of those left at home were described in a letter to Pynchon, regretting that men could not be sent from Springfield, written by Ludlow, who was in command of the home defense. At Windsor a palisade was built north of the Tunxis, with the church in the center, “the veritable shrine of Windsor history and romance.” Uncas and his men, increased to seventy, left the slow ships on the river to scout, and on their way met a band of the Pequots of whom they killed seven. Nevertheless, before Gardiner would be convinced of his loyalty, he had to go out from the Saybrook fort, kill four others and bring in a prisoner, who proved to be a former garrison interpreter and now was a spy. Uncas was permitted to put him to death by torture.

Underhill and twenty men joined Mason at the fort, thus releasing an equal number to return to the settlement, the peril of which was grave. The home government—as governments sometimes will—planned the strategy of the expedition, suggesting a direct attack upon the enemy’s main fort. Once out on the Sound, Mason told his men they would go around and attack from the east, hoping to surprise. Some counseled obedience to the government instructions, but when the chaplain prayed over the subject and announced next morning that Mason’s plan was the right one, there was cheerful acquiescence. They reached the coast near Point Judith May 21, but were detained there two days, the first because it was Sunday and the second because of high seas. At the council wigwam of Canonicus of the Narragansetts, his nephew Miantonomoh expressed his doubts of the success of so small a body but gave permission to pass, and a number of his men following them were later urged by Mason to

stand by and see what the English could do. This was not foolhardiness, as some have said; a purpose of the expedition was to overawe the natives, and Mason, with his handful of wholly untrained men, must be bold.

There was to be no waiting for the Massachusetts men who sent word they were at Providence. The boats and Surgeon Thomas Pell of Saybrook were ordered back to Pequot harbor while the men pressed on to reach the nearer of the two forts, the one at Mystic, to which, it developed, Sassacus had sent most of his warriors to have a war dance, celebrating the cowardice of Mason in passing by Pequot harbor. They were to start on the warpath the next day. Their cries and their chants were heard by the English pickets around the campfire two miles away where the English were asleep after an exhausting march of two days under a blazing sun. At dawn May 26, Chaplain Stone offered prayer and Mason advanced cautiously, he with Lieutenant Seeley and half his force toward one entrance of the stockade, Underhill toward the one at the opposite corner. A dog barked, an Indian cried, "The English!" a volley was fired through the spaces between the logs of the stockade. Mason thrust aside the brush screen at the entrance and, risking everything for surprise, charged in. From the wigwams came volleys of arrows at close range, wounding few, however, because of "special Providence," Mason wrote. The struggle now hand to hand, the tide was turning against the white men. An arrow well aimed at Mason's face was checked only by the cutting of the bowstring by William Hayden of Windsor (whose sword is now in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society). As the last desperate recourse Mason applied the torch to the wigwams, Underhill did likewise; the men, withdrawn, were posted around the stockade to prevent escape, the Mohegans back of them. Seven broke through the line, seven were captured and the rest—150, according to Winthrop,—including a very few squaws and children, were killed. The casualties among the seventy-seven white men were two killed and twenty wounded.

A few volleys dispersed a party coming from the other fort while Mason was making his way to the boats which had come into the harbor, Patrick and his forty Massachusetts men aboard them. The Indians burned the other fort and fled westward, except a few who were disposed of by Captain Stoughton and 120

Massachusetts men after Mason had embarked his wounded and part of his men. With the remainder, Mason took the trail for Saybrook. In the hour of thanksgiving at home, the victorious commander and thirty men, joined by Ludlow, were sent to assist Stoughton in overtaking the Pequots with hope of preventing their return. Most of the fugitives were surrounded in a swamp at Sasco (near Southport) and after a fierce fight were annihilated or captured. Sassacus and a few others broke through and reached the Mohawks in New York, from whom soon came their scalps as a token of good will on the part of those who had been awed. The prisoners were disposed of as slaves. Not only had this colony been saved but the story of the white men's prowess traveled fast among the tribes with results that were salutary along the seaboard.

Both Connecticut and Massachusetts believed the conquered Pequot territory belonged to them. But they were affable. When Massachusetts gave the younger Winthrop Fisher's Island, Connecticut congratulated him, and again when he acquired property around present New London. Winthrop proved to be a good Connecticut man and Connecticut finally became the recognized possessor of the Pequot country. Immediately after the war, the first treaty in America was signed at Hartford, October 1, 1638, by John Haynes, Roger Ludlow and Edward Hopkins for Connecticut, Miantonomoh for the Narragansetts and Uncas for the Mohegans by which quarrels should be referred to the English who would take up arms against any dissenter from their decision; Mohegans and Narragansetts were to destroy Pequots found guilty of bloodshed and bring their heads to the magistrates. The 200 survivors of the Pequots were to be distributed among the Narragansetts, the East Nehantics and the Mohegans, all three of which tribes should pay annual tribute, to be collected from the conquered; their territory was to be considered the property of Connecticut.

The names of those who served in the war have been obtained so far as possible by James Shepard of New Britain and are:

Hartford—Thomas Barnes, Peter Blacthford, Thomas Blatchley, William Blumfield, John Bronson, Thomas Bull, Thomas Bunce, John Clark, Michael Clark, William Cornwell, Capt. John Cullick, Sergeant Philip Davis, Michael Disbrough, Edward Elmer,* Zachariah Field, Richard Goodman, Thomas and Samuel

Hale, John Hall, Stephen Hart, William Hayden, John Hills, John Holloway, John Ince, Michael Jennings, Benjamin Munn, Thomas Munson, Thomas Olcott, Michael Olmstead,* Richard Olmstead, William Parker, William Phillips, John Pierce, William Pratt, John Purkas, Thomas Root, Robert Sanford, Arthur Smith, Thomas Stanton, George Steele, John Stanley (age 13), Thomas Spencer, John Stone, Henry Walkley, John Warner, Samuel Whitehead.

Windsor—Sergeant Benedict Alvord, Thomas Barber, Thomas Buckland, George Chappell, John Dyer, James Eggleston, Nathaniel Gillett, Thomas Gridley, John (?) Hedge, Capt. John Mason, Richard Osborne, Sergeant Nicholas Palmer, Thomas Parsons, Edward Pattison, Sergeant Thomas Staires, Aaron Stark, Thomas Stiles, William Thrall.

Wethersfield—John Clark, William Comstock, William Cross, Ensign William Goodrich, Thomas Hollybut, Jeremy Jagger, John Johnson, Nathaniel Merriman*, Sergeant John Nott, William Palmer, Robert Park, John Plumb, Robert Rose, Jr., Lieut. Robert Seeley, Samuel Sherman, Henry Smith, Samuel Smith, Thomas Standish, Sergeant Thomas Tibballs, Thomas Tracey, William Treat, Jacob Waterhouse, Richard Westcott.

Saybrook—John Gallop, Jr.*, Lieut. Lion Gardiner, Edward Lay, Capt. John Underhill, Rev. John Higginson, Saybrook chaplain, John Woods.

(Those marked [*] also served in King Philip's war.)

To the Hartford soldiers the people of the plantation set off the land given them by the grateful Indians—the site of their village in the north meadows—thereafter known as Soldiers Field. There had been no question of pay when the levy of troops was made; it was then a question of existence pure and simple. In the following September the General Court fixed a rate based on one shilling a day for common soldiers for the three weeks and five days, or twelve days for those who served only at Mystic fort, Sundays not included. A levy of £620 was made pro rata on the three plantations to defray the expenses of the war and it was ordered that the plantations must provide fifty "costlets" (corselets of heavy cotton cloth) and have them subject to inspection. Mason was appointed military officer with pay of £40 a year. All above 16 years of age were required to appear before

him for training ten days a year, and a magazine of powder and shot was to be maintained in each plantation. The first and very necessitous military organization was thus kept up, and such has been continued without break from that day to this. One immediate result was the protection which enabled New Haven colony to be developed.

V

THE CONSTITUTION FRAMED

HOOKER'S SERMON AND LUDLOW'S SKILL—EVIDENCE OF PRIORITY—OF
AND BY THE PEOPLE—PYNCHON'S DEFECTION—HARTFORD'S NAME—
THE LAWS.

It was only the culmination of progress toward the Constitution that was interrupted by the Pequot war and other exigencies. The leaders were of the same mind as when the provisional agreement was formulated by them in the Massachusetts General Court, and the exigencies were strengthening the spirit of the people. Analytical history, in sequence, instead of a disorderly collection of narratives in the first place, would have prevented the false but long popular conceptions that the Constitution was an outburst of public sentiment in 1639 and a creation of the three towns. Unmistakably, as has here been written, there had been steady growth. So sturdy was it that its first notable shoot had been put forth in this provisional agreement with the Warwick patentees in the frigid atmosphere of the government of the Bay Colony itself. Had it been otherwise, the end of that first year named in the agreement would have been the occasion of reopening of old discussions and adjustment of lines. Instead, as has been noted, the provisional General Court kept on as a matter of course and moved for the crushing of the Pequots. Its records are silent—as though considered of passing consequence—but the list of members shows there had been a popular election, since Hartford's South Side had been recognized by the choice of Thomas Welles in place of William Westwood as one of Hartford's two "committees." And so the court was carried on till the next need could be met.

That need was to be the framing of laws. Winslow had said of the Bay: "The people had long desired a body of laws and thought their condition unsafe while so much power rested in the discretion of the magistrates;" * * * "the magistrates and some of the elders" were not "very forward in this matter."

Simple as the "Fundamental Orders" read today, one can but see that, with no practical pattern to go by, the task of evolving this splendid and eternal simplicity required thought and patience. And there were more immediate needs for the plantations' inhabitants—the needs of mere physical existence. These are points that must not be forgotten; conditions should be visualized as nearly as possible.

Vaguely, the territory between Wethersfield and Windsor extended easterly to the land of the Mohegans and westerly six miles but later an indefinite distance. Sequassen and his band took up their abode in the south meadows on the land the Dutch said they had bought and where, according to their treaty, some of Sowheag's followers, under Manorlos, had a village and a small fort near the Dutch fort. (Subsequently this land was rented of the Indians, till finally divided between the North and South churches.) From the Indian fort northward extended a strip mentioned in later deeds as Pequot's Heads, where Brainard Field now is. There, according to the Indian custom, the Sequins fastened to poles the scalps of the Pequots they had helped to conquer.

For this wild spot was chosen the name Hartford, following the popular pronunciation of Hertford, one of the most ancient shires in England. This was in honor of Mr. Stone who had come from that place and was a member of St. Andrew's. It proved a worthy choice in sundry ways. For one thing there was held there the first representative meeting in the British Isles, when in 673 the Romans and Britons met and formed the first national English church, under Archbishop Theodore. In this was the inception of Parliament. At Hertford a Saxon king built the first castle to protect his people from the Danes. It remained till William the Conqueror erected on its site one of his great citadels for defense of his realm, the foundations of which are still to be seen. The present castle, built in the seventeenth century, under the direction of an ancestor of the Newberry family prominent in Windsor history, was always a favorite resort for royalty; many have bestowed costly memorials upon it. There were "Friends of Hertford" as now of Hartford. The red brick building of 1670 was their meeting place and today the store of relics attracts antiquarians. George Fox and William Penn were among those who worshipped there, and also Thomas Dinsdate,

Penn's grandson, who was the real discoverer of inoculation for smallpox. The town has the right to bear the ancient "standard of honor."

Men of means and men of education, their first thought for a free government and their church, in this new land went forth courageously to fight the Indian murderers and hurried back to resume their equally unaccustomed labors—building their houses and tilling their soil. Elder Goodwin and the few "adventurers" had spent the first winter in dugouts. The houses of 1637 were of logs banked up with clay. Even to prepare the places for them required much toil. Primeval trees had to be removed and worked up with such few tools as they had, cart paths had to be cut through the forest, and stones and dirt had to be drawn with such beasts of burden as they had brought with them. Of the homes, Mr. Hooker's was to be the best, yet not so good but that it had to be rebuilt two years later, and the church on the south side of "meeting-house yard" was completed before the builders had a place to rest their heads comfortably. This church likewise was a temporary structure.

Magistrates were obliged to work side by side with the humblest "inhabitant" while being relied upon to devise the system of government that should satisfy. In this they were subjected to further hindrance through the calls being made upon the time of their pastor. One of his toilsome expeditions to Boston was to sit in council, in 1637, in the case of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. Mr. Stone accompanied him. Mrs. Hutchinson had won everybody's esteem by her kindness and energy, for the well-being of women in particular, when she began preaching that salvation was a personal matter irrespective of church, and also that one who did not get it after trying hard was a hopeless failure in life. Her followers increased daily; excitement ran high. Mr. Hooker was called to preside over the ecclesiastical synod, a duty which kept him and Mr. Stone in Boston for three months. Eventually Mrs. Hutchinson was banished and six years later was killed by Indians during the Dutch disturbances near Greenwich.

Further distraction was caused by the important discussion in 1637 of a federation of Massachusetts and Connecticut, with Plymouth invited to participate. This was the earliest proposition for a union in America. Articles for ratification were drawn

up in August by some of the Bay magistrates, and in November of that year Massachusetts had seemed to consider them in force, even though unratified, since it passed votes relative to Pequot lands with title for Massachusetts and Connecticut,—action which, however, was repudiated in 1641. Details of the federation were not worked out till 1643. In May of busy 1638 a letter on this subject of federating was sent to Winthrop concerning a commission composed of Haynes, Pym and John Steele. Pynchon, at the meeting held the next month, expressed Agawam's desire to remain under Massachusetts government. Connecticut commissioners remarked upon the fact that as a commissioner in 1637 he had expressed apprehension that Agawam would fall within the Bay jurisdiction and thought that his change of heart must be due to a "present pang" caused by the recent censure of Connecticut.

Here was joined an issue that resulted in Agawam's falling out of the category of Constitution towns. Despite the Warwick Patent and his own official connection with the river towns, Pynchon came to lean more toward aristocracy. His people obeyed the call for "committees" from each plantation for the election court in Hartford in 1638 but he led his plantation to withdraw that year. The court at that session recognized jurisdiction by giving Pynchon a monopoly of the Indian trade at Agawam and in return Pynchon was to furnish 500 bushels of corn at a fixed rate. Failing in this he was tried in Hartford on a charge of bad faith. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, the controversy having been referred to them, found that he had violated his magisterial oath. At the April session he appeared and heard judgment that he had not been so careful as he might be, for which he was fined forty bushels of corn. A generous extension of his monopoly to include beaver skins did not operate as a balm to his wounded feelings. But what is more, he was not impressed with Mr. Hooker's plan for a commonwealth; he agreed with Winthrop that public affairs should not be submitted to the people. Energetic and forceful, he built a warehouse and dock at Enfield falls, or at what was to be called Warehouse Point, and altogether was a man of progress along other than governmental lines.

In the fall of 1638, Hooker wrote Winthrop that Connecticut jurisdiction had been recognized in Agawam when it recently had sent a culprit to be punished, and added that if Pynchon

could engage himself in a civil covenant and disregard it at his pleasure, he must find "a law for it; for it is written in no law or gospel that I ever read. The want of his help troubles me not, nor any man else I can hear of. I do assure you we know him from the bottom to the brim and follow him in all his proceedings and track him in his privy footsteps, only we would have him and all the world to understand he doth not walk in the dark for us." He may have had in mind also his Calvinism which later was to be a source of trouble to Pynchon. Winthrop wrote in his journal that a source of disagreement was that in Connecticut with its untrained civil officers "the main burden for managing of state business fell upon some one or other ministers, (as the phrase and style of their letters will clearly discover)."

February 14, 1639, (after the adoption of the Constitution), Pynchon recorded in Agawam town records an agreement executed by him creating him a magistrate in that plantation for all cases of justice subject to approval by the Massachusetts General Court. He also wrote a letter about his Connecticut affair for circulation through Connecticut towns, to which the General Court authorized a reply that his course was "very offensive and far unbeseeming one of your quality." The Windsor church disciplined him but he obtained a favorable report when he went to the Roxbury court for a review. It was ten years before Massachusetts admitted representation from Agawam to the General Court.

Enough has been told to indicate why sessions of the original General Court were only for meeting the needs of the moment, and why, as yet, no one had presented a formulated plan expressing the ideas that many were entertaining. Indicative, first, of Mr. Hooker's fearless spirit; second, of traits which had elicited Governor Winthrop's side comment just quoted, and, third, of his strengthening faith that the "despised" would yet come into their own, a brief extract from a letter from him to Governor Winthrop should be given. It was written in the fall of 1638, at the time immigration into the colony was being cut down by adverse propaganda to those "on land, to boats approaching land and those around the exchange in London," for the most of which, political and anti-democracy influence back of the Bay colony was held to be measurably responsible. Mr. Hooker wrote:

"Sir, he wants a nostril that feels not and senses not a schismatical spirit in such a framer of falsifying relations to gratify some persons and satisfy their own ends.

"Do these things argue brotherly love? Do these issue from spirits that either pity the necessities of their brethren or would that the work of God should prosper in their hands? Or rather argue quite the contrary. If these be the ways of God, or that blessing of God do follow them, I never preached God's ways nor knew what belonged to them.

"I suppose these premises will easily let any reasonable man see what the conclusion must be that men would have to follow. The misery of the men of Connecticut would be marvelously acceptable to such, and therefore there is little expectation they do desire their good, and would procure it, who are not willing any good should come to them, if all the inventions of falsehood can prevail. Worthy Sir, these are not jealousies which we needlessly raise; they are realities which passengers daily relate, and we hear and bear: I leave them in your bosom; only I confess I count it my duty, and I do publicly and privately pray against such wickedness; and the Lord hath wont to hear the prayer of the despised."

John Talcott, William Westwood and William Wadsworth were the "townsmen," like selectmen, in Hartford in this period before there was a Constitution to authorize towns. And it was to push on further and have a recorder of deeds, William Spencer, who was not authorized colony-wise till after the Constitution had directed all three plantations to organize as towns, at which time he was formally reelected. Windsor also had a dividing rivulet, but the Plymouth portion and the Great Meadow or northern portion were so much like one, after the Dorchester people had purchased, that all impression of division of territory was removed. Wethersfield was a natural unit. Whatever the minor differences, all three towns were being conducted under the principles of free and independent government. The historic sermon of Mr. Hooker, therefore, outlining such government, fell on sympathetic if not on expectant ears.

That sermon was delivered on May 31, 1638, the second anniversary of leaving Newtown, at an adjourned session of the court that had been assembled in April. As he had been the leader in the thought in Newtown, this was the formulation of his ideas with which the others were not unfamiliar. They had not been shouted from the housetops nor put down in writing while Eng-

land was jostling about as she was and the Bay was heading toward oligarchy and life-tenure. Rev. John Cotton, ecclesiastical Mussolini, was declaring that the people were not fit to rule, and Winthrop had written Hooker that it was unwise to refer matters to the people. (The world is indebted to the informal but indefatigable sermon-reporter, Henry Wolcott, Jr., of Windsor, for its knowledge of Hooker's sermon. His notes of all the sermons he reported—for his private box—were so crude as to pass unrecognized until J. Hammond Trumbull of Hartford more than two centuries afterward deciphered them and wrote them out.)

The eminent minister who had replied to Winthrop, writing, "In matters of great consequence, which concern the common good, a general council, chosen by all, to transact businesses which concern all, I conceive, under favor, most suitable to rule and most safe for relief of the whole," was to voice, on this May 31, at the session of the kind of government already built up in the wilderness and before men awaiting only the impressive wording of their convictions, that political principle which was to prevail as the ideal from that day to this, and in this present is successfully withstanding efforts to distort or destroy it.

His text was Deuteronomy I:13—God's injunction to select wise men "and known among your tribes," to be made rulers. Those who select, by God's own allowance, have the power also to limit power—"because the foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people" and "because by a free choice the hearts of the people will be more inclined to the love of the persons chosen, and more ready to yield obedience." The exhortation included: "To persuade us, as God hath given us liberty, to *take* it." The exhortation was effective; the Fundamental Orders were adopted January 24, 1639, or as soon after that sermon as circumstances, to be considered later, would admit. They probably were under discussion at the fall session and this was an adjourned session, Roger Ludlow's preeminent legal talent doubtless having been employed during the interim to bring the ideas into proper form.

The magistrates of that session, Pynchon and Smyth of Springfield having withdrawn, were: Ludlow and Phelps of Windsor, as in the first court; John Haynes and Thomas Welles of Hartford, Matthew Mitchell and John Plumb of Wethersfield. Committees were Thomas Ford, George Hull, Thomas Marshall,

John Mason, Windsor; Edward Hopkins, John Steele, John Talcott, John Webster, Hartford; John Gibbs, George Hubbard, Thomas Raynor, Andrew Ward, Wethersfield. Four of Hartford's six became governors, and one the secretary and one the treasurer of the colony. Other prominent inhabitants were within the little church—the second that was built—where the sessions were held.

The original Constitution was a simple document to meet simple needs. The preamble said the "inhabitants" and "residents" desired to establish an orderly and decent government according to God and conjoined to be as one commonwealth—no royal or other superior authority recognized—for maintaining the liberty and purity of the gospel, the discipline of the churches and the orderly conduct of civil affairs according to law. Electors should be all who had been admitted as freemen and had taken the oath of fidelity. There were to be two "General Assemblies or Courts" annually, one in April for election and one in September. Magistrates and "other public officers as shall be found requisite" should be elected by majority on ballot, one of whom should be the governor and six be magistrates, no new magistrate to be elected who had not been nominated at the preceding court, and the court should have power to increase the number. The governor should be a "member of some approved congregation" and formerly a magistrate, and was not to be chosen two years in succession. The several towns should send deputies who, after the elections, should participate in the business of the court.

The illustration of throttled rights in an England without a parliament being still before them, it was provided that in case of need the governor and magistrates could call special sessions voluntarily or on petition of a majority; if they disregarded a petition, the freemen should take full control, electing a moderator.

The deputies were to be elected by ballot in public assembly in each town, "three or four, more or less, being the number agreed upon to be chosen for that time." Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield should send four to each court, and those which later would be added as many as the court should say (a "reasonable proportion"). Deputies could assemble before court sessions to discuss matters of importance and to decide whether their own elections were legal.

The court should be the "supreme power," in legislation, admitting freemen, disposing "of lands undisposed of, to several towns or persons," and to whatever common public welfare required except elect magistrates. The governor or moderator must "give liberty of speech and silence unseasonable and disorderly speaking" and have the deciding vote in cases of tie. When a money levy had been agreed upon, a committee of equal number from each town fixed the proportion.

There was no provision for amendment and, later, changes were made by legislative acts; hence it was not a "constitution" in its strictest modern sense, but it was the first approach to such and served the purpose. The occasional sweeping criticism that this was not a democracy because it required qualifications for electors is as true of the government today as it was then.

As Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin has said, "Historians generally concede that this was the first written constitution of representative government ordained by men." Analysis and comparison with a few kindred documents confirm this. A government compilation entitled "The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters and other Organic Laws of the States, Territories and Colonies," published under the editorship of Francis Newton Thorpe as a House document in the congressional session of 1909, gives the "ordinance and constitution of the treasurer, council and company in England for a council of state and general assembly" in Virginia, dated July 24, 1621, which recognizes royal power; Virginia's first assembly had been convened by the royal governor, Yeardley, in 1618, supposedly (the document is lost) under instructions from the Virginia Company in England similar to those in the later ordinance of 1621, making America's first legislative assembly. This is not a constitution of representative government of and by the people, recognizing no higher human power; on the contrary, noteworthy as it is in American history as the first of its kind, it is under permission and by direction of a higher power in England. Connecticut is unique in never having had a royal governor. The Constitution did not have to be changed in character when American independence was declared. Howard Lee McBain, another authority who has made the study of the history of constitutions and government his special study, says in his book "Government and Politics in Virginia," published in Richmond, Va., in 1922, that the "first con-

stitution of Virginia" was adopted in 1776,—meaning a constitution of representative government.

Edward Channing of Harvard, a profound historian, voices the same sentiment as did P. G. Palfrey before him when, in his history of the United States published in 1905, he says of the Fundamental Orders that they "enjoy the distinction of being the first written political constitution in which the functions of government are formulated in detail." He finds only the Pilgrims' compact on the *Mayflower* for comparison and says of that: "The earlier Pilgrim compact and the fundamental laws of the Rhode Island towns were rather in the nature of social compacts and followed closely the phraseology of the church covenants of that time. The Connecticut orders, on the other hand, are phrased like the later constitutions and have their rise in legal and not in ecclesiastical precedents."

Other judgments are: "Green's History of the English People"—"The eleven Fundamental Orders of Connecticut with their preamble present the first example in history of a written constitution." Historian John Fiske—"The government of the United States today is in lineal descent more nearly related to that of Connecticut than to any other of the thirteen colonies." Prof. Alexander Johnston—"The birthplace of American Democracy is Hartford."

(Special emphasis has been laid upon this because of a tendency of the age to disregard established facts in history. This is illustrated by a circular published in magazines this year of 1928 and sent to schools and colleges for aid of students who shall enter an essay contest arranged by a syndicate of newspapers on the subject of constitutions. The documents when studied leave no room for disagreement; each has its particular merit. Governor—and former Chief Justice—Baldwin said further: "It is the glory of Connecticut that she made for herself the first real constitution, in the modern sense, known to mankind.")

It has been shown that the Constitution was a development. The methods of the plantation form of government had been carried forward. A notable change was in this, that hereafter there would be suffrage qualification. There still was no requirement of church membership, as in Massachusetts and New Haven, but towns must be established and the only qualified voters were

those who had been "admitted" and who took the oath of fidelity. Therein was one of the fundamental principles of the present day. Obviously the first step for the inhabitants was to gain the necessary status. The power to "admit," later shared by the towns, rested with the court alone. February 18 it held a special session and it would appear that many, including those who served as magistrates and deputies, were sworn early. The first election was on April 11, 1639, when John Haynes (lately governor in Massachusetts) was elected governor; Roger Ludlow deputy governor, and George Wyllys, Edward Hopkins, Thomas Welles, John Webster and William Phelps magistrates, together with twelve representatives or deputies, four from each town. All were freemen who had the certificate of the majority of the deputies of each town and the approval of the General Court. In reality, the town records show, the deputies had been elected as "committees" as by the old style, it not yet having been possible to organize the towns.

Then the Constitution spoke of "laws" but there was no code. Such must be prepared, and Wyllys, Webster (ancestor of the great lexicographer) and Spencer were appointed to prepare it, examining the former "orders and laws" and delivering for manuscript publication in the towns those of "public concernment." They must be read publicly each year. Towns were given power to dispose of their own undisposed-of land "and all other commodities arising out of their own limits bounded out by the court." Then the Original Proprietors were organized.

Town organization commanded early attention. As already told, Hartford had elected townsmen and also a registrar who had to be reelected in October because it was not till then that the General Court, acting under the Constitution, directed that there be such an officer or clerk in each town. Spencer died and was succeeded by John Steele in April following. At Hartford's first town meeting, December 26, 1639, Edward Hopkins, Thomas Welles, John Steele and John Talcott were chosen to assist the townsmen. In Windsor, Bray Rosseter was chosen town clerk (or registrar) in 1640 and the plantation probably had had no townsmen, its whole town organization dating from the adoption of the Constitution. Mr. Hills, Mr. Gaylord, Thomas Ford, Bray Rosseter, Thomas Thornton, Henry Wolcott and John Moore were chosen to look after the affairs of the town in 1642, Mr. Hill

to be moderator. The Wethersfield records are incomplete. Matthew Mitchell was the first town clerk. The constables and townsmen were elected annually; the other officers were surveyors, herdsman, fence-viewers, chimney-viewers and the like.

Power also was given to establish town courts. Henceforth the plantations were formally towns. And in 1640 the General Court suggested methods for plantations and provided that when plantations came to be "at charge to maintain officers within themselves, then other considerations may be had by the court." "Under the original Fundamental Orders, under the charter and under the Constitution of 1818," said the eminent lawyer Henry C. Robinson, "the towns have had no power except as it was given them by the organic law of the General Court."

The last order of the court in October recognized the value of history and of censored publicity for it was to the effect that certain men work individually and together to bring to the court any remarkable instances of God's providence from the beginning of the settlements and the court would cause to be recorded all that should be judged worthy, after they had been censored and edited.

The court organized a particular court of magistrates, meeting more frequently than the General Court and less formal. In 1647 it consisted of the governor, deputy-governor and two magistrates, and cases could be submitted to a jury of six or twelve. Minor cases could be tried in town courts before three, five or six townsmen. The statutes were not printed till 1673; after that, every household was required to have a copy.

Under appointment from the General Court, Ludlow completed his historic code in 1650, and received for his four years' hard work £6. Of the seventy-three articles, fourteen were from the Massachusetts Body of Liberties. In 1854, fifty-eight of his titles were still in use. One of the foundation stones—what has been called the colony's Magna Charta—was the Bill of Rights containing the provision that no man could be deprived of his rights, privileges or belongings except by law, or, if the law were defective, by the word of God. The Legislature was supreme even over the judiciary, but eventually the courts established their power to pass on the constitutionality of the laws.

Offenses punishable by death were idolatry, witchcraft, blasphemy, murder, bestiality, adultery, rape, kidnapping, perjury,

rebellion against parents, burglary and theft on third indictment, and arson endangering life. The gallows were used for purposes besides execution. Culprits were sometimes sentenced to sit on the platform with a noose around their necks. For burglary first offense, the culprit was branded with a capital "B" and an ear was nailed to a board and cut off, after which ten stripes were given on the naked back; for the second offense, the other ear was cut off, twenty-five stripes were administered and another "B" was branded, and for third offense, hanging. The number of capital crimes was very much less than in England. Sitting in stocks near the church and "riding the wooden horse" (a rough rail) in Meeting-house Yard were forms of publicity intended to have a salutary effect. Especially severe were the penalties for offense against the Sabbath and for malicious gossip and lying. The court formulated grounds for divorce before divorces were granted in any country; the causes enumerated in the revision of 1677 were much like those of today.

Ludlow, the so-called "father of Connecticut jurisprudence," had seen the fertile fields of Fairfield when on the expedition to overtake the remnants of the Pequots, and after he had been chosen to only second position in the colony—Haynes winning first position over him as he had done in Massachusetts—he took Windsor and other people with him in 1640 to make a settlement in Fairfield, removing his residence thither somewhat later. In 1654, after completing his code, he was censured by New Haven for having utilized the Indians in trying to stand off the approaches of the Dutch into this territory, which territory New Haven laid claim to. Provoked with the New Haven attitude, he went to Virginia to see his brother and then to England where he was made lieutenant-general in Cromwell's forces, and eventually to Dublin as commissioner for administration of justice. Cromwell was seeking to have conditions in Ireland such that Puritans would be drawn there. This period of the law-giver's life is shrouded in mystery. He died in Michan's parish about 1659.

VI

HOMES, CUSTOMS, INDUSTRIES

CHURCH, THEN INNS FOR GENERAL COURT—SERIOUS CALL FOR DOCTORS
—LIQUOR, TOBACCO AND OTHER LEGISLATION—SHIPMENTS AND IM-
PORTS—NEW ENGLAND TOWNS AROUND CHURCHES—SOCIAL DIVER-
SIONS—THE FIRST TAVERNS.

The daily life of these pioneers, their endeavor to adhere to English principles in dividing the unbroken soil and their adaptation of English law to wilderness conditions were not materially different from those of other pioneers, but inasmuch as world-wide attention is drawn to them as government builders, whatever reveals their character and general method is of value. As a group of high type and with comparatively few servants, they are worthy of study. There were fifty or sixty families, numbering in all about 250 souls.

The land they acquired by the original deed, from Wethersfield to Windsor, extended westerly six miles. At request of Haynes and other magistrates this territory was enlarged to run as far west as Sequassen's country extended, an agreement being made with Sachem Pethus of the Tunxis Indians that a tract in present Farmington be reserved for his tribe or group. All three of the towns bought on the east side of the river "into the wilderness," meaning to the uncertain boundary of the Mohegans, but not including all the land of the Podunks in East Hartford and South Windsor. When the deed was confirmed by Sequassen's heirs, including his sister Wawarme, in 1670, the proprietors were taxed to pay the surviving Indians the value of their holdings in the South Meadow.

The first church they built was about at the corner of Central Row and Prospect Street. The minister's first house was about where the plant of the Taylor & Fenn Company is now located, on Arch Street, south of the rear part of the Hunt Memorial land. A lane led from the house to the church. Rev. Samuel Stone's house was just across this lane from Mr. Hooker's, on land now occupied in part by the Municipal building and the *Times* building. The lane extended southeasterly from the church corner.

Prospect Street was not laid out till 1788. State Street, an original highway, extended only to Front Street, not being extended to the river till 1800. The accompanying maps of Dr. Love and Engineer Porter show the locations of the individual settlers.

All title till the Revolution was nominally feudal, subject to the title of the Crown. The commons were divided by drawing numbers, usually by the proprietors or their heirs. Large ox pastures were owned by the proprietors or their heirs but the town appointed herdsmen. On the east side of the Connecticut, the entire section from Main Street, East Hartford, to the original line, laid out in 1641, was allotted to the proprietors in 1666 as one tier.

The north and south lines of Meeting-house Yard were back some fifty feet from where they now are, even almost to present Grove Street and to Kinsley Street. The second meeting-house, begun in 1638, was near this line a rod or so west of the first one. About fifty feet square, it had a truncated pyramidal roof surmounted by a tower and turret, and with galleries, according to the best type of the day. It was in this that the Constitution was adopted, though the costly building was not completed till 1641. In April a bell from Cambridge was added. The second floor was used as an arsenal, later as the court chamber and then by the magistrates only, after the General Court was fully organized. The sittings were arranged, as in all churches, according to the social standing of the church members, and at the doors guards were posted. The stocks were in the yard in front. The burying ground was just beyond, but soon to be abandoned for the one where the society's present edifice stands. The former meeting-house was removed to Mr. Hooker's lot where he utilized it as a barn. He also was provided with a new residence with an upper story, the front part of which included an extension over the front door for his study.

The branches of Little (Park) River were Hog River from the southwest and Wood's River from the northwest. To the southwest of their junction was Rocky Ridge, now surmounted by Trinity College. A town common where hogs were raised was on the west side of Hog River and an ox pasture south of Farmington Avenue to Little River, that part of it along Forest Street coming to be known as Nook Farm because of the northerly bend of Little River after the two branches joined, thereby

making the nook. Across Wood's River was Ridge Field and north of that another town common, extending to the West Division (West Hartford) boundary. North of Farmington Avenue were a pasture and swamps. A. L. Washburn locates the first gallows near the corner of present Albany Avenue and Garden Street. Kiln Brook, which was to take its name from the first brick kilns—later called Gully Brook and now covered over—flowed from the north across present Garden Street by the present railroad station, through Allyn's swamp to Little River near the present stepping stones.

The western territory was apportioned in 1638 among twenty of the original grantees, a total of 500 acres. One portion of the southwest division west of Sigourney Street went to John Haynes of which 100 acres were sold to his son, Rev. Joseph Haynes, including the Nook Farm. This descended to his son, Judge John Haynes, and in 1713, on the death of the judge, was inventoried at £100. Descendants of the Haynes family today have a residence in the Nook Farm section.

Before these apportionments were made, the original proprietors had come together to determine who among the legal "inhabitants" had the rights of proprietors in the original land—whether those who had shared in the taxation or only the stockholders in the settlement undertaking. Not all the early settlers were technically proprietors nor yet all the "inhabitants;" having arrived later, these others received their grants "by courtesy." It was necessary to work out a new method of preserving land records since these men were the first owners to hold, distribute and devise. Title must be established in some way hitherto unknown to the Englishmen. Hence the law that each owner make public record. The land was allotted according to agreement entered in the town book January 13, 1639 (O. S.). From 160 acres to John Haynes, the individual amounts ran down to six for William Pratt and others.

The first step toward establishing a town farm for the poor was taken in March, 1640, when twenty acres were set apart for the purpose east of the river. The town had been very careful to guard against impecunious strangers. In 1636 the heads of families were forbidden to entertain newcomers without the consent of the selectmen. No unmarried men without a servant could keep house except by permission. In 1639 anyone entertaining a

stranger without consent of the selectmen became liable for any cost or trouble to the town. Among those coming from England were not a few who were attracted by the trading possibilities, and not meeting with success they became dependents. The head of every family was held strictly responsible for the conduct of everyone under his roof. By 1667 the Assembly voted to prohibit the entertaining of strangers and anyone ordered away and not obeying became subject to fine and corporal punishment, because of "unjust disturbance" made by certain newcomers. The purpose was to prevent public charges. Until 1773 the court alone decided all differences relative to strangers and to providing for the poor; that year it passed the whole matter over to the towns to decide and to bear the burden.

With this same intent to prevent brawling and to check poverty, local and colonial regulations of traffic in liquor were adopted. Complaints had multiplied till in 1647 the court prohibited anyone's drinking in a public house for more than half an hour, nor could "strong water" be sold to anyone outside without written permission. Restrictive legislation was useless. In 1654 the court greatly lamented the disgrace and danger drunkenness was bringing upon the colony. All selling or giving to Indians was forbidden and a universal high price was set on sales to anyone. The Ludlow code forbade "licensed persons" to suffer patrons to drink to excess, "viz., above one-half pint of wyne for one person at one time," to drink more than half an hour or after nine in the evening. Travelers were excepted. When David Porter of Hartford was drowned, the bill paid included expenses for recovery and burial of the body, including liquor for those who dived for him, for those who brought him home and for the jury of inquest. Eight gallons and three quarts of wine and a barrel of cider were bought for the funeral. His winding sheet and coffin cost 30 shillings, but the liquors cost more than twice that sum. Like funeral methods were continued until well into the nineteenth century in certain localities and then there was protest against so inhospitable reformation. One old gentleman is quoted as having lamented that "temperance had done for funerals." In 1654 the court ordered that the excessively pernicious rum that was coming in from the West Indies be confiscated. And in general, the whole category of prohibitions was exhausted—in those days a century before the clergy themselves

drank at installations and everyone drank on training days. In 1727 the General Assembly in a resolution deplored the "ruination and debauchery" but continued that upon consideration of "a memorial of the Reverend Trustees of Yale College," it was granted that the "impost income from Rhum for a year be for the use, benefit and support of the College."

§

Founders of the world's "Insurance City," they had an eye to fire prevention. In each house, under inspection of one detailed for that purpose, a fireplace was almost a room unto itself, walled in and ceiled with stone cleverly hewn by hands that had known no such toil at home. A little later on, after one or two frights, chimney sweeps were appointed and every house must have a bucket and a ladder, just as each householder must have fire-arms and powder.

The remedy for such peril suggested by the Indians was that they cease to build houses but instead live in wigwams. To this the settlers were as deaf as they were to instructions the natives gave in the use of the stone mortar and pestle for crushing the corn the natives had taught them to raise. "Mass production" was as much the cry then as it is today. The energetic but not always smooth-tempered Matthew Allyn opened the way for Connecticut industries by building a saw and grist mill in 1636 on Kiln Brook near its junction with Little River, and his name was given to an island near that point. After nine years Allyn had a falling-out with the church, removed to Windsor and there bought the original Plymouth property. One of his descendants gave the Corning fountain which stands about where Allyn's Island was, now a part of Bushnell Park. Before leaving, Allyn had supplemented his mill with another at the low falls near present Hudson Street. Parts of the dam he built, over which the water flowed for many generations of mills, down to Daniels' of modern times, were found when the park board cleared up the stream recently. And by vote a bridge twelve feet wide was thrown across the river, in Allyn's time, below the dam and near the palisade, at a point which was to become the mercantile center. When in 1656 greater facilities were required, the town voted for a new mill there and combined with Edward Hopkins,

general benefactor, to build one, the cost to be borne by the inhabitants according to their proprietary interest in the mills—shares to pass by deed or will and the mills to be run by a committee. In 1819, after the shares had been bought up and passed on to various individuals, they became (Ira) Todd's Mills and included a clothiers' and carding mill. A finishing mill, conducted by Reuben Wadsworth and James Taylor, located on the south bank, was bought by Todd. Part interest in this he sold to Leonard Daniels who by 1838 had acquired interests owned by others, except that which had been bequeathed by William Stanley to the South Church.

The only rival of this section as a mill center in the seventeenth century was the mill a short distance above Allyn's mill, near where the State Armory is now. It was built by John Allen and John Bidwell in 1681 for grinding and sawing. Maintained and enlarged by successive owners it acquired the name of Imlay's Mills from William H. Imlay, who owned the plant in 1820.

Hardly second in importance to meal and lumber were bricks. Most of the early towns of the county found that the soil was well adapted for the making of them. For a long time there was no better place for the manufacture than on Kiln Brook, north of the present railroad station and not far from Allyn's mill. The land was swampy and the little stream was an aid. Individuals went there and made their brick as others would go into the forest and cut their wood. In 1685 the court gave Evan Davy right to establish a kiln in the highway southwest of where the Capitol stands and near the site of John Allen's mill. There was a swale at that point both sides of the stream, with a brook running in from the south.

Forest and stream were teeming with the best kind of food, but few of the Englishmen knew much about hunting or fishing. They were dependent mostly upon the Indians for food of that kind and also for hides, the need of which was immediately apparent, since their clothing was ill adapted for frontier toil. The hides were made into trousers, jackets and caps and their value can be judged by the law providing for a fine in case the good wife's knife slipped when cutting to pattern. It is not to be wondered at that in 1641 the General Court ordered that hemp and flax be planted by every family and also that cotton be imported.

That was the same year that it was prescribed that all hides must be carefully cured and also that no calves should be slaughtered without consent of the town officials. Another twenty years and there were public inspectors of woollen yarn in each town, and, what is more, the price to be paid weavers for yarn was fixed. Then cotton was mixed with the yarn. Fulling mills began to spring up along many streams later in the century. One of the largest of them was in Burnside, owned by William Pitkin.

It being easier to travel by sea than by land, seamanship soon developed and with it traffic with neighboring colonies and the remote Indies. Imports included the new American thing, tobacco, and that created an evil almost as reprehensible as rum. One of the early enactments prohibited the "drinking" of tobacco except that grown within the "liberties." There is difference of opinion as to the meaning of the words thus used, while the list of substitutes for Jamaica rum after it was tabooed has not been revealed. Previously it had been ordered that young people should not use tobacco and the length of time one could smoke was limited. In 1647 the age limit was fixed at twenty except when doctors furnished a certificate. No smoking was allowed on the roads or in the fields unless one were on a journey of at least forty miles. One could smoke at dinner, not more than once a day and then not in company with anyone unless the other smoked.

Doctors' certificates were not easy to obtain. Rev. Samuel Stone was not the only one who lamented the lack of medical advisers. No one could practice without a permit from the General Court; from its inception Connecticut has been watchful over the public health. The first doctor was Bray Rosseter of Windsor, admitted in 1636, and it was to him that Mr. Stone had to go in 1656. Hartford paid the bill of £10 for "pissick." The next year Mr. Stone made it a condition of his returning from Boston to Hartford that an able physician be engaged to settle there, if it were possible to get one. Not that Dr. Rosseter was not a capable man; he was magistrate and town clerk and he performed the first autopsy ever recorded in New England, but he was too far away. By the records it would appear that Hartford had an official physician in the person of Dr. Thomas Lord who in 1652 had been licensed and had been given a schedule of fees he could charge in addition to the bonus of £15 a year from

the county. The fees were: For visits in Hartford, 12 pence; in Windsor, 5 shillings; in Wethersfield, 3 shillings, and in Farmington, 6 shillings. He died in Wethersfield in 1662. Governor John Winthrop, Jr., himself was a physician of parts but he gave more time to affairs of state than to medicine.

The great shipping industry which was to develop began with the action of the General Court in 1642 when it authorized the river towns to coöperate in building a ship, probably at Hartford. The next mention of a ship is in 1649 when the court authorized Samuel Smith and other owners to get enough pipestaves, or barrel staves, from outside the town to freight "the ship" on its first voyage. The ship was probably built by Thomas Deming of Wethersfield who had been granted privileges at the cove in that town where ship-building was carried on till recent years. The name of his ship was the *Tryall*. The traffic in pipestaves was most profitable for many years for all the towns. While England was the best market for the noble masts the county could furnish, the West Indies was the best for the staves; they were exchanged for hogsheads of molasses and sugar and for some ports rum.

The increasing traffic likewise brought in luxuries and fineries of which the women long had been deprived. Soon it came about that the court was obliged to take cognizance of the complaint from the different towns or churches; women were coming to meeting in apparel that was scandalous; from outward appearances it was difficult to distinguish those in the back pews from those entitled to sit farther forward. "Sad stuff" was the chief material for gowns. One woman wrote to a friend: "She have 3 pieces of stuff but I think there is one you would like for yourself. It is pretty sad stuff but it have a thread of white in it." Legislation restored the equilibrium. Now and then a Negro appeared as a servant in the families of the well-to-do, having been bought in the Indies or in southern ports. Seats in the church gallery were reserved for them.

Foreign trade was beginning to bring strangers whose character had not been molded in the same way that the original congregation's had been. The first "Americanization" by those who so recently had originated that name had to be severe. There were no precedents or societies, no psychological, humanitarian, or other data to guide. Under a patent for "lords and gentle-

men," their one rule had been admission by authorities who examined applicants as to their honorable intent, their inclination to work and their regard for the Bible, the book only recently available for the people. From the beginning to the present the publishers have reported that book the "best seller," but that earliest period cannot be excepted—one must judge—from the general statement that it is not the best read and comprehended. New England was proceeding to lay the foundations of its reputation for making laws, by the people, and then compelling submission to them by all who would remain within the gates.

The stocks, the wooden horse and sitting on the gallows platform had been sufficient corrective till the new element came in with indiscriminate trade and the need for more workers and extension of colony bounds. To apply a stronger arm for law, the General Court in 1640 ordered the building of a house of correction. It was located in the Meeting-house Yard near the corner of present State and Market streets, twenty-four feet by sixteen, with a cellar and dungeon. Some of the prisoners worked to maintain themselves and provided their own furnishings. Criminals from all parts of the colony were confined there; those who were to be executed were taken to Gallows Hill, or Rocky Hill, near where Trinity College is located. The percentage of ordinary offenders and criminals could not have been excessive, for there was no enlargement of the building till 1664 or after the colony came to include the whole present state. When the reformatory methods began to develop early in the next century, the General Court voted for a colony workhouse for "rogues, vagabonds, sturdy beggars, and other lewd, idle, dissolute, profane and disorderly persons." This included rebellious children and slanderers. The penalty for slander always was severe.

The workhouse was built in 1727 at the southwest corner of Pearl and Trumbull streets, where the inmates immediately began to complain that punishment was excessive because the building was "so retired and in back part of the town, so seldom frequented by any inhabitants." It was not self-supporting and therefore in 1742 Hartford County was directed to transfer its inmates to the jail. There they remained till the workhouse plan was revived in 1750, one building in each county. The former building was brought into service again, a new jail was built on the south part of the lot and the old one was sold. A yard was

built around the whole when British prisoners were confined there in 1776. In 1792 a new county jail was built on the same site. On the upper floors was a tavern, called "City Hall," for paying-inmates, and also rooms for committee meetings. In 1836 this building was sold to Case, Tiffany and Company who in 1866 replaced it with their large building for printing and binding, now in turn torn down after the present Case, Lockwood and Brainard Company has erected another new building adjoining on the south. The new jail, built in 1837 at a point on Pearl Street (No. 60 then) a little to the west of the old site, was occupied till the present structure on Seyms Street was built in 1874.

Reference has been made to the watchfulness of the church, natural enough when we keep in mind why these settlers took desperate chances and came to America. The often criticised regulations were more liberal than in any other colony. A man had the suffrage whether or no he was a church member. And yet there were certain stipulations he must observe or these prison doors would yawn for him. Of course he had no vote in church matters, but he must pay tax for the support of the church. The minister's stipend must be paid; neglect of that aroused the General Court, as is illustrated in the history of Simsbury, given elsewhere. There were fines for not attending church,—3 shillings for absence from regular services, 5 shillings for absence from service on fasting days and for thanksgiving. Nor could one attend any but the regular church under penalty of a fine of £5, and civil authorities must see to it that all churches were regular. There were church services most of the day Sundays and a service on Tuesday, which likewise was the day for punishment in the stocks, when the culprits might be seen by all.

Along this line of church influence and church support may be found the reason for the now much discussed distinction of New England for the number of its towns and villages so near together, and for the exceptional proportion of descendants who have remained on the original soil. It is plainly written in the real history of every one of Hartford County's towns. These settlers were accustomed to short distances and anything but rocky, forest trails. When inspired by an ideal, 300 of them could march 150 miles from Boston to Hartford; they were averse to walking or riding three miles to church on Sunday—and, let us add, under legal compulsion. Their idea of the neces-

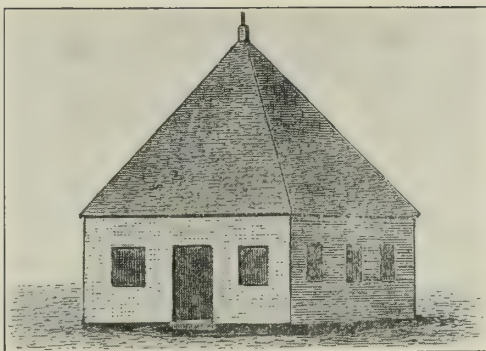
sary size of a farm was in reverse ratio. A hundred acres was none too much; consequently there were many in every settlement who would travel out into the forest a few miles, acquire title on small payment to proprietors or Indians, and soon, over an area of a few hundred acres, there would be another settlement. It would come a petition to the General Court for "winter privileges," or the right to hold services somewhere in their neighborhood through the severe winter months, their leader to be such as the parent church should designate, if there was no one among themselves. In time there would be application to form a church and build, thereby saving travel the year around. Only on approval of the parent society was this granted. The choice of a site must be satisfactory to the court. If the settlers themselves were fully agreed, decision by the court was a matter of form. But the chances were that the dozen or fifteen adventurers were of different minds. Oddly enough the site usually selected was on the top of a hill; the tapering spires of old New England churches today stand out like so many liberty poles and add to the country's charm. It is prehistoric to set a temple on a hill. Disagreement over what would be the real center as the community grew started feuds that might last lifetimes. A special committee of the General Court—usually headed by Worshipful John Talcott in Hartford County—was kept busy deciding these disputes. Frequently it was necessary to bring the full power of the court into action before building could begin at the site designated.

Obviously newcomers would wish to build within reasonable distance of the church—a literally "established" church. Then yielding to some motive or other, perhaps the result of his own explorations, a man would venture beyond the convenient radius, and the whole process from "winter privileges" on to full townhood would be repeated. Towns thus made were dear to the descendants who made them; they might not be commercially profitable; many traveled to western homes, but, as the eminent Washington statistician, Ales Hrdlicka, has commented, a record of devotion to ancestral belongings has been established, both by those who never went away and by those who have been away and have returned. Evidence of this in town records, on the muster rolls of all the wars and in the names one hears today is abundant. Therein is a tribute and an enviable asset.

These people whom the world would know more about than it does were not gregarious. Nothing is more false to history than the old-time conception of the "solemn-visaged Puritan." The visages handed down to us have usually been those of elderly men well worn out by their exhausting pioneer experiences; occasionally we have one of the younger type, and the expression is far different. They were intensely sociable and hospitable, let their protective laws be what they would—and they compare most favorably with those of any other peoples of that century. If there was an excuse for getting together, as at a fair, on a training day or an election day, or at a house-raising, and they could satisfy their consciences that it was all a part of the "day's work," they would get up long before daybreak and travel rough miles, horse-back or afoot, to improve it.

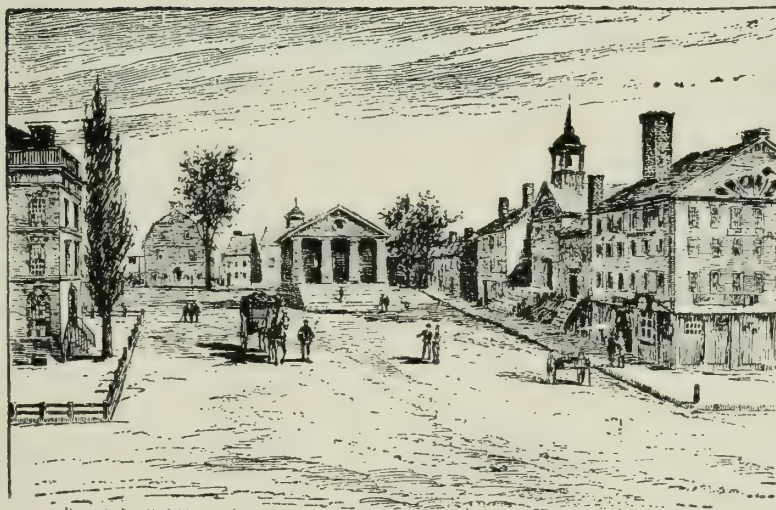
It was in the early '40s, when Hartford had a bell-ringer and town crier who an hour before sunrise patrolled the streets and everybody must be up and have a light fifteen minutes after this warning, just as everybody must be ready to go to bed when the curfew bell sounded at 9 o'clock,—it was in as early days as that that the court authorized public market on Wednesdays, for all manner of commodities that could be brought in and for cattle and general merchandise. For years after that, such market was maintained at the southeast corner of Meeting-house Yard. It is conspicuous in our picture of the yard in 1820. Two years later the plan of two fairs a year, in May and September, was inaugurated by the same paternal court. They furnished the excuse for everybody to come to Hartford.

This was more than a part of the day's work; it was more profitable than the work of many days—perhaps the profit of a whole season. Originally it was a matter of barter and exchange. Beaver skins were the most valuable commodity. Monopoly of trade with Indians was given to certain men in each settlement in order to secure more orderly trade and greater stability of price, and moreover there could be better accounting with the representatives of the patentees who bought the original permission to locate here. What with barter, and with only wampum and skins for currency and with uncertainty as to what articles and especially what colors would most appeal to the savages, it was essential that there be coöperative buying and selling. Further, the opportunity was offered to dispose of the many home-



(From Barber's "Historical Collections")

FIRST MEETING-HOUSE BUILT IN CONNECTICUT



(From an old-time engraving)

STATEHOUSE SQUARE IN 1825

View from Main Street. Left: Statehouse, the Hartford Hotel, paint shop and the public market. Right: Central Row, front corner Museum and Times Building, branch of United States Bank, Universalist Church (practically the site of Connecticut's earliest church building), grocery and dwelling, at corner of "Ministers' Lane," now Prospect Street.

made articles in exchange for a season's supply of household essentials.

Edward Hopkins and William Whiting were among the earliest to whom monopoly in skins and corn was granted. A good hoe could bring them a supply of corn equal to one family's requirement for two months, at the end of which time a fresh order of hoes could arrive from England. A bright red bit of raiment or a crude toilet article would rate much higher in Indian barter than shoes or coats or other necessities of civilization. The purchasing power of a torn lace frill in Hartford, Conn., was as great as that of a £10 note in Hertford, England. The frill transmuted into a beaver skin and the skin into a few bales of gay ribbons and beads, the round of profit was begun.

The largest estate inventoried up to 1647 was that of William Whiting. In addition to interests in England, Pistaquay, Va., Waranoke and Long Island, he had at home: In wampum, £39,105; ammunition, £7, 10 shillings; 2 racoon coats, 1 wolf-skin coat; 4 bear skins; 3 moose skins; beaver, moose and wampum, £250; hoes, hatchets, shoes, nails, pins, paper, bottles, brass ladles, brushes, bells, thimbles, boxes, knives, scissors, combs, jewsharps, brass kettles and the like; in dry-goods, shag cotton, stockings, hollands, twenty-five yards of green tammy and 13 pieces of duffles. His house and lands in Hartford were worth £400, and property in Windsor, £300. Total inventory, £42,854.

Training days were no less important than fair days. John Adams counted them among the factors which made New England. It gave the men their only opportunity for coming together without thought of business or routine work—but, in those days preceding a century of wars, not without a very definite purpose, which purpose was literal and direct protection of home. The rank of commissioned officer was one of the highest honors. From the first year, as has been noted, there had been guns and ammunition in every house and frequent drilling, by specific command of the General Court. After the war Mason was made commander-in-chief for the colony with rank of major. The federal Government, in its records, dates the beginning of the present military establishment from the law of 1739 when the militia of all the state was organized into regiments and brigades. Organization was perfected in 1637 and the only war in the state was won; all after that was a development.

The code of 1650 formally provided for military affairs. All men between the ages of 16 and 66 must keep in a state of preparedness and must train each month except in winter-time. After 1654, there was general muster every other year. There were pikemen wearing padded corselets as protection against arrows, and musketeers. In 1680 there were 835 trained infantrymen and sixty horsemen. On training days, after morning inspections and the afternoon reviews, the ladies entertained most hospitably. Every house was thrown open. The only musical instruments allowed were drums, fifes, trumpets and jewsharps. Nothing was known of dancing, cards, bowls, shuffleboards and theatricals. On election days and at house-raising, the social functions were much the same. And as time went on there were picnics in the summer, husking-bees in the fall and straw rides and quilting parties in the winter.

What with the strict regulations on entertaining strangers without permission, the General Court was in duty bound to encourage inns. In 1644 it decreed that each town should have such a place for the accommodation of travelers, and at about the same time it forsook the church as a sessions chamber and met at an inn recently opened at the southwest corner of State and Front streets by Deputy Thomas Ford of Windsor, the first inn in the colony. In 1661 Jeremy Addams had a house and lot of about three acres on Main Street which had been a part of the original property of John Steele. That year he mortgaged it to the colony and was permitted to make an "ordinary" of it on condition that he keep it up well. The license was perpetual and irrevocable. From that time for fifty years the General Court had special quarters there. In addition to the regulations previously mentioned for the sale of "strong water," he must be assiduous in attention to any guest.

"He was not to challenge a lordlie authority over him, but clean otherwise, since any man may use the inne as his owne house, and have for monie how great and how little varietie of vittels and what other service himselfe shall think expedient to call for, and have clean sheets to lie in wherein no man had been lodged since they came from the landresse, and have a servante to kindle his fire and one to pull on his boots and make them clean, and have the hoste and hostess to visit him, and to eat with the hoste, or at a common table if he pleases, or eat in his chamber, commanding what meat

he will according to his appetite. Yea, the kitchen being open to him to order the meat to be dressed as he liketh it best."

In 1680 Addams surrendered the property to satisfy the mortgage, yet arrangement was made so that two years later he transferred all his rights, by "turf and twig," to his son-in-law Zachary Sanford. At Adams' death in 1685 the colony formally sold the inn to Sanford, the court continuing to sit there. When Sanford died in 1713 it passed to his daughter Sarah, wife of Jonathan Bunce. Mr. Bunce dying in 1717, the property passed to Samuel Flagg, husband of Sarah Bunce, who in 1733 replaced it by the famous Black Horse Tavern, nearer the present street line, for fifty years the most celebrated hostlery in the county, or until Mr. Flagg's death and the dedication of the wonderful Bunch of Grapes Tavern, kept for many years by the redoubtable tory David Bull near the present corner of Main and Asylum streets. Capt. John Chevenard, Flagg's son-in-law, inherited the property which remained in his family till sold for the site of the Universalist Church in 1859, from which society the Travelers Insurance Company bought it in 1905 for the site of the first of its series of massive buildings. There was significance in the name of the new owner of the spot once set apart for travelers. On Mr. Bunce's death the court removed to Caleb Williamson's new tavern which was on the site of the Travelers' old building on Prospect Street, later the property of Oliver Wolcott, Jr., secretary of the treasury under Washington and Adams and afterward governor.

VII

AMERICA'S FIRST FEDERATION

UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND—THE GREAT BOUNDARY WAR—
INDIAN PROBLEMS—EXECUTION OF MIANTONOMOH—ARBITRATION
OVER DUTCH CLAIMS—HISTORY OF THE FORT.

It is said truly that the whole history of Connecticut is the history of representative government. This distinction is emphasized again in the organizing of the United Colonies of New England. Action which had been interrupted by the Pequot war and the boundary dispute was completed September 7, 1643, when the representatives of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven signed articles of agreement. The document, though differing in some fundamentals due to its earlier date, and in its seventeenth-century religious cast, is strikingly suggestive of the confederation of the United States in 1781. It was the first pact of the sort in America. Each colony retained its autonomy, on Hooker's suggestion and against the idea of Winthrop of Massachusetts, and was to be represented by two commissioners.

Provisions were that a three-fourths vote was enough to settle all "affairs of war and peace leagues" and apportion contributions of men and supplies; if three-fourths were not obtainable, there should be reference to the respective legislatures; there also should be purpose to maintain peace and justice between colonies and towards the Indians. If any colony violated the agreement, the extent of offense and remedy should be determined by the others. Saybrook was represented at the meetings that adopted the articles, Colonel Fenwick being present as a Connecticut commissioner. It probably was understood that before the next annual session that prospective colony would pass to Connecticut by purchase of Warwick Patent rights. The price paid was £1,600.

The Hamilton rights were a peculiar incident, entirely ignored till years afterward. Before the surrendering of patents to the King, the lords composing the Council of Plymouth determined to divide the seacoast of New England among themselves. The division in 1635 absorbed nearly all the previous grants. The portion allotted to the Marquis of Hamilton was sixty miles square, extending along the shore from the Narragansett River to the mouth of the Connecticut and thence northward. Seven weeks after that the council went out of existence. Owing to the excitements in England, nothing was done under this grant. The claim was not revived till after the granting of the Connecticut charter in 1662. Connecticut maintained that the claim was valueless originally and was now outlawed. And such was the decision of the King and council in 1697.

Two items in the purchase of the Warwick Patent subjected Massachusetts and Connecticut to wranglings which were to continue through long years. One was the recognition of the Warwick boundary which brought Springfield and Waranoke (Westfield) within the Connecticut line, and the other was that for ten years Fenwick should have a right to collect an export duty on certain articles that came down the river. As has been told, the Bay Colony never had accepted the Warwick line, which ran a little south of present Worcester; Connecticut insisted on "Warronoco" and Springfield. In 1642 Massachusetts had sent two amateur surveyors to run the line, Woodward and Saffery. Their line included everything down to Windsor, embracing territory where Pynchon had been promoting settlements, and altogether what now constitutes thirteen townships. The Congress of the colonies sustained the Springfield contention pending proof, and decided likewise the next year as to duties. It was the same in the next three annual congresses—Plymouth and New Haven conducting the hearings as disinterested parties. Massachusetts called for the original patent. Connecticut had only a verified copy, the originals not to be found. Embarrassment ensued. It finally was ordered to produce the copy the following year and also to take steps toward a settlement, always acting in a "way of peace and love." Massachusetts maintained that she had fixed the boundary long before, on understanding with Fenwick, but would go over it again if Connecticut would pay the bill. Connecticut would consent to pay but half.

Thus they haggled along till the next century. There were threats of appeal to the King and Council but fear of disaster to both deterred. In 1713 a line was agreed upon by which Massachusetts retained jurisdiction over towns which it had planted, with their original bounds intact, and the line ran between Windsor and Suffield until the Revolution, though never acceptable to the immediate residents. For compensation to Connecticut, Massachusetts gave 105,793 acres of untaken land in present Pelham, Belchertown and Ware, which Connecticut sold at about 2 cents an acre and gave Yale £500 of the £683 received. Simsbury (Granby) and Westfield kept their old boundaries but Suffield received a strip a mile wide between these two. Suffield men were disappointed not only because they saw such an ungainly jog to the westward but because they believed the mountains retained by Simsbury (as obtained under its original grant from Connecticut) were rich in copper ore. Massachusetts hearing this complaint agreed in 1732 to let them have the present town of Southwick six miles square as an equivalent to what they had been granted originally by Massachusetts. Christopher J. Lawton bought it of them for a song. The bounds on the Simsbury (Granby) side were reestablished later on. As to the northern line, the portion of Westfield running down into Connecticut and lying between a mountain toward the east and the Congamuck ponds was given to Springfield; the remainder, including the chief part of the ponds (now Southwick), to Westfield. A Southwick boundary commission was sent in 1793 to settle a dispute over this, dating from 1774. Massachusetts wanted the whole of the section as compensation for towns she had lost. In 1803-4 a compromise was effected by which Connecticut held a slice of Southwick and Massachusetts the land west of the ponds. "Rising's Notch" was thereafter to worry every schoolboy drawing his map of the New England states and to remain forever as a conspicuous memorial of disagreement between mother and daughter colonies. There is further reminder today in the conflict between state fishing laws at the point where the boundary line cuts the ponds.

To go back to the main issue: It early appeared obvious that by the compromise of 1713 Connecticut had yielded too much, for Enfield, Suffield and Woodstock, in which were many supposedly Connecticut people, were above the line as established. At length

Enfield helped precipitate matters when she openly rebelled against taxation in two colonies and elected Capt. Eliphalet Pease and Capt. Elijah Williams representatives to the Connecticut General Assembly in 1749. Suffield, led by Capt. Phineas Lyman, was doing likewise. Arguments proving ineffective, Connecticut finally received the representatives and assumed jurisdiction, but Massachusetts persisted till 1804, to the great confusion of local government and with the argument that she had paid for this territory when she gave Connecticut the "equivalent" land to sell.

In retaliation for the Saybrook duties, Massachusetts threatened to levy a tax on exports from Boston but yielded to protests from other colonies, and the Saybrook collections ceased.

Particularly was the colony Congress to act upon matters relating to the Indians. Since the Pequot war Uncas had reigned supreme along the Thames River and other chieftains were jealous. When a Narragansett in 1643 hurled a knife at him and wounded him near the heart, he reported to the Massachusetts authorities, in accord with the stipulations of the treaty of 1638 that Indians bring all matters of disagreement to the white men. Miantonomoh was ordered to appear with the accused. After decision that the man be turned over to Uncas, the stalwart Miantonomoh, who hitherto had been greatly respected by the white men, obtained permission to take the prisoner to his home first and then killed him on the way. Soon afterward Uncas and a small party of Mohegans were attacked and one was killed by followers of Sequassen who was a relative of Miantonomoh's. On Uncas' appeal to the magistrates at Hartford, he was told that since the white men were not especially concerned, Uncas could handle the situation himself. Thereupon Uncas attacked Sequin's village in the South Meadows, as that section had come to be designated, killed seven, wounded others and burned wigwams.

The enraged Miantonomoh now appeared before Governor Haynes, who assured him that no encouragement would be given the Mohegans and again said it was not a white men's affair. From their intimate knowledge of the red men the authorities must have apprehended that there always would be quarrels among them but no serious outbreak. An appeal to the Massa-

chusetts governor brought similar response. Word came to the English that Miantonomoh had resolved to take revenge upon both the Mohegans and the whites and Connecticut asked, but in vain, that Massachusetts send reinforcements to Saybrook. Miantonomoh started on the war path with 600 braves. Uncas was ready near present Norwich with 400 Mohegans. He called Miantonomoh for a parley at which he proposed that they two fight it out alone. Upon Miantonomoh's scorning the proposition, Uncas gave a signal, his followers rushed upon the enemy and drove them from the field. Weighted down with an armor a white man had given him, Miantonomoh was overtaken and brought to Uncas. By Indian custom and by the decision of the whites that they would not interfere, Uncas could kill the Narragansett, but instead, influenced by a letter he had seen from a white man, he brought his prisoner before the magistrates in Hartford. Their conclusion was that it was a case for the new colony Congress to consider. During the months preceding the annual session in September, Uncas kept the haughty leader under guard in pursuance of Miantonomoh's own request. Undoubtedly the Podunk fort in East Hartford was the place of imprisonment. The congress could not agree that death penalty should be inflicted but before rendering decision sought the opinion of a committee of clergymen who were attending a synod at that time. This committee of five saw in the evidence that Miantonomoh had designs against the white men as well as against Uncas and found that by rules of justice and the word of the Bible he should be put to death. Sentence was withheld till the representatives at the session could reach home in safety, the forests then teeming with friends of the powerful chieftain.

According to the records of the Congress, Uncas was directed to take the prisoner "to the next part of his (Uncas's) own government and there put him to death." Although in comparatively recent years a monument was erected near Norwich, in Sachem's Field, to mark the place of execution, it may be doubted that Uncas ventured to conduct his captive so far through wild territory which it was believed was infested with hostiles. The records show an addition to Governor Winthrop's report, reading, "And that the Indians might know that the English did approve it, they sent twelve or fourteen musketeers home with Onkus to abide a time with him for his defense, if need should

be." Some may not consider it probable that the English would have exposed their men to attack and also would have taken the chances of bringing on another war by sending them so far. In fact only four musketeers accompanied the Indians. Podunk fort was as much Uncas's "home" as was any other locality; his preference always had been to be near the chief seat of the white men at Hartford. To quote further from the ancient record: As soon as Uncas and his party were "in the next part of his own government" Uncas's brother stole up behind Miantonomoh and cleaved his head with a hatchet.

Sequassen later was betrayed by a New Haven Indian he was said to have hired to assassinate Governor Haynes and others and fled, but was permitted to return in 1650.

The colonial Congress was not distinctively successful in handling Indian affairs, for reasons which research does not reveal. The colonists themselves made effort to civilize them and to teach their children, but Farmington was the only town where there was a measure of success. Roger Williams of Rhode Island, their most faithful friend, called them the "dregs of mankind. . . . There is no fear of God before their eyes, and all the cords that ever bound the barbarians to foreigners were made of self and covetousness." John Eliot, the great "apostle to the Indians," while attending a church council in Hartford, is said to have preached to the Podunks in their own language. To his appeal to accept Christianity, the story has it, they replied fiercely that the whites had taken their land and now wished to make servants of them. The Indians' conception of a land sale seemed to be, as Major Mason expressed it in the great suit in later years concerning ownership of Mohegan lands which had been made over to him by Uncas's heirs and which he had transferred to the colony, was that they disposed of the right to fish and hunt on the land but never gave possession of the soil.

Twelve years after the historic Miantonomoh tragedy, a Podunk Indian killed one of Sequassen's sachems and one-eyed Tantinomo, then ruler of the Podunks, refused to give up the murderer. Sequassen called in Uncas who had had similar and various complaints against Tantinomo and, pursuant to the earlier agreements, Uncas went to the General Court with it, saying that Sequassen wanted ten Podunks in satisfaction and that the Podunks had offered only wampum. Sequassen would compromise

on six men, but the court was wearied and bade them limit the requirement to only one man and finally to depart in peace and keep it, leastwise on the west side of the river, and under no condition to harm the white men's property. Uncas became willing to accept the murderer without the others.

Tantinomo agreed but instead of delivering the man assembled his followers at Fort Hill (in East Hartford). Uncas marched against him with his Mohegans. Finding the position too strong, he sent word that he would bring on the much dreaded Mohawks. This terrified the Connecticut Indians. To add to the terror, a Podunk lodge was burned and Mohawk weapons were found near by. The Podunks sued for peace, gave up the murderer and Uncas's prestige was increased.

Incidentally the court's commissioners, when they learned that the Podunks were leaving their homes, "ordered" that Uncas permit them to return and that the Podunks cease all hostilities. Peace prevailed till 1666 when Arramamet of Windsor, whose sway extended over the Podunks, accused Uncas of trespassing on his far hunting grounds, and both parties went to court. The outcome was an elaborate pledge of friendship signed by all the sachems and a more distinct agreement upon boundary lines. And, further, incidentally, a little later Arramamet gave his daughter in marriage to Uncas's third son with a dowry of many acres, entailed so that the property would go down to his daughter's children. Then at his death it was discovered that he had willed the land to his sons and the rest of his holdings to his wives.

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Affairs with the Dutch first came before the United Colonies in 1641. They were referred to the International commission of which Rev. Hugh Peters was chairman. The English had begun cultivating land close up to the Dutchmen's, and seemingly beyond it, since it is recorded that Governor Haynes said it seemed a pity to see good soil going to waste. The Dutch who had not planted much of the ground previously, became equally ambitious and the two sides clashed, rather to the disadvantage of the minority. Mr. Peters, who was sent to England, could not get far in negotiations with Holland because his authority was not

recognized across the channel. Governor Kieft ordered fifty soldiers to sail from New Amsterdam to protect the House of Hope, but Indians attacked them as they were about to sail and the expedition had to be given up. The Congress of the federation recommended that Hartford allow the Dutch something in excess of the thirty acres that had been stipulated.

In 1650 Peter Stuyvesant had succeeded Kieft as governor. On his representation commissioners of the four colonies met at Hartford that year and reviewed all the documents thoroughly. It was at this time it was revealed that the Dutch deed from the Indians had been lost, but the story of the purchase was given in full. The courteous Stuyvesant who thus had suggested the first international arbitrament in lieu of recourse to arms was thought by contemporaneous writers in both Holland and England to have been somewhat imposed upon. The main ground of complaint was not the Hartford House of Hope but the right of New Haven to claim rights to the west and south of Greenwich. New Haven had been settled in 1638 under the old 1620 patent for all New England, which included the territory from Philadelphia to Canada, and she had reached as far as Greenwich, she believed, in her purchases from the Indians. The Dutch resented her trading posts in Maryland and attacked her shipping. The arbitrators selected were all Englishmen, two of them named by Stuyvesant. Their investigations were thorough and fair, but their conclusions were somewhat indefinite.

In their opinion the troubles had been stirred up by the late Governor Kieft who, they found, was of a bellicose disposition. They listened respectfully to the Dutch West India Company's claim to all the territory covered by the English patent up to the Connecticut River and then decided that there should be a boundary line running between Greenwich and Stamford and through Long Island from Oyster Bay southward. As to Hartford, there was evidence that the Dutch had conducted themselves in a lewd and unseemly manner, much to the grievance of the colonists, but it was admitted that they should hold their thirty acres at the House of Hope, the English to have the rest of the land. The treaty which Stuyvesant thus negotiated was ratified by the Dutch government in 1656, but many things had happened before that.

The Dutch of New Amsterdam had instigated more trouble

for New Haven. They had caused Indian outbreaks in the Greenwich section, had made more attacks upon the shipping and in general had forced New Haven in 1653 to take action under the terms of the federation and ask that arms be resorted to by the English. Massachusetts alone had voted against it. Connecticut and Plymouth so warmly supported New Haven that the federation was on the point of breaking when New Haven's appeal to Cromwell resulted in his sending a fleet in 1654, whereupon Massachusetts coldly consented to the principle but with the mental reservation that she herself would send no soldiers. The timely victory of England over Holland in the war they had been waging made strife in America unnecessary. New Amsterdam was to become New York, and trouble-makers of English blood were to appear there as the years went by.

An incident of the war was the commissioning of Captain Underhill by the Providence Plantation to proceed against the Dutch and his coming to Hartford where he posted on the door of the House of Hope a placard declaring that he had seized it and its land in the name of England. His assertion later was that he had acted with the permission of the General Court then in session in Hartford, but the court disallowed this in 1654 and sequestered the property three days before peace was declared. By the terms of the peace the English retained possession. There may have been some truth in Underhill's assertion for later the colony had claim only to the site of the fort while Underhill sold the "bouwerie" and adjoining land to Richard Lord and William Gibbons, and the fort site the court sold to John Gilbert. At the time of Underhill's sale the court, replying to his petition for redress, said it would maintain its own seizure "till more appears," that there was no warrant for Underhill's seizure and that it would not allow or approve of his selling. The entries of the sales are on the town records.

In 1852 the burial ground of the Dutch, to the west of the fort, was accidentally uncovered. Two years later Col. Samuel Colt built the great dike for the protection of his factory property and in reclaiming the property, named the streets after prominent ones among both the Indians and the Dutch. In 1918 the Hartford Electric Light Company, previously having acquired Dutch Point (north of Park River) for the site of one

plant, bought the fort site for a still greater station and in so doing set aside a piece of land on Vandyke Avenue a hundred feet away as a site for a memorial, not yet utilized. As will be seen later, the city is now about to build a longer dike for reclaiming more of the South Meadows, last village of the Sequins, and improving the city's aviation field.

It being concluded that the Congress of the United Colonies was no further needed the last annual session was held in 1664, but in 1670 new articles were drawn up. Power in time of war was delegated to the legislatures, and the chief debates were on the question of apportionment of troops and supplies. The real way to make one out of many had not yet been found.

VIII

SCHOOLS

THE HANDICAP AND HOW IT WAS OVERCOME—FOUNDING AND DEVELOPING THE HARTFORD PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL—HOPKINS FUND—EMINENT FAMILIES.

A major problem was education. The severity of this for colonists of this type cannot be over-stressed, though often it is wholly lost sight of in the analysis of conditions. Again it should be recalled that the majority of these river-town people, who in their stubbornness—if you will—had gone forth into the more distant wilderness, had come from long-established comfortable homes in England where they had been well nurtured and also well educated according to a tradition there already old. Here new tradition must be created, and there was little with which to create. They were different from any other class of pioneers who had come from any country to a new country, then or ever in the world's history. Regard for learning was innate, a *sine qua non*. Good private libraries had been left behind—there was only here and there a book some one had clung to, and the popular new book, the understandable version of the Bible. The Bible, whether or no, had to be the rock of the educational foundation. It may have been well for the cultural future of the colonies that this was so; for it was to continue the foundation rock for English literature through the ages.

John Higginson, later chaplain at Saybrook Fort down-river, son of the prominent Rev. Francis Higginson of Salem whose widow had lands allotted to her in Hartford, was a teacher in the year 1637-8, pressed into service by the eager desire of the over-busy settlers. He was succeeded by Rev. William Collins from the Barbadoes, who had come to Salem in 1636 and was one of the first settlers in Hartford, though he had no house lot. He was "established" in 1640. Land which he acquired he sold on his removal to Guilford the next year where he

was colleague of Rev. Henry Whitefield whose daughter he married. Subsequently he joined the heretical movement of Anne Hutchinson and was murdered with her and her family by the Indians near Greenwich at the time when certain of the Dutch were encouraging border warfare.

In 1642 an appropriation of £30 a year was voted to the school from the scanty treasury. While up to that time there had been teaching in church and in private homes, now a building was erected at the present southwest corner of Sheldon and Governor streets, near an already famous oak which the Indians had asked the settlers to spare because of their traditions. The building was called the "town house" because within it were stored guns and ammunition, as in the church. William Andrews, a constable in Newtown and an original proprietor in Hartford, was chosen by the people in 1643 to "teach in the school," where sixteen pupils assembled. Continuing till his health failed in 1656, he was the first real teacher. He also was town clerk from 1651 to 1658, the year preceding his death. The position of Mr. Hooker himself was hardly more important than his. He introduced the horn-book and the song method of reciting. At home as well as at school the little ones were trained in the catechism with examination by the church leaders every Sunday. The Ten Commandments were recited faithfully, and never a thought of the questions concerning them which would get into vogue 300 years later. Meantime there were private schools for the youngest. Widow Mary Betts conducted such an one at her home near the foot of Trumbull Street on the bank of Little River.

Governor Edward Hopkins early displayed that interest which was to count so much for this and other towns. In 1649 he was instrumental in putting through town meeting a vote for £40 to be raised by tax to go toward building a new school, provided "any other shall make such an addition to the sum that the work may be carried on and finished," the building to be wholly for a grammar school like that which Mr. Andrews was conducting. The existing house, near Mr. Hopkins' residence, was inconvenient and uncomfortable. At the time there was no result from this unless one counts Mr. Hopkins' increasing interest a result, and it was a great one.

Altogether Hartford was doing its best when the Ludlow code of 1650 directed that every town of fifty householders appoint a

teacher in reading and writing and every town of a hundred a grammar school to prepare youths for the college at Cambridge (old Newtown) which had been endowed with £700 by Rev. John Harvard. The idea as expressed was "to provide that learning may not be buried with the fathers in church and commonwealth" and contributions were made for the maintenance of those who had not sufficient means of their own. Both study and pulpit in the little church were available for the more progressive students; Doctor Barnard has said that that church may well be regarded as the first theological seminary in Connecticut.

In 1652 the town voted £20 for the erection of "the" schoolhouse and soon after added £40, all to be expended under the direction of Elder William Goodwin. He and Governor Hopkins had in mind a certain lot on present Main Street between Little River and present Buckingham Street, but because of the obstinacy of one who had interest in it, the innkeeper, Jeremy Adams, they were obliged to give it up. When in 1654 the town demanded that something be done, Mr. Hopkins, the patron who had been looked to, had returned to England, the considerable sum he had thought to give had gone with him and Elder Goodwin was constrained to give back to the town what had been raised. Two years thereafter came the friction in the church, and school matters were temporarily lost sight of. The schoolhouse was ordered sold. John Talcott in 1659 provided in his will that £5 be devoted to maintaining a Latin school, "if any be kept here." The next year William Pitkin came as teacher, in a private house and without town appropriation. Elder Goodwin and the other "withdrawers" from the church had gone to Hadley, Mass. It is a matter of record that pupils in the "grammar school" included those learning the alphabet and there were no public schools in Hartford except grammar schools during its first thirty years.

Governor Hopkins, of notable antecedents, came to Boston and then to Hartford in 1637 as an original proprietor. He was elected deputy governor in 1639 and governor in 1640, after which he served alternately in those offices with John Haynes till he went back to England in 1652, having been named warden of Cromwell's fleet on the death of his uncle. When he died in 1657 he left a fund in trust for "breeding of hopeful youths in a way of learning, both at the grammar school and college." For trus-

tees he named Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport of New Haven and John Culick and William Goodwin of Hartford. Eaton was his father-in-law and was promoting a plan for a college in New Haven. The General Court became absorbed in the church controversy in Hartford. When finally Goodwin, after the death of Eaton and Culick, offered the colony £350 for the Hartford school, it was refused and the large Hartford property of Hopkins was sequestrated, but the action eventually was rescinded. This property in 1660 had been inventoried at £545, at which time it had been proposed to give half for a New Haven college and, since conditions in Hartford were adverse, part to the new plantation at Hadley and the balance to Harvard. After the sequestration had been removed, the trustees agreed upon £400 for Hartford and the remainder, including £500 of which Mrs. Hopkins was to have life use, to be divided between New Haven and Hadley, Harvard to receive £100 out of Hadley's share. And the trustees desired that the school in Hartford be located on the lot Mr. Goodwin and Mr. Hopkins had favored in 1649. In reality the lot chosen was the second one west of the place where the first had stood. The committee also obtained the Hopkins farm of fifty-six acres in Hockanum together with Mr. Hopkins' rights in all future distribution of grants.

Now a number of people desiring a Main Street location secured a vote in 1666 for land on the highway "abreast of the Adams lot"—or the one Governor Hopkins had desired. It could be had gratis, after the custom of putting a public building in a highway. Eventually the building was so relocated. The Hopkins arms were hung on the walls. A town committee managed the school affairs. Tuition was free and the town paid part of the teacher's salary. Rev. Caleb Watson was the teacher from 1673 to 1705. However, as this was the only public school and children of all ages attended, Governor Hopkins' purposes were not being fulfilled. Acts of the General Assembly in 1678 strengthened the laws for lower-grade education and decreed in 1690 a free school in New Haven and one in Hartford, the colony to aid the towns in eking out the necessary revenue; and all elementary schools, as distinct from the "free school," must be in session six months a year. The standard of admission to the free school was ability to read the psalter.

The grammar school in Hartford now became the free school.

It was then that the old building proved inadequate and the new building was erected in 1690 in the highway—as it then was—a little south of present Linden Place. In 1749 Thomas Seymour was given permission to move the building to twenty rods from Little River, thus giving him a driveway to a house he had built at the west end of what was to become Linden Place. The building was small and the teachers were changed often. Prior to 1760 the town had ceased to supervise schools in East Hartford and West Hartford divisions, they thereby losing the advantages of a grammar school, but they had schools of their own. In 1753 the town had arranged to have two elementary schools in the two parishes, in accord with the law which required a school in every town of seventy householders. This took the elementary pupils from the grammar school. Then it was enacted that the income from lands and rents be given the committee for maintaining the grammar school “according to the proper use or uses of the original donation.”

The town in 1760 secured from the General Assembly formal permission to make two districts. Little River was the dividing line. While awaiting the decision, the First Church Society proprietors, in 1759, built their house, of brick, on the east side of the Meeting-house Yard. During the celebration of the repeal of the stamp act, in 1766, munitions stored in it were exploded, many were wounded and six prominent young men died of their injuries. In 1771, a brick house was built at the northeast corner of the first burying ground. This was sold in 1814 and another was built near where the police headquarters building now stands. The South District built its house on South Green in 1769. The Second North District was set off in 1770; it built near the junction of Ann and Main streets.

Meantime need of the grammar school had become pressing and a building was erected on a site given by Mrs. Abigail Woodbridge, which is now covered by the east portion of the Municipal Building. The highway along Little River was named School Street, now Arch Street. Land grants by the General Assembly had increased income when, on representation of the districts, one-fourth of the school moneys was paid to the districts as against three-fourths to the grammar school. John Trumbull in 1798, by direction, secured the incorporation of the grammar school committee and the number of pupils was limited to forty

boys. In 1808 the old school property was sold to Daniel Wadsworth and a building on the Seymour estate on Buckingham Street was taken and remodeled. Despite enlargement the structure became inadequate. Enoch Perkins was given authority to erect a brick house fifty-two by thirty-eight feet, two stories, a little south of the south line of Linden Place, looking towards the Thomas Y. Seymour house, then known as the Welles homestead. The city recently had opened what is now Capitol Avenue, dividing the lot. The next step in this the early history of the Hartford Public High School was the action of the trustees approving the plan of the First District in 1847 to unite for the purpose of maintaining a high school.

As has been said, the cause of education was handicapped from the beginning. If it should be remarked that secondary schools in America did not begin to approach the standards of European countries till the middle of the nineteenth century, the existence of this handicap should not be forgotten, nor yet its continuance through the nearly two centuries of intermittent warfare in addition to pioneer building, to be followed by other distractions and other warfare of a more or less interrupting character up to the present. If it is replied that the European nations also suffered from war, the obvious answer is that they had a more solid foundation in the fundamentals of education and that such deterrents as have been mentioned are bound to have more effect in a newly created nation.

Deprived of facilities, the decision of the first colonists hereabouts was that all children should learn something, and they were moving on well to the second step which, in the natural progress of appreciation and will power, might have brought them even superiority, when those events occurred, within as well as outside their own circle, which hampered and delayed. For years they voiced their desire for higher standards but they lacked the power to attain them. In the nineteenth century there was still the desire for a little for the many; it was not till the present century that there was a real awakening to the need of more quality along with the quantity—a more definite realization of what “education,” in homes, schools and colleges, must mean if this nation is going to hold its own.

There are those in any body of civilized people who are bound to rise superior to handicap. What circumstances would put be-

yond their reach, if given the right impetus they obtain; not all may be scholarly, but they succeed in applying and in transmitting their talents. Descendants of the founders of Hartford County are, to a remarkable degree, in this class. There are living instances of it today—names that have been prominent throughout the three centuries and names that were on the last honor rolls of war as they were on the first. In illustration a few families might be cited whose fame has gone beyond the old colony limits. John Webster, deputy governor and in 1656 governor, was the ancestor of Noah Webster. John Talcott, for many years colonial treasurer, was the father of Major John of King Philip's war and grandfather of Joseph, governor from 1725 to 1741. William Edwards of Hartford was the ancestor of Rev. Timothy Edwards of Windsor (East Side), of Rev. Jonathan Edwards and of both President Dwight and President Woolsey of Yale. Descendants of William Pitkin of Hartford included William, Ozias, Governor William and Colonel George. The ancestor's sister was the wife of Simon Wolcott, and seven of their descendants were governors. Andrew Ward of Wethersfield was ancestor of Aaron Burr. Henry Wolcott of Windsor is said to have had more governors, statesmen and judges among his descendants than any of the founders; the family roll of his great-granddaughter Ursula, who married Matthew Griswold of Lyme, alone includes twelve governors and thirty-four judges. Matthew Grant of Windsor was ancestor of Ulysses S. Grant.

M. W. Elmsley

IX

RELIGIOUS DISSENSIONS

HOOKE'S DEATH—GOODWIN'S DEFECTION—CHURCH SPLIT BY HALF-WAY COVENANT—SAYBROOK PLATFORM—TOLERATION—WITCHCRAFT HORRORS.

While taking his place in history as the leader of his people to free government, Rev. Thomas Hooker was a stalwart in other ways. Of robust build, of energetic spirit and strong temper on occasion, and with power of invective as well as of exhortation, it would be easy to picture him as a romantic crusader in the days of such. In a period when adroitness was more effective than sword and buckler, a man who should be chosen head of a group like that which came to Newtown had to have other qualities than those of a pastor. He was the one particular preacher of that day for whom Archbishop Laud sent his minions. "Hooker's party" kept on with their plans, and their faith that he would join them was confirmed.

Not only did he inaugurate and put through the movements of three towns toward the Connecticut River, not only did he guide and direct the colonists in peace and war, but he was in demand wherever there was need of persuasive argument or calm judicial function. At times his strength was severely taxed. Governor Winthrop, the elder, with all his bits of sarcasm and sometimes sharp disagreement, admired the man; there are as many evidences of laudation as there are of criticism in his written comments. Of these one may be cited. At the time the federation of the colonies was under discussion in Boston, Hooker was called upon to deliver a sermon before a distinguished audience in that town. Winthrop records that he had spoken with glowing eloquence for fifteen minutes when he suddenly stopped and said God had deprived him of both "his strength and matter" and withdrew. In half an hour he returned

to the platform and "went on to very good purpose about two hours."

In a summer of pestilence, 1647, he was stricken and after a few days of suffering died on July 7. He was only 61. He had lived to know of Laud's incarceration, in 1641, and of his execution, in 1645—to enjoy the success of his ecclesiastical theories and to witness the happy development of his design to secure government of and by the people.

Mr. Hooker's children, many of whose descendants continue to live within a short radius of his first meeting-house, were: Johanna, wife of Rev. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, who died the year before her father; Mary, wife of Rev. Roger Newton, Farmington's first minister and later at Milford where she died in 1676; Anne and Sarah who died in childhood in England; John, who in his father's will was forbidden "from tarrying in England" after he got his education at Oxford but who did tarry and became rector of Lechampsted before his death in 1684; Samuel, graduated at Harvard in 1653, a preacher at Plymouth, who married the daughter of Capt. Thomas Willet, afterward first mayor of New York, was ordained in Farmington in 1661 and died there in 1697; and Sarah, wife of Rev. John Wilson of Medfield, Massachusetts.

Rev. Jonathan Mitchell was invited to succeed Mr. Hooker in 1649. After him as a candidate came Michael Wigglesworth occasionally in 1653 and 1654, John Davis in 1655 and John Cotton, son of John Cotton of Boston and formerly of the "Hooker party," in 1659. Meantime Teacher Stone and Elder Goodwin were conducting the affairs of the church. These two, so useful under Hooker, had such a falling-out over the candidacy of Wigglesworth, whom the elder favored, as nearly to disrupt the settlement. To Mr. Stone's refusal to allow the society to vote on Mr. Wigglesworth, Goodwin took exception and started the breach. Mr. Stone sent in his resignation yet continued to discharge his functions and went so far as to have the church appoint a moderator, which in effect was the discharge of the ruling elder. Mr. Goodwin and his faction immediately withdrew. Ecclesiastical councils were held throughout New England, the Massachusetts churches appointed days of humiliation and prayer for Hartford, the interference of the General Court made matters worse, Mr.



FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, HARTFORD

Stone went to Boston as though he would remain there whence he wrote letters, and finally a council held in Boston in 1659 decided that Elder Goodwin and party were doing nothing wrong in withdrawing to Hadley, Mass.,—whither they were accompanied by a few Wethersfield people—and that Mr. Stone should continue.

The year following this settlement, Rev. John Whiting, who was born in England in 1635 but had come to America as a boy and had graduated at Harvard in 1653, was chosen for Mr. Stone's colleague. He was the son of Maj. William Whiting, one of the foremost men of the colony from its founding till his death in 1647. Mr. Stone died July 20, 1663. His epitaph calls him "New England's glory and her radiant crowne;" the last line reading:

"Hartford, thy richest jewel's here interred."

He also was only 61. When Mr. Stone's first wife died in 1640 Mr. Hooker wrote to Rev. Mr. Shepard that she "smoked out her days in the darkness of melancholy." His son by her was graduated at Harvard and later received his degree at Cambridge, England. His son Samuel went to Harvard and afterwards was colleague of Rev. Gershom Bulkeley in Wethersfield, preached in Simsbury and Middletown, became dissipated, haunted Hartford taverns and in 1683 fell into Little River after a carouse and was drowned—according to Rev. Mr. Whiting's letter to Increase Mather. Mr. Stone's daughters married well.

Again it should be kept in mind that no special incidents of the colonial days should be taken from their settings. The handful of immigrants had not conquered the wilderness in the first twenty or sixty years. Life was drab. A new element was sought to help in the physical labors; there had to be a lowering of "admission" tests. Reference has been made to the strengthening of the liquor laws and to the development of the house of correction. There were the beginnings of the evils which were to sweep the new Eldorado and constitute a problem of varied guise today. If there is any opportunity for comparison in modern ages, it must be with the development of the western regions and California, somewhat to the advantage of the eastern sections.

Intellectually and ecclesiastically, it should also be remembered, the original colonists had come to America for freedom of thought, and they intensively cultivated freedom of expression. The church convulsion which shook every town and hamlet in New England the latter half of their first century is as difficult to analyze correctly as certain of those today will be 300 years hence. The "Half-way Covenant" uprising can be set forth in volumes by theological writers when recurring to such excitement as there was in Hartford—and the same with the "New Lights" in the following century. For ordinary purposes of history, however, the whole may be summed up this way: The old church conception was that those baptized in infancy could become church members when old enough to profess their faith and to be examined by the church officials. In 1650 to 1660 the idea spread that children of such members could be baptized—indeed, would be baptized—and then when older could be admitted to membership without the old formality; they could own the covenant without giving proof of baptism. To the conservatives this had the appearance of a political device originating in Massachusetts where church membership was the qualification for suffrage, and there was surprise that such a notion could gain ground in free Connecticut. In 1664, the new conception had gained sufficient ground to warrant the General Assembly in urging its adoption by all the churches, though not all followed such respected advice.

In the Hartford church, after the death of Mr. Stone, the son of another distinguished citizen, Gov. John Haynes, had been chosen to succeed him. Thomas Haynes only recently had graduated from Harvard—in 1658. He was imbued with the new idea and in 1666 advocated its adoption by the church. Rev. John Whiting, senior colleague, emphatically objected; it was a blow at pure Congregationalism and let down the bars to Presbyterianism while lowering the standards of membership. "Saints" should be "visible," and they could not be "visible" unless warranted in the old way. Doctor Walker expresses it: "Half-way Covenant was filling the churches with people sufficiently religious to claim baptism for their children but not enough so to have or profess any experience of piety or to come to the Lord's supper." In other words, they had started well but they were in a state of education, free as to their future course, and therefore

hardly congenial at communion with the "visible saints." Moreover this must lead to government by synod instead of government by self, an unthinkable thing for the church of Thomas Hooker. So reasoned Rev. Mr. Haynes. But the younger Whiting was persistent and led his flock of thirty-one away with him, after the General Assembly, though by close vote, had decided in February, 1670, that the church might be divided.

When the sharpness of this cleavage in the historic Hooker church is emphasized by many writers, one making a thorough study of the period can but recall the natural and then civic division between north and south sides of Little River, growing more noticeable every year, almost like two towns at the very beginning. "South" church instead of "Second" church has been the popular name of the new society ever since. It further can be remarked in this connection that an original church in any town frowned upon a division even for branches in remote places like East Hartford (from Hartford), since diminished membership meant decrease in indispensable revenue. Finally, it is to be noted that the Hooker church soon afterward accepted the half-way covenant principle.

By the code of 1650 colonists were taxed from 1 penny to 3 pence a pound for "encouragement of the ministry" but in 1677 the towns had to support their own churches. It was expensive to change ministers, for when one was chosen he was allowed two years' salary to begin with so that he might establish his home. In 1668 the General Assembly passed its first Toleration Act when it granted that "sundry persons of worth for prudence and piety amongst us * * * may have allowance of their perswasion and profession in church wayes." Nevertheless the support of the ministry continued compulsory and fines were demanded for absence from service. Repeated exhibition of the harm resulting from having every church disagreement brought to the General Assembly caused that body in 1708 to direct each of the forty-one churches to send representatives to a synod in Saybrook where the famous Saybrook Platform was adopted. Only twelve ministers and four laymen obeyed the call but their action was at once ratified by the Legislature, thereby creating a "government within a government," for there was to be a association or permanent organization, consisting of the minister

and one delegate from each church "planted in a convenient vicinity." Disputes should there be settled in common communion. Delegates from all the consociations should meet annually. In this was a suggestion of Presbyterianism and the word became interchangeable with Congregationalism for many years. Only churches united by this platform were "owned and acknowledged established by law." There were two consociations in Hartford County. As will be seen in some of the town histories, there were instances of contempt for the plan. Unquestionably it did create a better working system and as Rev. George L. Clark, historian, says, it "may have been the best possible device to tide the churches over trying times."

In establishing the platform the General Assembly specifically provided that all who "soberly" differed from the United Churches could worship in their own way, according to their consciences. This gave the Quakers, intolerable as they had made themselves in Massachusetts, the Episcopalians, the Baptists and even the troublous Rogerines of New London no cause for complaint to the English government which was threatening to send a governor for all New England. The "outlanders" were not welcome but, as in the case of the Quakers who sought persecution, they were given fair hearing—twice in Hartford—and then urged to go elsewhere. Experience with bishops had left such a sting that toleration of Episcopalianism by the people was long in being brought about. The missionary priests out from New York were zealously encouraged from London and the taxation for Congregationalism aroused such ire over there that the General Assembly provided that dissenters could form distinct organization, as previously stated, provided they worked no injury to the established church. In 1727 this was followed by a law that in towns where there was an Episcopal church, those attending it could pay their taxes to it; and altogether, rocky as was their path, they admit that it was less so in Connecticut than in any other colony. Their own energies resulted in 1784 in the consecration of the first bishop in America, Samuel Seabury, at Woodbury. Meanwhile concessions were being granted to various sects.

The colonial law for the support of ministers was framed at a time when only one church in a town was contemplated. Two

years after the Second Church of Christ was established in Hartford an amendment went into effect by which people could contribute for the church they attended. After meeting in private dwellings, probably, the new society, being without power to hold real estate and not having a vote of the town for building, erected a structure on the unoccupied land of Lieut. Thomas Bull near the present southeast corner of Main and Sheldon streets near the schoolhouse which was in the highway. This had been completed by 1673. During the next fifteen years ten members of the congregation made handsome bequests to the society, and it may be added that the generous disposition so early displayed is as much in evidence today as it was then. The building was fifty feet square, fashioned much like that of the parent society.

The "town bell" served for both churches till it cracked in 1725. It hung in the First Church belfry but it was felt that the repairs should be paid for by the town, that is by both societies. The question was complicated by the fact that both congregations needed new houses, and the First Church suggested that they reunite. In the interim it was using a red flag as a signal in place of a bell. The Southsiders, now nearly equal in number and wealth, believed there could not be agreement on a convenient site. After eleven years of discussion, the First Church voted to build on the southeast corner of the burying ground, the present corner of Main and Gold streets. The vote was passed in 1734. It called for brick but wood was substituted. The building was sixty-six feet long, lengthwise with Main Street, and forty-six feet wide, the steeple on the north end, the doors at that end, at the south end and on the east side, the pulpit with its sounding-board on the west side. One "great alley" ran from the east door to the pulpit and another from the north to the south. Rev. Daniel Wadsworth preached his last sermon in the old church July 31, 1737. Timbers from the honored structure were incorporated in the new building and are said to form part of the present one. Services were held in the State House till the new building was ready, December 30, 1739.

It was ten years later that the Second Church voted to build. The General Court, still holding prerogative to that extent, chose a site in the highway which is now Buckingham Street. As the proposed edifice, the same size as that of the parent church, would practically fill the highway, and as the north side was under

water in flood time, while a brook on the Main Street side would endanger the foundation, there was two years of hesitancy, then an appeal to the General Assembly, and finally an agreement reached for a site thirty feet east of the one indicated, two-thirds of the building to be in Main Street. Exterior and interior of the building, which was completed in 1754, closely resembled those of the First Church. The first sermon preached there was by Rev. George Whitefield, December 2, 1755. Rev. Elnathan Whitman was then pastor and continued as such for forty-five years. In 1762 the society received a deed to about four acres of land south of the church, given by Joseph Buckingham, son of Rev. Thomas Buckingham, former pastor to whom the society had conveyed the same in 1696. Both societies were to rebuild, as will be seen, on practically the same sites, and their continuing to occupy them is an important feature in Hartford's history.

§

In the history of the progress of civilization there is nothing more anomalous than the horrors committed under authority of the Scriptures as interpreted. Other contestants for the literal interpretation of the Mosaic code have had to yield to the demand of humanity, but in no particular with greater gratification to their descendants than in this. And when condemnations are flung at the American colonies, it is well to recall that for 300 years before the subject came up in the colonies there had been a fierce battle against those declared to be in collusion with Satan and that over 100,000 had been executed barbarously. For it is written in the Book of Exodus: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." A century after the frightful craze on the Continent, the mighty legal mind of Blackstone gave forth this opinion: "To deny the possibility, nay, actual evidence of witchcraft and sorcery, is at once flatly to contradict the revealed word of God in various passages of the Old and New Testament."

The horrors of Salem in Massachusetts are marveled at today. But they were in 1692. By that time the "craze" in Connecticut had yielded to common sense considerations and juries no longer were accepting ridiculous testimony of neighbors against odd characters who had fallen under suspicion. The vic-

tims themselves were of a class who made trouble or enjoyed sensation at whatever risk, and the witnesses were of the class of professional talebearers, all mentally upset by the excitement of the hour. In Connecticut between 1647 and 1690 when the furore ended, there were but nine executions, of which three probably were in Hartford where the colony prison was located. The first victim—and probably the first in New England—was Alse Young of Windsor in 1647. The records furnish no details. Of Mary Johnson's case in Wethersfield the next year, Cotton Mather in his "Magnalia," referring to her having given birth to a child while in prison, wrote: "She died in a frame of mind extremely to the satisfaction of them that were spectators of it." In 1653 John Carrington, a Wethersfield carpenter, and his wife were hanged.

An illustration of how the evil spread is found in the instance of Ann Cole of Hartford and Wethersfield. She became religiously rabid and accused a neighbor who was sent to prison for a year and then removed to Rhode Island. Next to the Cole family lived Nathaniel Greensmith and his wife Rebecca. Rev. John Whiting wrote of the latter that she was of bad character. She caught the fever of confessing all the misdeeds accredited to witches and implicated her husband. In 1662 both were tried in Hartford. The two ministers, Haynes and Whiting, visited the woman in prison and sent her amazing confessions to John Mather who declared the evidence very convincing. Rev. Samuel Stone was deeply impressed with her accounts of how Satan appeared to her in various forms, as of a deer or fawn, and told her they would have "a merry meeting by Christmas;" her husband must be guilty because he brought in logs too large for a little man to handle. They were hanged in January, 1662, on Gallows Hill.

A supposed victim was Mary Barnes of Farmington whose case followed closely those of the Greensmiths. The most peculiar case was that of the well-to-do Katherine Harrison of Wethersfield in May, 1669. Governor John Winthrop, Jr., William Leete and Maj. John Mason were of the court. It was the usual charge of "familiarity with Satan, the grand enemy of mankind." She demanded a jury trial. When the jury disagreed, she was held for another trial in October. The testimony of the witnesses was wildly imaginative and grotesque, as it reads to

us. She had appeared with the body of an animal; she had tried to cut throats, to strangle, to break bones; she was a notorious liar and told fortunes. The jury having found her guilty, the magistrates advised with the ministers. Rev. Gershom Bulkeley of Wethersfield reported for them that whatever was beyond reason in the way of divination argued familiarity with Satan, "inasmuch as such a person doth thereby declare his receiving the devill's instrument to communicate the same to others." This accused made no confession; she fought back and petitioned for relief. Becoming enraged, without losing her reason, she abused Michael Griswold who forthwith won a £40 damage suit against her. Eventually the court decided upon a year in prison. The General Assembly refused to concur and commuted the sentence to removal from the community, for her good and her neighbors'. The people in a New York town in which she took up her abode besought the governor to secure her banishment but he refused and bade her go wherever she chose.

A peculiar case is found in the manuscripts of President Ezra Stiles of Yale. In 1651, on the occasion of a military parade, Henry Stiles, eldest of the brothers who came to Windsor for Saltonstall's proposed settlement in 1635, was killed by the accidental discharge of a gun in the hands of Thomas Allyn of Windsor. Allyn was fined £20 according to the records of the General Court, was put on probation for a year and was forbidden to bear arms during that time. At a Particular Court in 1654, Lydia Gilbert of Windsor was indicted for witchcraft and, among other things, for having caused Stiles' death. Stiles had been a bachelor and had boarded with Thomas Gilbert, a neighbor who was in his employ. Whether Lydia was the wife or daughter of Gilbert does not appear, but from the wording of the indictment it would seem that she had been a trouble-maker in her neighborhood and easily could fall a victim to those suffering from witchcraft hallucination. She was tried and convicted but there is no record of her execution.

X

CONSTITUTION AND CHARTER

PERFECTED AND SECURED BY WINTHROP—NEW HAVEN'S COMPLAINT
—DUKE OF YORK'S CLAIM TO TERRITORY—METHOD OF ELECTIONS.

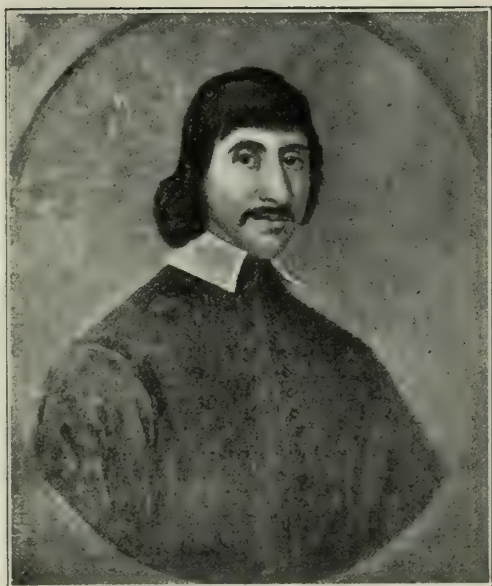
The method of the founders of 1635 in achieving their high purpose culminating in the Constitution was no less masterly, tested by the standards of whatever generation, than that of their successors in securing their charter from a restored monarchy in 1662. The Congregational Church itself was no longer the all-embracing entity; it had been the nucleus for widely different and not always amenable elements, but it was standing the test of control during unprecedented experiences and was to continue to be the foundation of the government through many succeeding generations. In its efforts to adapt circumstances to itself, it was competent to detect its own errors, and, with population and territory increasing, was cautiously adapting itself to circumstances without yielding its principles. The vote was still the freeman's, pledged to fealty; church-membership was not his test; the government was in his hands, with the promoters of the system carefully guiding and instructing him (in those first days of experiment); and if his tax, willy nilly, went to help maintain churches, it was because the name of the Almighty and his Word were still keenly recognized in public and private affairs, and it was believed they always should be. There was this much hold-over from the experience of generations in the land of their birth. Therein is a feature ignored by modern critics who see in the change from the union of church and state in the 1800s a fierce rebellion and not a step in sequence—a step impelled by changing conditions, creeds and population, and approved or acquiesced in by men themselves descendants of the founders.

The fundamental principle of the people's control, under guidance, had stood forth and had drawn much unto itself, on

American soil, through England's stormy periods of no Parliament, of the Long Parliament, of the overthrow of monarchy and of the great Protectorate. Could it cope with the new monarchy that had been set up—with Charles II, the successor of the beheaded Charles I whose judges had found their refuge in this New England? Diverting thought for the moment from the much-described achievements, no imagination is too feeble to picture the actual qualms. None of the qualms were written into official records, either then or when a new political peril threatened with the next change in royal government. Outwardly and barring their correspondence, the founders were stoics; "publicity" was not to become the rule and requirement in affairs public or private for many years to come. As for the people, in their small communities, they knew and trusted their leaders from the outset, and on the advent of John Winthrop, Jr., to the governor's office, they had repealed their law prohibiting two terms in succession. After testing by means of alternative terms, they had concluded that, a man's fidelity attested, his experience was worth much to them. Similarly with the magistrates, though would-be dispassionate writers in later years set forth that it was the system of balloting which compelled this.

Hooker had been blunt in his determination but tactful and wise in his planning, a bold pioneer and a noble intellectual leader. Ludlow had been a jurist and a builder, though perhaps justifiably impatient at the last; Haynes, a gracious executive, with prestige; Mason, a stern captain of the guard. Their generation was passing when the news came in 1659 that the Protectorate had ended, and it especially behooved a colony with a questioned patent and a record for independence to look to its standing. A crisis impended in which argument might not prevail; keenest felicity was demanded.

One man was recognized above all others to meet this requirement, a man whose name should be placed alongside Hooker's a man whose attributes were sufficiently different from those of Hooker, Ludlow and the others to exercise the diplomacy now necessary at the royal seat of all government. This was the younger Winthrop who had worked out the Warwick Patent understanding. He, if anyone, could stand for the dependability of that patent even when all patents were in danger; he was familiar by birth and experience with court ways and he, as governor,



JOHN WINTHROP
Governor 1657, 1659-1676



FITZ JOHN WINTHROP
Governor 1698-1707

had given new evidence of his devotion to the colony. Preeminently he was the man for the hour. Historian Bancroft says of him:

“As a child he had been the pride of his father’s house; he had received the best instruction which Cambridge and Dublin could afford, and had perfected his education by visiting, in part at least, in the public service, not Holland and France only, in the days of Prince Maurice and Richelieu, but Venice and Constantinople. As he traveled through Europe he sought the society of men eminent for learning. Returning to England in the bloom of life, with the fairest promise of advancement, he preferred to follow his father to the New World, regarding ‘diversities of countries but as many inns,’ alike conducting to ‘the journey’s end.’ When his father became impoverished, the son, unsolicited and without recompense, relinquished his inheritance, that it ‘might be spent in furthering the great work’ in Massachusetts; himself, without wealth, engaging in the enterprise of planting Connecticut. Care for posterity seemed the motive to his actions. Understanding the springs of action, and the principles that control affairs, he never attempted impracticable things, and noiselessly succeeded in all that he undertook. The New World was full of his praises. Puritans and Quakers and the freemen of Rhode Island were alike his eulogists. The Dutch at New York had confidence in his integrity, and it is the beautiful testimony of his own father that ‘God gave him favor in the eyes of all with whom he had to do.’”

Narrative of facts brings out the romance of history, especially at a point like this. Winthrop was chosen to make the journey to London, and the way—it was supposed by the magistrates—was paved by two letters. Massachusetts, Plymouth and finally New Haven reluctantly had hailed the new sovereign, as in duty bound and with courtly words, but Connecticut pondered and remained silent till July 7, 1661, when it addressed the King. But a month prior to this petition the General Court had written Lord Saye and Sele, for years the spokesman of the Puritans, a letter which shows the conception at this time of certain important proceedings previously mentioned herein, chronologically. The letter referred to his “former encouragement” and his present interest “by value of patent power” and begged his assistance. It reviewed the purchase from Fenwick who “for reasons best known to himself” wished to return

to England. The purchase was "exceedingly opposed" by several who said this would be distasteful to his lordship and the patentees, but it was pressed by Fenwick ("God removing some from us by death that were interested in the hearts and affection of several of those nobles and gentlemen, the patentees in England"). Fenwick insisted he had the power to sell, "the rest of the patentees deserting," and the matter "falling into his hands by agreement," and also declaring that he might sell to "noisome neighbors" (the Dutch), whereupon, for peace and security, agreement was made for about £1600—a "great abuse at Mr. Fenwick's hands," considering the poverty of the people and the small advantage gained. Indeed, the condition was worse than if they had contented themselves with the patronage of the "grand patentees," for there was no copy of the patent to secure standing as a commonwealth and assure continuance of privileges so dearly paid for; nor was there anything given by Fenwick which would bind him and his heirs as to rights above the professed Massachusetts border; and, being destitute of patent or copy, the purchasers could not maintain their claims even on the Narragansett side. The petition concluded by saying that Winthrop would call on him for advice and counsel and they would pray that "an inundation of mercies may flow in upon your lordship."

In the petition to the King the General Court said that it had not had the opportunity to obtain from the King such patent as would assure them of privileges and power to enable them to face the great hardships and hazards in this remote place where subsistence was to be had only as a result of infinite labor and expense. Already the settlers had spent much on buildings and defenses to add to the honor and enlargement of the King's dominions. They had paid a large sum to Fenwick for a jurisdiction right which they had understood was from "true royal authority" and would submit a copy of a copy which, after the first had been lost by fire or in some other way, had sufficed till they could take up the matter of royal prerogatives. They besought the King to confirm those privileges or else the privileges under the old Massachusetts grant, encouraged by which such endeavor had been put forth and under which at first it was supposed Connecticut territory was covered. Also and moreover, there was

the defensive war against the heathen which had cost much in life and means ("divers of our dear countrymen were treacherously destroyed") and still was the colony under great expense for maintenance, all of which, hopefully, should bring immunity from customs and promotion of commerce in the products this land could furnish. They subscribed themselves, without fulsomeness, loyal subjects and servants.

During the summer the court framed such a charter as the members thought would be proper, and Winthrop sent it here in August. The missing copy of the Warwick patent was found by Winthrop in England among papers that were left by Edward Hopkins after his death there. Doctor Trumbull in his "Colonial Records" expresses the opinion that neither before nor after the purchase did the colonists have rights in the territory other than by occupation, purchase from the Indians and by conquest of the Pequots, and that their purpose had been to buy off as quietly as possible any who might challenge their claims. Gov. Simeon E. Baldwin's theory concerning the original copy is that the Earl of Warwick gave the document to his heir, one of the patentees, and in the confusion of war and the extinction of the earl's family it was not strange that the copy of the copy was all that existed to support the claim prior to the charter of 1662.

Saye and Sele coöperated earnestly with Winthrop. There were many obstacles to be overcome. The secretary of state for the colonies, in a letter, expressed grave fear that the colony had altogether too much freedom, and there were those in the King's circle who agreed with him. But the gravest feature of all—a feature which ordinarily would have precluded the possibility of sending Winthrop on such a mission—had to do with Winthrop's own father-in-law, Rev. Hugh Peters. He had been the outspoken pastor of a church of exiles at Rotterdam, and crossing to New England, had begun his activities in behalf of the colonies as pastor of the church at Salem. One of the promoters of the federation of the colonies, he had been chairman of the commission on international affairs and, while fiery of temper, had been one of the strongest of the group which included Hooker, the elder Winthrop and Haynes.

When the Cromwellian war was diverting England's attention from the formation of the United Colonies of New England,

when men like Stephen Winthrop, brother of John Winthrop, Jr., Capt. Israel Stoughton of Pequot war fame, George Fenwick of Saybrook, Edward Winslow of Plymouth and Gov. Edward Hopkins of Connecticut returned to England to help on Cromwell's cause, and when Hooker felt obliged to reject the petitions of eminent Parliamentarians to return to participate in reforming the church (because he would be in the minority among so many Presbyterians), Peters was among the first to improve such an opportunity. To his mind, England was then the field for the Puritans to cultivate; immigration having decreased, New England was suffering in agriculture and commerce, many were leaving the new country and not a few were returning to their old homes across the sea. And when the war was ended, he was the one chosen to preach "the funeral sermon to the King, after sentence, out of Esaias:" "Thou art cast out of the grave like an abominable branch, * * * as a carcass trodden under feet * * * because thou hast destroyed thy land and slain thy people." And only shortly before Winthrop appeared in London, when Charles II had limited to about ten the number of his father's executioners who should be put to death, Hugh Peters had been one of those selected. His memory ever was revered among the Puritans of the stamp of Milton, but the full-blooded Charles hardly could be supposed to have regained his equanimity.

Winthrop's education and genius carried the day against the opposition of many in court circles. A ring which had been presented to Winthrop's father by Charles I was received most gratefully by his majesty, and in various ways the governor-diplomat won the monarch's personal esteem. His preliminary address was skilfully couched. It voiced the lament of the colonists that they were separated by the sea from the noble seat of government and their gracious monarch; their grief over the wars in England and their feeling that they had been hidden behind the mountains like a people forsaken in a desert, not applying to an illegal government but waiting upon divine Providence. He besought the sovereign "to accept this colony, your own colony, a little branch of your mighty hemisphere"—and he obtained all the territory from Narragansett Bay to the Pacific, including the charterless colony of New Haven.

He wrote the happy news to Deputy Governor Mason in May and sent the precious document in August, he prolonging his stay because of other concern, including participation in the founding of the Royal Society. It was with regret that the King saw him depart. The charter was issued in duplicate, a fact which was to make romantic history a little later on and to pique curiosity till 1898.

It is said, and appears evident, that Winthrop did not present the charter endorsed by the General Court but instead one that he drew up in connection with counsel employed by himself. It was the most liberal charter ever granted. In the main it perpetuated the principles of the Fundamental Orders, giving the colony under royal warrant that independence for which it had been founded. There were to be a governor, a deputy governor, twelve assistants and a House of Deputies, two from each town, all elected annually. Laws were not to be made contrary to those of England, but they did not have to be transmitted to England for inspection nor was there provision for royal interference of any kind. The charter was received with much rejoicing and was approved by the people in October. A charter also was obtained for Rhode Island.

Possibly a reason why New Haven territory was included in the charter was that that colony had harbored the regicides, Goff, Whalley and Dixwell. Deep and severe were the reproaches of John Davenport and his followers. After four months of rebuffing overtures, the New Haven General Court voted to continue its own government. Winthrop had not yet returned. In a letter to Deputy Governor Mason he urged that matters should not be pushed too hard and had hoped from the beginning that New Haven would exercise its option, but the General Assembly (as it was now called) disregarded the advice, recognized the outlying towns that had come into the fold, appointed magistrates and requested that deputies should be elected, sending notices to the towns outside of New Haven itself. The next year the subject was foremost at the meeting of the federation commissioners in Boston. Massachusetts and Plymouth decided that "by act of violence" New Haven could not have her rights infringed upon by any other of the United Colonies without breach of the articles of confederation; the "act of power" should be recalled and New

Haven be left to continue till such time as the subject might be disposed of in an "orderly way."

Since her voters must be church members, New Haven's electors were only 60 per cent of her men; the other 40 per cent were in favor of the union of the colonies. All but three towns seceded which left the others in financial straits and governmental dilemma. It happened at this juncture that an order from the King relative to navigation was addressed to the governor of New Haven, on the strength of which action the demand was made upon the seceding towns to return to the jurisdiction, while the New Haven court sent a document to Connecticut's General Assembly reviewing the situation and asking that union be not insisted upon. Connecticut remained silent but Massachusetts advisers said that, having made this statement, New Haven could yield with dignity. Simultaneously it appeared that the Duke of York, brother of Charles II, was planning to assert his authority under a charter granted by the susceptible Charles, covering Long Island, New Netherlands and all the territory from the west bank of the Connecticut to the east side of Delaware Bay. This looked to New Haven like a second robbery, and altogether it was better to join with Connecticut. The broken-hearted Davenport declared that his dear colony's independence was "miserably lost." Winthrop put forth no claim to Long Island but arranged to have the western boundary about as it is today, barring a few changes which were to come out of several controversies in subsequent years.

The now comprehensive General Assembly was to meet alternately in New Haven and Hartford. Winthrop continued as governor till his death in 1676. The marvel of his success had become greater as the years went by, for the King's advisers and their successors were more and more outspoken in declaring that he had exceeded his powers in granting an independent state. And in action the colonists did not hesitate to exercise independence in excess of their charter rights. Certain changes were made to suit their convenience. Thus the charter required that colony officers should be elected by the freemen assembled in one mass meeting; it had become customary for the outlying towns to send their votes to Hartford by their deputies, and as the same was true in New Haven, a law was passed authorizing

such action, in 1670, but not till 1750 were the words "in person" struck out. This was contrary to the English law and would have been taken as a violation of the charter had attention been called to it.

In 1698, the Legislature was divided into two houses, the governor and assistants (or "council") constituting the "upper house." "That there be no fraud or deceit," balloting in town meetings was as follows: Twenty nominations of colony officers were made at the preceding session of the Legislature. As the nominations were read, ballots were taken for governor, deputy governor, secretary and assistants, in order. The nominations for assistants were taken in order, each separately, the twelve having the most votes being declared the choice. Anyone could put in a blank ballot without making himself known, but unless all were blank it would have no effect. The criticism of today is that a nomination was an election, with the result that the votes of the freemen counted for naught. But such was not the case. The "convention" or "caucus," to be sure, was in the preceding session, where, as time progressed, there could develop divergences of opinion although as yet there was no division into parties; then if results were still unsatisfactory, enough blank ballots would appear at the election to make a renomination very uncertain—and elections came every year. In general, however, nothing occurred to make more than one party, there was fair unanimity and a desire to continue those who served well. In 1689, when an elector must have an estate worth 40 shillings a year, the experiment was tried of having a direct vote of the freemen for the nominees at the nominating session of the Legislature, each ballot with twenty names to be written out, but this was abandoned after three years.

The first distinct property qualification for a voter was made in 1657 when the character of some of the immigrants seemed to demand it. In that year, voters for colony (not town) officers must be householders at least 21 years old, have held office or have an estate of £30; ratable estates then averaged £60. In 1679 the law was that each voter for town or county officers must have an estate of at least 50 shillings. There were four counties, Hartford, New Haven, New London and Fairfield, each having three assistants and two commissioners or "justices of the peace."

When the Dutch were threatening in 1673, it was decreed that there should be a "Grand Committee"—the first Council of War—to deal with all matters in case of emergency between sessions. This committee should consist of the governor, deputy governor and assistants and such others as were named, mostly military men, and generally so after the first year of the law. The Hartford County men on this responsible committee, which was to be of great value in the dark years ahead, were Capt. Benjamin Newberry of Windsor, (and later) Captain Wells, Capt. John Wadsworth and Richard Lord.

XI

ANNIHILATION THREATENED

TERRORISM OF KING PHILIP'S WAR, AFTER REPULSE OF ANDROS—
COUNTY MEN AGAIN HEROIC LEADERS—LAST DAYS OF CONNECTI-
CUT INDIANS.

The enactment for a War Council, so useful for another hundred years, must seem anomalous to him who only pores over the records and stilted correspondence of thirty years up to this time. Aside from consideration of the Dutch threat, attention of those who wrote was devoted to affairs of state, of government and of internal legislation along the paths of peace. Absorbed in such reading, one comes to think that now the colony was sure of its footing and went forward steadily to the final union of states. But among the people themselves it was items like the War Council legislation that reflected a constant and growing sense of wariness, a necessity for keeping prepared, and yet no premonition of what the next century was to bring.

The first act of distinct colonial aid to the mother country was in 1664 when Charles II sent Col. Richard Nicholls who, supported by reinforcements from New England and Rhode Island and accompanied by Governor Winthrop, secured Stuyvesant's capitulation of New Amsterdam. Almost immediately thereafter was confidence in peaceful colony-building to be shaken when Governor Andros sailed from New York to fix the Connecticut River boundary line of the territory given the Duke of York by Charles. With his fleet and brave soldiery he appeared at Saybrook July 8, 1675. The General Assembly had exercised foresight. Capt. Thomas Bull of Hartford, redoubtable, had arrived at the fort with well-equipped men. The flag of the King to whom the colony had pledged fealty was aloft. Andros and his attendants in all their finery were courteously permitted to land and even to read the duke's epistle. But Bull

—who Andros said should have “his horns tipped with silver”—abated none of his warlike attitude. As it would be imprudent to fire upon the King’s flag, there was nothing for Andros and his retinue to do but to sail home again. Bull was lionized by a much-agitated people, but the stern General Assembly told him that he should have interrupted Andros’ reading “by shouts or sound of drum etc., without violence.”

In the fall of that same year all anxiety imposed by white men, whether of their own blood or other, dropped into insignificance before the outburst from Massachusetts. With no aid from the mother country, war was on, brief in its duration, little more than itemized for the casual reader, but a war whose fearful intensity caused the General Court of Massachusetts to declare at the close:

There died many brave officers and sentinels, whose memory is blessed and whose death redeemed our lives. The bitter cold, the tarled swamp, the tedious march, the strong fort, the numerous and stubborn enemy they contended with, for their God, King and country, be their trophies over death. Our mourners, over all the colony, witness for our men that they were not unfaithful in that day.

In retrospect the government of Massachusetts ascribed King Philip’s war to God’s indignation over the sins of the people who had become lax in church discipline, had forgotten to train their children aright, had forsaken the paths of their fathers and had permitted their women to expose their bosoms, to dress their hair indecently and to wear too many ribbons. History ascribes it more nearly to application of Puritan ideas of deportment and government to proud and sensitive Indians who had not been made instruments of aid as in Connecticut. For unchristianized natives there was only Anglo-Saxon justice interpreted by the red men as contempt. The Wampanoags had not been Christianized; their chief Massasoit had shared all he had with the newcomers, but his successors, Alexander and Philip, found their people pushed to one side and downward and vaunted pledges violated, according to their interpretation, as when Miantonomoh of the Narragansetts had been allowed to go to his death at the hands of him they called renegade, Uncas of the Mohegans. Alexander’s sudden (but natural) death they ascribed to poison;

Philip, young, lusty, supple, came to the chieftainship, bitter of heart. Thrice was he summoned to Boston for investigation, and returned marveling at the exhibition of firearms he had seen. Ordered to surrender his own till signs of an outbreak should disappear, he remarked that he saw that those he did turn in were distributed among the individual colonists and he reminded the government of the spirit of amity which had been promised to the fathers.

For four years breach of faith was charged again and again, till at last the fires were lit and the Wampanoags and the Narragansetts and their associates, to the number of over 3,000, were on the warpath. Connecticut, with more methodical preparation and with greater confidence in her local Indians, was the first to take the field. The Podunks alone favored the enemy; Uncas, whose home now was with the Mohegans on the Narragansett border, had been having quarrels with his eastern neighbors; and his followers, chiefly as scouts and guides, were of great assistance. Heedless of Andros' threat, the troops were on the march for New London, Stonington and Saybrook July 1, 1675, under command of Capt. Wait Winthrop and Thomas Bull. Shrewd in generalship, Philip's first blow fell on the Connecticut Valley in Massachusetts, and Brookfield was burning on August 1. Capt. Thomas Watts of Hartford and Capt. Roger Newberry of Windsor with troopers and Mohegans, were hurried to the support of the Massachusetts men, followed soon by Maj. John Talcott of Hartford at the request of Major Pynchon of Springfield, for a conference. At Deerfield, September 1, Watts was able to protect the people but could not save their homes. Maj. Robert Treat, formerly of Wethersfield but now of Milford, hastened to the relief of Northfield, where brave Massachusetts men had paid the penalty of lack of vigilance, and escorted the people to Hadley. His force was too small for battle. Recalled by alarm at Hartford, he returned, scouring both sides of the river.

Pynchon as commander-in-chief and Treat as second in command then planned a campaign which they were unable to execute because of the interference of the commissioners at Boston who demanded annihilation in the open. A careless convoy of provisions near Northfield, their guns on their wagons, were

annihilated. Treat arrived in time to save their bodies for burial—seventy-five in one grave.

Terror hereabouts was greatly increased by the burning of Springfield October 5, 1675. General massacre by the hitherto friendly Agawams would have been included had it not been for information from an Indian employed by H. Wolcott, Jr., a Windsor farmer who brought warning at the risk of his life. Pynchon from the north and Treat from Westfield arrived too late. More Connecticut alarms, especially around Wethersfield, where, as in the other towns, all able-bodied men were taking turns in guarding the homes and the crops, caused the temporary recall of Treat. Disgusted with the interference from Boston, Pynchon resigned and suggested Treat for his successor, but as he was in Connecticut, Major Appleton was named. The small body of fighters was becoming demoralized by foolish orders. Treat's return inspired confidence but almost immediately he was recalled because of reports from Glastonbury, and was held in Connecticut pending an attack upon Hartford which Governor Andros of New York wrote he had learned of. This danger passing, Treat hastened to the aid of Appleton, now bottled up at Hatfield with the redskins tearing at will through all the country north of Springfield, cutting off farmers and destroying crops. At the approach of winter, falling leaves were making it possible to scout through the woods when Treat was summoned to Hartford and Appleton to Boston to receive the plan of the commissioners of the United Colonies for an attack on winter quarters of the Narragansetts, who had not taken the trail but were harboring the families of their friends. Their chief, Canonchet, had signed a treaty but that was drafted "by old men" in his absence and he refused to comply with the agreement to turn over the alien Indians in his territory.

The commissioners issued an ultimatum and then, on November 2, a call for 1,000 additional men to invade the Narragansett land. Of Connecticut's quota of 215, Hartford sent 110. Gov. Josiah Winslow of Plymouth was chief in command with Treat next to him. Capt. Benjamin Newberry of Windsor having been disabled was succeeded by Capt. Samuel Marshall. Other Connecticut officers who were to distinguish themselves were Captains Thomas Watts, Nathaniel Seeley, John Gallop,

John Mason 2nd and Lieutenants James Avery and John Miles, while Rev. James Fitch was to organize Mohegans and Pequots as auxiliaries. On December 18, this the largest army ever assembled in the colonies, after a day of fasting and prayer on the 2nd when the people were told by the government of the Bay Colony that they were suffering judgment for their sins of frivolity, started at daylight for the Narragansett swamp where some 1,200 warriors were fortified with their women and children. And it was Sunday. That such an expedition should be undertaken with untrained men, badly equipped, through snow and into pathless woods, seeming to invite defeat and so contrary to the first principles of campaigning, is abundant proof of the desperation. They believed the fate of the colonies was at stake; this blow alone could give them hope. Homes were few and they and their occupants were being destroyed; approaches were being made even to the environments of the equally unprotected larger settlements; whether this was to be white men's land or Indians' must be decided. Hartford no less than Boston can count this as one of the gravest moments in its history.

Guided to the one weak spot in the doubly strengthened palisade, the Massachusetts men led the assault but were stopped with heavy loss. Connecticut followed, and there fell immediately Gallop of Stonington, Marshall of Windsor, Lieut. John Stedman of Wethersfield, commanding the Hartford County Dragoons, and Seeley of Fairfield, and Mason was mortally wounded. Exhausted by their long march and dazed with the novelty of their surroundings, the new men were about to become the easy victims of the warriors who were defending their homes when the wigwams caught fire and the flames, swept by a swift wind, drove all before them down the large enclosure. Six captains and twenty-five men had been killed and 150 wounded in brief space of time. The English retreated before the flames to the swamp. How many of the Indians had perished could not be surmised, but it must be that the force had been greatly reduced. The position could not be held; the alternative was almost as impossible but had to be accepted and, accordingly, in a fierce snowstorm which beat down many of them, they worked their way in the darkness over the rough trails to their base near present Wickford. Twenty died in their improvised

litters on the march. While the main body arrived two hours after midnight, stragglers were coming in throughout the next day.

Canonchet would have no parley till his hostage brother was returned from Hartford. The army was speedily recruited up to 1,400, Connecticut furnishing 300. With all the red men he could assemble from any source, Canonchet was striking out through a corner of Connecticut towards the center of Massachusetts where presumably were the headquarters of King Philip, but no one knew; at all events the union of such forces must be prevented. A premature blow by Winslow proved disastrous. The slow pursuit through snow and over roughest terrain, without the chance of a shot, was ever after known as the "hunger march" when the white men had to kill their few horses for food. On through Woodstock to Marlboro, in the heart of the Indian country, they had pushed when Winslow made the costly error of disbanding his forces. The Indians, nearly starved after the arrival of the reinforcements, raided farms more boldly.

To the call for 600 men, with Mohegans, Major Treat responded generously for Connecticut, but before they could be assembled one of the most frightful blows of the war fell upon Lancaster and it was wiped out February 10, 1676. Among the wounded prisoners spared was Mrs. Joseph Rowlandson, wife of the minister who at the time was in Boston begging for a guard for his town. The ball which passed through her side mortally wounded the babe in her arms. Her written story of her captivity and the considerate treatment she received was given out after her removal to Wethersfield and is one of the most valuable human documents of colonial times. More recruits were brought up. With 200 Major Treat, in March, rescued Capt. William Turner who, with his garrison of seventy-eight, at Northampton, had given up hope.

March 17 the valley tribesmen stole down through Pine Meadow (Windsor Locks) where they killed one man, over to Simsbury where they plundered and burned houses the settlers had abandoned. Fiction marks a cave on the west side of Talcott Mountain as the aerie from which King Philip himself watched the flames; since the cave was on the farm of the Phelps family,

the probability is that the names with their similarity in sound became confused in successive generations which told of the raid.

Again Treat was called back to search for vagabond Indians who killed or wounded a colonist here or there and increased the anxiety. Philip himself was rejoicing in his freedom from attack, and was planning a combined invasion of the Boston territory, where farmers and villagers were huddling in despair, when Treat led a band of Connecticut men into Rhode Island, by strategy on April 3 annihilated one band of Indians and soon brought back the Narragansett chief Canonchet. To the offer of his life if he would secure peace, Canonchet replied that he wished to die before his heart was made soft and before he had spoken words unworthy of himself. On April 8, the council at Hartford formally acknowledged the receipt of his head from the Mohegans and Pequots to whom he had been turned over for execution.

Treat had resigned about that time to accept the position of deputy governor and had been succeeded by Maj. John Talcott. The Connecticut troops were ordered to join Henschman and his Massachusetts men for a final attack on Philip in his stronghold on Mount Wachusett in Massachusetts. Henschman having been misled and Talcott alone not being strong enough for the attack, the Connecticut commander took his own course westerly and did that thorough work up through the Connecticut valley which has caused him to be memorialized there. Unknown to the Indians, he was inside the stockade at Hadley the night of June 11 when they had assembled for their massacre, and from that time on, he and Henschman who had come up with him gave them no rest. Philip was off for the Narragansett country but Talcott, with Newberry and Denison, were there ahead of him. Striking as he went, Talcott reached Providence where he learned that peace was being talked of, "upon which information," he reported, "being willing to set our seal upon it, we posted away and drest Providence's necks, killing and capturing sixty-seven Indians we found there."

Meantime the Massachusetts troops, convinced at last that Indian scouts were an essential, were pressing the devastators hard throughout eastern Massachusetts. Having learned of Philip's lair near Bristol, they hastened down into Rhode Island

nor rested till they had surrounded him. On August 12, one of the Indians shot and killed him as he was escaping from his hiding place. Bands making their way westward terrified again the up-river region whither Talcott hurried in August to give them their final blow.

Hartford County activities during the period had been constant. As early as 1674 it had been ordered that certain houses in each community should be fortified to afford place of refuge in case of attack. In July, 1675, 150 dragoons and troopers were operating between here and New London. After John Colt had been shot by skulkers in the South Meadows in September, Major Treat kept a patrol of thirty dragoons there for some time. When 110 men were called for in November, to report to Major Treat, Hartford's quota was 30, Windsor's 28, Wethersfield's 20, Farmington's 15 and Middletown's 14, with a horse to every third man. At the Swamp Fight, Wethersfield was represented by Lieut. John Stedman who was killed and by Lieut. Samuel Martin, Capt. Samuel Welles, Lieut. John Chester, Lieut. Thomas Hollister and Rev. Gershom Bulkeley, chaplain and surgeon, who was overcome. After that fight, in the expedition into Rhode Island, John Fitch of Wethersfield commanded the county dragoons; Samuel Martin, Sr., was a lieutenant in Captain Watts' company. In February, 1676, eighty from the county went with Major Talcott to Rhode Island. William Hills of East Hartford was shot in the Hockanum meadows. A garrison was established in Glastonbury and the Indians were told to build a fort. John Kirby was shot between Wethersfield and Middletown. In March of that year eighty were sent to Captain Newberry's command in Northampton. The Council of War ordered the release of Sachem Turramugas, Sowheag's successor, who had been held for conspiracy. In June, 1676, the Hartford company was divided into two parts, the southern section under the command of John Stanley of Hartford; Thomas Hollister of Wethersfield lieutenant and John Wyett ensign. After King Philip's death, Hollister was authorized to return ten prisoners to the Mohegan allies; the rest of the prisoners were sold as slaves by order of Major Talcott. Henry Denslow of Windsor and Edward Elmor in South Windsor were shot in the summer of 1676. To meet

expenses in this war, the colony paid an extra tax of 11 pence on the pound for three years.

After this war, Indians ceased to be a serious problem in local government barring an affair with Minigret and the Long Island Indians. Tribal control, independent settlements with a governor in control, in this place and in that, with no one wanting them for neighbors, the remnants of the Pequots spent their last days in comparatively modern times near Groton and Stonington, aided by the state. The Mohegans, lords over wide territory, sold plots of ground first to one white man and then to another, often for a drink or a trinket, until there was confusion that occupied the attention of courts in England and in Connecticut for seventy years. Major Mason had accepted from Uncas the large tract known as "Sequestered Land" which never was encroached upon till after Mason's death in Norwich in 1672. He considered it the property of the colony as by deed, a contention earnestly presented by those who bought into lawsuits and eventually so maintained by the colony.

Not far from Mason's grave is that of Uncas who lived ten years longer than he, meantime distinguishing himself again in King Philip's war. In the cemetery set apart for the royal family of the Pequots and Mohegans stands his monument, the foundation stone of which was put in place in 1833 by President Andrew Jackson, who was accompanied by Vice President Van Buren, Governor Edwards and members of the President's cabinet.

The Podunks and the other Indians of Hartford County, as will be seen in some of the town histories in this work, faded away rapidly. A number of them removed to the western section of the county whence they were taken to Stockbridge, Mass., and eventually, with other wanderers, to Stockbridge, N. Y., to jurisdiction of the Oneidas. The tribe was called the Brother-tons. Samson Occum, the Mohegan Indian minister, one of the Indian pupils of Doctor Wheelock whose attainments inspired the founding of Dartmouth College, was their pastor and died there in 1792. They moved on to Calumet County, Wisconsin, where their descendants, admitted to citizenship in 1839, became a prosperous community.

Four years after the war favorable report of conditions was sent to England by the colony. The militia numbered 2,500 and one troop of sixty horse. Of Indian neighbors there were 500 fighting men. Trade was chiefly with Boston and the commodities were provisions, lumber and horses. Imports amounted to £9,000 annually. Wheat crops were failures. There were twenty "petty merchants," few foreign merchants, few servants and fewer slaves—not over thirty. There were so few English, Scotch and Irish coming in that no account could be made of them. Nearly all the people were Congregationalists with a few Presbyterians and four or five "seven-day" men and the same number of Quakers. In the twenty-six towns there were twenty-one churches with settled ministers whose stipend was from £50 to £100. The poor were well cared for, labor was "dear"—two shillings or more a day, and provisions cheap. Beggars and vagabonds were not allowed.

Rhode Island invaders were driven back over the line while Connecticut claimed her boundary by charter and also by conquest in the late war, in which Rhode Island had done nothing. Rhode Island's claim to part of the Connecticut territory was set aside by commissioners appointed by the King. This dispute was revived again under the claim of the heirs of the Duke of Hamilton and fruitless litigation continued many years.

XII

THE ANDROS USURPATION

CHARTER NOT INVALIDATED—SIGNIFICANCE OF RESENTMENT—CHARTER OAK EPISODE AND MYSTERY OF "DUPLICATE"—CONTROL OF MILITIA MAINTAINED.

In the short breathing spell for quiet, independent yet loyal expansion, another crisis was impending. It was unlike that which the barbarians had created because it was imposed by those then in control in the mother country and therefore unnatural, and it was to find its culmination in freedom with independence a hundred years later. Charles II could be gracious; he could be flattering in correspondence, as when comparing this colony with that of the Bay, but he also could "play" favorites. His grant of previously granted territory to his brother James, Duke of York, was only one example. Also there were men who could take advantage of his good nature.

Foremost among these was Edward Randolph. From commercial and imperialistic standpoint, the program for combining territory under one control was much in line with the programs of later years and later colonization, but the fallacy here lay in the misconception of the disposition of fellow Englishmen and men who had gone out to secure freedom of thought. To prepare the way for such large combine as he would like, Randolph cast aspersions upon New England and especially upon the Bay Colony. For Connecticut he made good use of the Saybrook incident to demonstrate the haughtiness of this colony at the time Governor Andros had sought to assert York's title. When York himself came to the throne upon his brother's death in 1685, England's Board of Trade had reason to expect early amalgamation, under gubernatorial control, from the Delaware to Canada.

In popular understanding, a charter is a sacred instrument, not to be annulled without a hearing. During James' tyrannical

reign, however, such established principle was ignored. The form of a hearing in English court was outwardly recognized, as here seen, but in reality was brushed aside. Charter or no charter, as the colonists knew from their counsellors in London, the government of Andros alone would be endorsed by the King; the holder of a charter in 1687 could not stand against such supreme authority; nor were rights of subjects in the colonies to be established through later reigns until there was recourse to arms, in 1775. Then it was to be the sentiment of genuine English people at home as well as here which prevailed against un-English monarchs and influence.

Hartford County history has to do only with Hartford features of the coercion now employed, the most spectacular of all of them inasmuch as here was the seat of the only free constitutional government. Here was the best exemplification of the principle of assemblage in town meetings, which James especially abhorred. The "town" is traceable back into the history of European races. In England it was the "parish." In the Bay Colony, indicated in its original charter, it took the form of a governmental system, and the first regular town legislation in the General Court was at the time of the Hooker arguments there in 1635. The town meeting was to infuriate Andros till his overthrow and imprisonment in 1689. It was to remain down through generations a distinctively New England institution of which Jefferson said: "It is the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government, and for its preservation." It gave a voice to freedom which at times was inharmonious with the environment of the sanctuary in which it usually was held, or may have threatened the foundations of the "town hall" later erected for it, like a palladium, but it kept the interest of the individual at a white heat.

What King James and Andros would not suppress but would control from their royal seats was the soldiery. It was through fear of such monarchical conception that foresighted Connecticut from the first had quietly provided that control must remain under the colonial and subsequently the state government. Persistence in this is deeply marked throughout Connecticut history, as a colony and as a member of confederated and then of united states. The reasons will appear in regular order.

With these points in mind, the events from 1685 to 1700 become more than incidents in historical narrative. Andros came to Boston as governor of New England in December, 1686. Randolph as collector and tale-bearer had been stirring up the indignation of all the colonies and in 1684 had secured the annulment of the Massachusetts charter in court. In 1685 he issued writ of quo warranto because Connecticut was in the hands of an "independent party." He wrote to Hartford that nothing now remained on Connecticut's part but to think of humble submission and dutiful surrender of the charter; if there were resort to law, the colony would be attached to New York, a great "calamity;" and with the jocularly of a Caesar Borgia—also of great persuasive eloquence—he added: "Bless not yourselves with vain expectation of advantage and spinning out of time by delay. I will engage, though the weather be warm, the writs will keep sound, as good as when first landed."

It chanced that the writs were served too late and hence were defective. A third was issued and when delivered was accompanied by a letter from Andros saying he would receive surrender of charter if tendered. Under the tyranny of James, that signified that the surrender was merely a matter of form; the result would be the same one way or the other. The colonists realized this but preferred to adhere to form. Governor Treat replied that William Whiting was then in London as attorney; therefore he asked for time but said, of course, that he was "in duty bound" to submit to the King's demands. Some of the few local supporters of Andros, like Rev. Gershom Bulkeley who in 1692 wrote the document "Will and Doom," insisted that Connecticut should be willing. Others were disturbed by the threat of being joined to New York. The majority calmly bided the outcome. In October Andros wrote the governor that he had orders to compel annexation to Boston and he would soon be in Hartford. Receiving no reply, he set forth October 26, 1687 (according to Judge Sewall's diary), with sundry of his council, justices and other gentlemen, four blue-coats, two trumpeters, fifteen or twenty red-coats, with small guns and short lances in the tops of them, by way of Providence and the Wethersfield ferry (where he was greeted by Gershom Bulkeley). Thence he was escorted by the Hartford County troop under command of Capt. Samuel

Talcott of Wethersfield, and a detachment of the Hartford train-band, to the Adams-Sanford tavern in Hartford.

Governor Andros was ushered into the chamber of the General Assembly in the old inn on Main Street. His retinue and soldiers and the colony's escort remained outside. The inn-keeper's entertainment for those without, on this grand occasion, was even more lavish than usual. With austere respect Andros—he who had met one defeat at the hands of Captain Bull at Saybrook—was escorted to the governor's chair. Patiently he listened to the defense arguments. They were prolonged by distinguished colonists till the hour for lighting candles. The charter lay exposed in its box on the table. To him as he listened quietly, without wasting breath, it was but a piece of sheepskin; to the colonists, studiously gracious in their manner though they were, it was the symbol of sacred rights inherited from Hooker and perpetuated by Winthrop. The room, lighted by the flickering "dips," became close and uncomfortable. A window was opened to clear the tobacco smoke and cool the tired brains. An October puff and the feeble lights were extinguished, but quickly restored out of respect for His Majesty's representative. No record was made of what had happened in the moments of darkness; it was not a subject to be bruited around and published in King James' England. Andros had caused his royal commission as governor to be read and he appointed Governor Treat, with rank of colonel, and Capt. John Allyn, who was the secretary of the colony and of the meeting, to be members of his council which was to sit in Boston and make the laws. The secretary handed the seal to Sir Edmund, and at some time later closed his report with these words:

His Excellency, Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, Captain-General and Governor of His Majesty's Territory and Dominion in New England, by order from His Majesty, King of England, Scotland and Ireland, the 31st of October, 1687, took into his hands the government of this colony of Connecticut, it being by His Majesty annexed to the Massachusetts and other colonies under His Majesty's government. FINIS.

The sentence seems to bear the earmarks of dictation.

In the interval of darkness in the meeting, the charter had disappeared. Andros may have made no stir; he had learned something about these people since he met Captain Bull at Say-



CHARTER OAK AND GOVERNOR WYLLYS MANSION
From an old painting



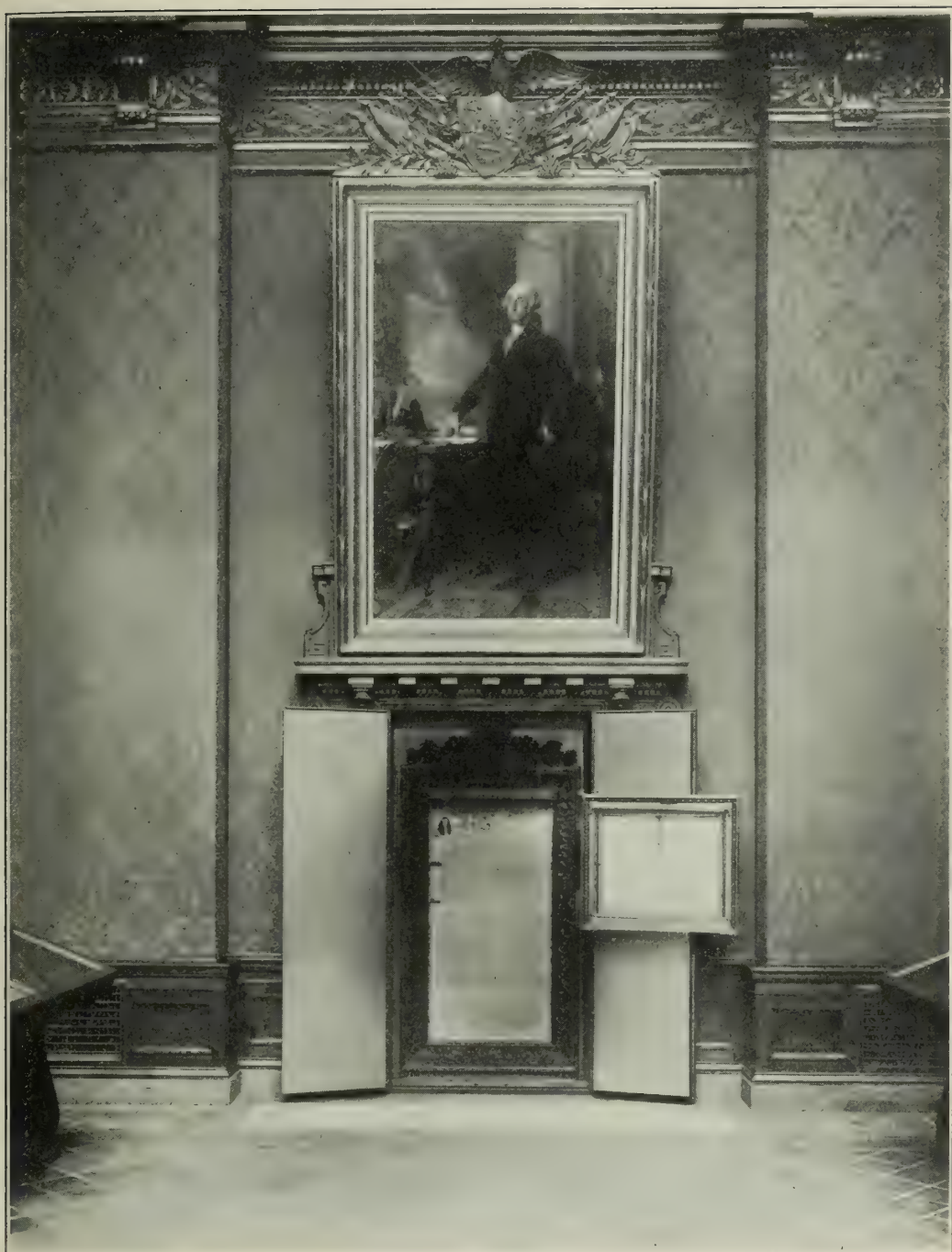
brook; on that humiliating occasion he had spoken in the name of the Duke of York; today he had spoken in the name of the same man but "His Majesty," and he was conscious of his victory; nothing more need concern him. But the symbol of liberty had fallen into the hands of Joseph Wadsworth, an officer in the militia who probably was one of the colonial escort and whose brother John was a member of the Assembly, from Farmington. By him it was hurried to a place of safety, a hole in a great oak in front of the house of Magistrate Samuel Wyllys. This is on the authority of the historian of the next century, Dr. Benjamin Trumbull of New Haven who got such traditions at first hand or very nearly. In the better days of 1715, a resolution was introduced in the lower house of the Assembly to give the captain £4 for his "securing the Duplicate Charter of this colony in a very troublesome season when our Constitution was struck at, and in safety keeping and preserving the same ever since unto this day." In the upper house, where the captain was not popular because of contemptuous words for which he had been publicly reprimanded, the amount was cut to 20 shillings, and the resolution so passed.

This parchment ever after was sacredly guarded. Eventually it was framed in wood of the tree in which it had been hidden, and then hung in the secretary's office. Now in its beautiful carved frame it rests in a special safe, open for public inspection, in the Memorial Hall of the State Library Building, beside Stuart's portrait of Washington. What had become of the other charter? In the fighting of wars of European origin and endeavoring to catch up with their own affairs meantime, the colonists must have been too engaged to think about it. If there was inquisitiveness during the reign of James, there were reasons for suppressing it. Treat in the council was saving Connecticut from most of the ills that were meted out to the other colonies, and it was best to let a sleeping dog lie. After James was driven from the throne in 1689 and King William had restored the colony's rights—which indeed had scarcely been suspended except in name—there was constantly enough besides the charter to command the thoughts of the colonists, and the duplicate was all sufficient. The only mystery thereto attaching is how they knew this was the "duplicate" unless it were by private statement of one of the guardian committee who had known the whereabouts of the original. The

committee had been composed of Samuel Wyllys, John Talcott and John Allen. Wyllys was one of the foremost citizens of the town; on his land it was that the oak stood in which the charter was hidden. The descendants of Wyllys were no less distinguished than he. His namesake (1739-1823) was the first captain of the Governor's Foot Guard, colonel in the Revolution, town clerk, secretary of the state and major-general in the militia. He maintained the old homestead.

The colonial government had acknowledged the receipt of "the charter, the duplicate and the old copy of the former charter"—meaning doubtless the Warwick Patent which Winthrop had unearthed. It had been understood that Winthrop would bring over the duplicate of his charter when he came. The acknowledgment can then be interpreted to mean "the charter" (duplicate form) and the two copies of the old one, no trace of either of which had been found when wanted (or not wanted). The copy which the committee had had in charge till Andros came was in all probability the only charter the colony had, for it can be assumed that the Assembly would not have rewarded Wadsworth in 1715 for saving a copy if it already had the original. Roger Wolcott was chairman of the committee that framed that resolution. He was a boy at the time of Andros' visit. When well on in years, in 1759, he gave reminiscences of the affair and was quoted as saying that Nathaniel Stanley took one copy and Governor Talcott the other. Talcott was governor from 1725 to 1742.

But on August 26, 1686, the government had sent a letter to Counselor Whiting in London, according to the "Colonial Records," instructing him to appear at the next term of court in London, to be held in February, 1687, when writs would be returnable in the action of *quo warranto*; within six months he was to be prepared and have the "duplicate of our charter ready to be established," * * * "(which by Governor Winthrop was left with Mr. James Porter of London and since by us he was ordered to deliver it to you.)" If there were to be any charges against the colony, he should request sufficient time to make answer and decide whether to go to the court or to the King. Delay, it evidently was reasoned, might prevent the worst of alternatives—annexation to New York or Massachusetts. The King's Council appears to have considered it in the nature of a waiver and



COLONY'S HISTORIC CHARTER UNDER STUART'S PORTRAIT OF
WASHINGTON

Memorial Hall, Library Building, Hartford



dropped the quo warranto threat against the charter itself. The point here is that this definitely locates a charter parchment in 1686-7. It remained for Librarian Albert C. Bates of the Connecticut Historical Society in very recent years to trace this out. When the copy then in England reached Hartford cannot be determined; it might not have been till a number of years thereafter, for experience had taught that it was well to keep a copy in London for reference. It made no stir when it came, playing the part of "second fiddle" to the one that had been so joyously greeted and had been hidden in the oak.

A young Trinity College student who became secretary of the state in 1858, unwittingly revealed it after rescuing it from mutilation in the interests of feminine art. The student was John Boyd of Winsted. He was boarding in the family of Rev. Dr. Flint of the South Church. One day he saw a piece of old parchment on the sewing stand of the doctor's mother. She told him it had been brought to her by Mrs. Wyllys to use as cardboard in making over a hat and gave it to him in return for a simple substitute. Not till eight years afterward did he inspect it and discover that it was a large remnant of the charter, already started on the road to ruin.

What has added to the misapprehension in history is the use of the word "duplicate." Both charters were "duplicate" according to custom and as appears on the face of each. It was as though the issue had been: "One charter in duplicate." The question of which was the technical duplicate was not settled till 1898, when Rev. Dr. Love obtained a copy of the record of May 10, 1662, from the accounts of the Hanaper in London, showing that the fee for the original was £5 and for the engrosser's copy "XXs—iiij." Comparison with the marginal notations on the parchments made it clear that the duplicate which Andros would have seized was the one that had been honored in history and romance and that the one that had stood ready for duty in England was the original duplicate. Withal in the second duplicate a small word had been omitted by the copyist, and it is omitted in the various copies that have been made by students, indicating that the first duplicate was still in oblivion. Winthrop's purpose in leaving the first duplicate in London quite likely had been to furnish the strongest evidence should question arise about the wording, as was possible in those times, considering the sweep of its liber-

ality. It now rests in its box, in the rooms of the Connecticut Historical Society at the Atheneum.

The Charter Oak had been prized by the Indians before the white men came and had been spared by the settlers at their request. The natives said it long had indicated to them by the size of its new leaves the time to plant their corn, while under its branches they held their councils. The Wyllys estate passed to Stephen Bulkeley, descendant of Gershom Bulkeley, and then to his daughter, wife of Hon. Isaac W. Stuart. Mr. Stuart cared for the oak diligently till a strong wind blew it down August 21, 1856. Its rings, it is said, indicated a life of 1,000 years. Pieces of the tree were highly prized. One large section was given to the state, from which Albert Entress carved the lieutenant governor's chair which ever since has adorned the platform in the Senate chamber. A tablet, placed by the Society of Colonial Wars, now indicates where the majestic tree stood.

Governor Treat wrote the new King, rejoicing in his having come to the throne and saying that government was continuing under the charter though with some uneasiness because of the methods adopted by the late King, but reminding His Majesty that "we never resigned our charter, nor was it condemned;" therefore he entreated that the instrument be formally confirmed. While the request never was granted, the law officers of the realm declared Andros' usurpation illegal and the charter intact. Plymouth lost her colony independence to Massachusetts, which also included Maine, all under the governorship of the sailor adventurer, Sir William Phipps.

However it was not to be long before there came the much-to-be-resented demand for control of Connecticut's militia. When King Louis of France had been aroused by the dethronement of his friend King James, and England saw design to spread the power of the Roman Catholic Church, Connecticut, retaining her control, responded graciously. Governor Leisler in New York feared French and Indian attacks to the extent that Capt. Thomas Bull of Hartford with a few men was sent to Schenectady to help the New York defenders. In the massacre that followed five of Bull's men were killed and others captured, through no fault of their own. The next spring Hartford County men joined the contingent for the expedition against Quebec, FitzJohn Winthrop

in command. Leisler's failure to do his part made it necessary to abandon the undertaking.

In 1692, Benjamin Fletcher as governor of New York maintained the royal prerogative to control all the soldiery of the colonies and therefore treated Connecticut's sentiments with contempt. He came himself to Hartford in October, 1693, to make demand upon the General Assembly, and when the train bands were assembled and Fletcher ordered that his commission and purpose be read to them, tradition has it that Capt. Joseph Wadsworth again distinguished himself by causing the drums to make a deafening roar and by threatening Fletcher personally. The tradition has far outrun an official pamphlet published by authority of the General Assembly in 1694, under the title "Connecticut Vindicated," in which it was asserted that the royalists in New York, after the fashion of the day, were publishing pamphlets to bring the colony into disrepute in England and that it was they who were trying to create the impression that the colonists at Hartford were discourteous to the King's representative. In "vindicating" Connecticut, the General Assembly's pamphlet said that there were "no armed men" on that occasion. "A training was in hand" but not by the governor's order; no one rose against his excellency and matters were not at all "as suggested to strangers."

In 1693, 150 men were sent from Connecticut to assist Governor Fletcher, and on his appeal the following year, supplies of food and £500,—from the people who successfully resisted his attempts at military control over them. By the time of the peace in 1697, the colony had spent £12,000 or a sum equal to one-tenth of its grand list. Among the minor relief expeditions were those of Capt. William Whiting with sixty fusileers and forty Indians for the northeastern frontier at request of Governor Phipps, and the same Hartford County officer with a company of dragoons for the defense of Albany. Lieut. Stephen Hollister of Wethersfield led an expedition of forty men to quiet an up-river alarm.

The colony's devotion to Gov. John Winthrop's son was strong, especially after the Schenectady affair when Leisler, who had ruined the campaign, put Winthrop in confinement for court martial, from which he was released by the wrathful Mohawks. Moreover he was a good soldier, having had experience in the

Parliamentary army in Scotland, and also he was the man who had preserved the colony's rights. For it was in 1693 that he had gone to England to argue against Fletcher's usurpation of rights under the charter his own father had secured. He won the decision of the court that the charter never had been invalidated and his reply to Fletcher formulated the Connecticut sentiment which has remained constant. It said that whoever commanded the persons in a colony would also command the purse and be the governor; that there was such a connection between the civil authority and the command of the militia that "one could not exist without the other." While the colony was willing to grant use of the militia, there could be no conscription under royal order, and troops must be officered by men named by the colony's authorities.

King William's war was the first but far from being the last in which the colonists attested their loyalty to England. History must bring out the harsher events of the ages but it is not complete if it does not furnish the reader's mind with a conception of general mental attitude throughout each of its periods. These people who established and maintained their free government loved the ties of kinship with those across the water. Their sentiment was deeply reciprocated by the masses and also by certain of those in high positions through the various changes in governmental control. Colonization was a comparatively new thing for what was to become the mighty empire. The judgment of one generation was not that of another. While there seemed to some to have opened up a wholly unsuspected field for graft and aggrandizement, others, of the noblest of the realm, brought to the subject of American colonies their most constructive ability, gave of their sympathies and in person braved the self-denial if not actual hardship in the new land.

As a whole the English people were heart and soul with the pioneers, eager for every item of news from them, while the frequent official reports to the Board of Trade were solemnly discussed and carefully preserved. The reports would make dry reading, but in them is the complete story, quaintly told, of the growth of business and commerce, of the increase in population and of their method of taxation. There was no more clashing of creeds than there was in the home country, and matters of this sort could not figure in material reports, being left, rather, to

those who were active participants and could write their own statements to those similarly interested across the water. The old nation and that which was to be the new were feeling their way, impeded at times by foolish hands not always of their own blood but never with such persistent and far-reaching blunders as have proved the destruction of other states. At the close of its birth-century, the outlook for Hartford County, even in its Connecticut independence, even in its respectful adherence to free thought and resolution, was favorable. It owed fealty to no flag but England's. This must be remembered by those who study the events of the following century which led to separation.

XIII

SELF-GOVERNMENT FEELING ITS WAY

POINTS ESTABLISHED IN MOMENTS OF PEACE—LAND AND EDUCATIONAL QUARRELS—LAWYERS AND COURT SYSTEM—FERRY AND “GREAT BRIDGE”—MINING AND SHIPPING—MASONIC LODGE—FIRST TIN PEDDLER—THE “GREAT AWAKENING.”

In the intervals of peace in the eighteenth century, the county rather better than the rest of the colony gradually worked itself out of the condition of what was known colloquially in New England as “hard scrabble.” The appeal of the General Court for raising the means to pay the expenses for procuring the charter is an illustration of the every-day struggle for subsistence when English currency was scarce. The colonists were besought, in a matter-of-fact way, to get together all they could of agricultural products, tar and other material for shipbuilding and whatever else the wilderness could yield, and send it to New London to be shipped to England.

Taxes yielded barely enough for routine needs; in cases of emergency there had to be recourse to what now are known as “drives,” and at each one every man gave “till it hurt.” Those who like Winthrop, Haynes and Hopkins had comparatively independent means were generous, but it was part of the principle of the government that all should share the burdens. The demands came to increase heavily with the expenses for King Philip’s war, and in 1676 the General Assembly appointed a committee to fix valuations. The rate then was raised from 1 pence to 18 pence. In Hartford, home lots were valued at 40 shillings an acre; improved uplands at 25 shillings on the “north side” and 20 shillings on the “south side,” and the meadows at 50 shillings for one-half and 40 shillings for the other. Paying taxes was somewhat like buying stock in a corporation; distribution of undivided land or land forfeited through failure to utilize it or inability to bear the tax was made in proportion to the amount each man paid in taxes, thereby relieving the poorer inhabitants and, while placing the

chief burden on the wealthier, giving them the prospect of the later yield.

The General Court had come to permit individual towns to make their own distributions among inhabitants, as in the case of present East Hartford, but one result was that in 1723 it was necessary to pass a healing act, confirming old titles which had become uncertain because of the original method of assigning certain amounts to "proprietors" or to others as free gift "in courtesy." When the word "inhabitants" began to assume its present meaning, they felt a right to obtain and hold ownership, by allotment after joint purchase. Such was the case in East Hartford when land was bought from Uncas' son-in-law in 1682 and later along the Bolton border, as will be seen in the history of that region; that not assigned pro rata was held as commons. A similar idea in Hartford's western division created litigation in 1754 that was long and searching. Measurement according to the amount of taxes paid let in inhabitants not heirs of early proprietors, and the litigation was between them as claimants and the heirs as owners since early days.

But a new feature had developed in this instance, namely, that when Andros was about to come to take over all New England, the General Assembly saw that he would have a right to assert specific and particular royal control over all undivided land; therefore the Assembly appointed committees in each town to arrange to receive that undivided land, which included much in the territory to the west of Hartford County's confines—to be mentioned further on,—and have it taken up in order by the inhabitants. One purpose of the law of 1723 was to confirm that cleverly devised plan. Along Hartford's western border was a strip a mile and a half long which in 1672 it had been voted to divide, leaving the rest a commons—"forever." The lots were laid out in 1674. By 1753, steps were taken to lay out the "commons." Heirs and plain "inhabitants" clashed. The litigation ended in the upper court by a jury decision for the heirs if the law provided that those who had purchased the land were invested with the fee thereto, and in 1755 it was found that the law did so provide. This was a precedent for other cases till finally, it is understood, the inhabitants whose allotments had been questioned, including some of the original heirs themselves, bought the heirs' rights, and ownership thereafter could pass freely.

Prior to this incident of Hartford litigation was the more sensational matter of the distribution of the large and more western territory snatched from Andros' grasp. For a time it shared in importance if not in peril with the French-Indian alarms. The ambition of the county to be putting its possessions in better shape was clearly indicated by the little that was done during this war period. After Wethersfield had been divided in 1690 by setting off Glastonbury on the east side of the gnawing Connecticut, it had been the intention to open up the western holdings for the orderly settlement which pioneering and Indian buying was making essential. The territory, running west from Farmington and Simsbury to the Housatonic, was bounded on the north by Massachusetts and on the south by Woodbury and Mattatuck (Waterbury). Steps were taken in 1707 to make the survey and arrive at agreements, but nothing substantial could be done till after Queen Anne's war and the Indian terror. New committees were appointed in 1713 for Hartford and Windsor, the towns to which the territory had been assigned, and four years later New Bantam (Litchfield) was laid out. After settlement with Farmington men who forehandedly had made purchases from the Indians, this layout was confirmed but with proviso that the section north of Woodbury and Litchfield should be left for further disposal by the Assembly.

Request by Hartford and Windsor to settle more of the western sections met with no recorded response from the legislators. Nevertheless in 1720 Ensign Thomas Seymour and Sergeant James Ensign were sent to buy of the natives, and then a list of the purchasers in the towns was made with view to future apportionment. By 1723 the committees reported another tract ready to be laid out—in sixty-seven allotments to be sold at £6 each. The committees were among the prominent men of the colony but the Assembly, suspicious of graft, ordered their arrest, and that too not by the King's attorney of Hartford County but of New Haven County. Hartford County rose in protest; New Haven officials were ordered to make the arrests forthwith; Hartford parried by directing Joseph Talcott (son of Col. John Talcott and later governor), Capt. Hezekiah Wyllys, Lieut. Thomas Seymour and James Ensign to present the subject before the Assembly. Their compromise plan being rejected, it was voted in 1726 that Hartford and Windsor should have only the eastern part of

the tract and the colony the western part, Litchfield to belong to the "proprietors." This gave the two towns the present Colebrook, Hartland, Winchester, Barkhamsted, Torrington, New Hartford and Harwintown, and also Litchfield, for the proprietors, a total of 326,800 acres. The colony's portion was only 120,000 acres, but the thought was to get settlement under way without more dickerings.

The lands having been annexed to the county, Capt. Thomas Seymour and Lieut. Roger Newberry as a committee prepared the layout by which Windsor received Colebrook, Barkhamsted, Farmington and the western half of Harwinton, and Hartford the rest. Each taxpayer of the two towns received, by his list of 1620, a share in the new townships, in proportion to his list at the rate of three acres to the pound. The colony's portion was sold and the proceeds devoted in perpetuity to the schools in the towns then settled. Litchfield County was established in 1751.

Hartford County was decreased in size when Windham County was established in 1726; in 1728, Waterbury's request to be annexed to New Haven County was granted. Norfolk and Salisbury were sold at auction in Hartford in 1738.

The possibilities in reaches of territory were constantly in mind as when in the '50s Phineas Lyman, of Suffield, who had been a leader in the Massachusetts boundary affair, Roger Wolcott, Jr., and others obtained from the Assembly rights to form the Susquehanna Company to go out into Pennsylvania's neighborhood, but within the region named in the charter, and establish Wyoming, since tillable land in Connecticut had been well taken up.

Another of the real estate transactions which earlier tested war-ruffled tempers was the strife relative to Joshua's will in 1722. Joshua, third son of Uncas, whose remarkable will figures also in East Hartford history, in 1676 bequeathed much of his land in present Tolland and Windham counties to men of East Hartford, Hartford and Windsor, reserving his special hunting grounds for his sons. Capt. James Fitch of Norwich and Rev. Thomas Buckingham, then of Saybrook, were the administrators. In 1706 the Hartford legatees and in 1715 the Windsor legatees for Tolland received grants of township privileges. Previously Capt. Jeremiah Fitch of Norwich had bought of a Windsor settler in the Coventry section land that had been left by one of Joshua's

sons to Maj. John Clarke and Rev. Mr. Buckingham. Clarke sued and won. Upon Fitch's refusal to surrender he was brought to Hartford jail, whereupon his squatter-sovereign neighbors marched to Hartford, broke in the jail doors, and, standing off Colonel Whiting, the sheriff, and his large posse at the foot of present Ferry Street, made their way home in triumph. All the jail prisoners were liberated. Later fifteen of the rioters were tried in Special Court and were convicted, but Captain Fitch, the storm center, was acquitted on the ground that he had had no hand in the affair. The outbreak is the more important because it is an illustration of the lawlessness which was developing in contrast with the previous behavior of the people.

The contest over the location of Yale College in the second decade of the century was another illustration, as affecting those in high station, men of the kind who previously had revered and upheld the Legislature. It grew out of the proposal to remove the "collegiate school" from Saybrook to New Haven for reasons that long had appealed to those who had the best interests of the institution at heart. Hartford's bid for it was based on inconvenience in transportation between the counties, ignoring the ambitions and preparations of Eaton's colony for many years. The town offered a sum of money and Rev. Timothy Woodbridge and Rev. Thomas Buckingham, his fellow pastor of the Second Church, worked for the plan. Inasmuch as Wethersfield's great man, Elisha Williams, was establishing a very commendable school in Wethersfield, that town became their first choice as the combat thickened, and inasmuch as they both were members of the board of trustees, it was felt that their wishes should have special weight. The board voted that those students who were "uneasy" might go to other places than Saybrook till the next commencement. Some of them went home and some to Wethersfield. Samuel Smith of Glastonbury, who had been appointed the third tutor at Yale, was induced to go to Mr. Williams' branch. It came about that there were fourteen pupils at Wethersfield, thirteen at New Haven and three or four at Saybrook. In 1716 four students were graduated at New Haven and one (Isaac Burr of Hartford) at Wethersfield. Some of the students were studying in Hartford and the senior class was living with Rector Samuel Andrews at Milford.

New Haven bid as high as £700 and late in 1716 won the vote of the trustees who also voted to begin at once a school building and a rector's house. It was while these were being built in 1718 that Elihu Yale of London, governor of the East India Company, made his gift of books, goods and money, and others contributed. The new building was named "Yale College." At commencement that year eight received diplomas in New Haven and five (including Jonathan Edwards of South Windsor, the great theologian of the century) at Wethersfield. Soon after, the latter group received full recognition as members of the New Haven class. Meantime, the Assembly, "to quiet the minds of the people and introduce a general harmony into public affairs,"—words that picture the colony's anxiety over the disruptions—voted "that a state house should be built at Hartford to compensate for the college at New Haven; that £25 sterling should be given to Saybrook for the use of the school, to compensate for the removal of the college," and that the governor and council should see to the removal of the library from Saybrook to New Haven. The orders of the governor and council were so vigorously opposed in Saybrook and vicinity that the sheriff and his men got the books only after a hot encounter; bridges were torn down, the wagons were attacked and robbed and many valuable books and papers were destroyed in the week's journey to New Haven. The up-river opposition subsided, but when the two local trustees were elected to the Assembly the next year in recognition of their services, they were not allowed to take their seats. The Wethersfield school continued for only a short time and in 1722 Rev. Mr. Williams was made rector *pro tempore* in New Haven, on the removal of Rector Cutler.

It was in 1717 that the General Assembly took up the subject of purchases from the Indians without legislative sanction. A committee was appointed to consider previous purchases. Individuals had bought with clothing, tools and so forth, but for the future the colony would do the buying, and all in the name of the Crown. As previously remarked, the Indians were wont to think they were selling simply hunting rights.

Court decisions were no great deterrent to litigation. Freedom of opinion was strongly implanted in many minds. A statute relative to rioters, drunkards and other undesirable citizens de-

creed that "common barrators, which frequently move, stir up and maintain suits of law in court, or quarrels and parts in the country, shall give security for their good behavior, or be sent to the common gaol." It was during Talcott's administration that the Assembly declared that "many persons had taken upon them to be attorneys at the bar, so that quarrels and lawsuits were multiplied and the King's good subjects disturbed." For a time the number of lawyers was limited.

There was little general knowledge of the English law, such as Ludlow had had, and the process of adapting it to local circumstances was slow. Judge Tapping Reeve, who practiced a year in Hartford before opening America's first law school in Litchfield in 1772, was yet to come. There were, nevertheless, brainy men who availed themselves of meagre opportunities. Barring two permitted to practice regularly under the Andros regime, the first to be appointed in the county were Roger Wolcott of Windsor, who became chief judge of the Superior Court, Capt. John Wadsworth, of Farmington, Capt. Thomas Welles of Wethersfield (grandson of Governor Thomas Welles), and Richard Edwards of Windsor, ancestor of the two Presidents Jonathan Edwards, of Governor Henry W. Edwards, of Judge Ogden Edwards of New York, of Pierpont Edwards of Connecticut, of Aaron Burr and of other leaders at the bar and in the church. Those appointments were in 1708. The next year the appointments were of Capt. Joseph Wadsworth of charter fame, Thomas Olcott and Capt. Aaron Cook, Sr., all of Hartford, and Samuel Moore, of Windsor. In the immediately succeeding years there were appointed Edward Bulkeley of Wethersfield, son of Gershom Bulkeley, Daniel Hooker of Hartford, who became the first tutor at Yale; Thomas Kimberly, of Glastonbury, for a few years colonial secretary and for a long period a teacher in Wethersfield; Capt. Thomas Stoughton of East Windsor; John Bissell of Hartford; and Peletiah Mills, the chief boniface of Windsor. Lieut. Samuel Pettibone, Jr., in 1729, was the first lawyer for Simsbury, and in that year John Curtis was appointed in Wethersfield. When the law was passed in 1730 that there should be but three lawyers in the county and two in each of the other counties, the Hartford appointees were Curtis, Joseph Gilbert of Hartford and Roger Wolcott, Jr., of Windsor. The limitation of number was removed after one year's trial.

It can but be observed that the self-government was feeling its way. Foundations for the present day were being laid on experience. Judicial as well as legislative and regulatory powers were vested in the General Court. New requirements were met thoughtfully and precedents established with care more wonderfully in evidence when one keeps in mind the frequent expeditions for war. The Fundamental Orders were sufficiently elastic to admit of the functions which the inexperienced self-government had to assume and to alter. The early division of the Court into magistrates and deputies became more distinctly the upper house (the Governor and Council) and the lower house, after the absorption of New Haven in 1664 when the title "General Assembly" was assumed. Power ran from the Legislature downward to the towns and it was not till generations later, as will be seen elsewhere, that the Legislature could not supersede courts.

Again from the beginning, it was perceived that the General Court could not assemble to meet the oft-recurring judiciary requirements, so a "Particular Court" was appointed for the trial of the less important cases. Later it was the "Quarter Court," meeting quarterly. The grand jury system was inaugurated in 1643. In 1647 it was ordered that the trial court should consist of the governor, deputy-governor and two magistrates, or of three magistrates if the executives were absent. Town courts, for minor cases, consisted of from three to six men chosen yearly—later the selectmen, with a moderator to preside.

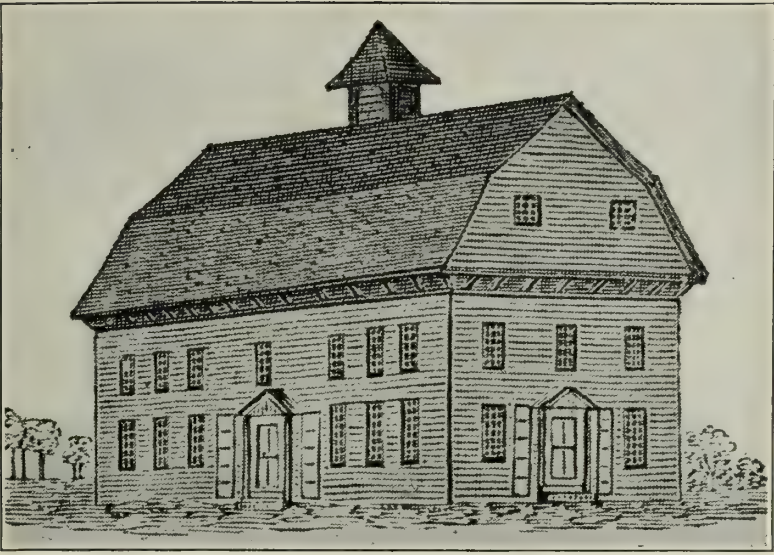
With the advent of the charter and the formation of the counties, Hartford, New Haven, New London and Fairfield, the Court of Assistants succeeded the Quarter Courts, the members being composed of "assistants," formerly known as "magistrates," to meet semi-annually. In 1685 came the County Courts, each composed of three assistants and two commissioners or "justices of the peace," appointed by the Assembly. From 1698 to 1821 there was one judge and from two to five justices of the peace for the County Courts; till 1839, three judges; in 1839 and till 1853, when County Courts were abolished, a county commissioner was added. In this latter year the make-up of such courts was one judge and two or three commissioners.

The Superior Court succeeded the Court of Assistants in 1711, to meet in each county, the governor as chief judge sitting with four of the Council. In power it became a step higher than the

County Court. By 1784 it was found necessary to establish a Supreme Court of Errors for decision of questions of law and equity coming up from the Superior Court. For this the lieutenant-governor and council were named and the governor later was made a member. When cases became too numerous, the Superior Court judges were ordered to assume the duties of the Supreme Court, originally with one chief judge and a number of assistants which was changed from time to time, till 1865 it was made four and is now six, and fifteen in the Superior Court itself, with election by the Legislature for terms of eight years, on nomination by the governor, retirement compulsory at age 70. William Pitkin of Hartford was chief judge in 1713; his son, Governor William Pitkin, in 1754, and his son, Gen. William Pitkin, in 1789.

The first special structure for a state house was decided upon in 1717 when it was voted to sell ungranted lands for the purpose, and in 1719 an appropriation of £500 was made, after the controversy over the location of Yale College, as previously mentioned. This was to be expended by William Pitkin, Joseph Talcott and Aaron Cook as a committee, for a building on the west side of Meeting-house Yard, seventy feet long and thirty feet wide and twenty-four feet between joints, Hartford County to pay £250 toward finishing it. There were to be chambers at each end for the respective houses of the Assembly, with a twelve-foot hall between them and a stairway "into the garrets," and on either side a lobby to the Council chamber. With gambrel roof it was the last word in the architecture of that day, serving till the "Bulfinch" State House was built in 1795. When New Haven became joint capital in 1701, a state house was built on the green there.

The Capitol fronted on Queen Street, now Main Street; State Street was then King Street. The public market, open and provided with stalls, was on the south side of the yard where it was continued for many years. The meeting-house to the east of the yard had a hip roof and a tower in which was the bell which had been brought from Newtown. The bell broke in 1725 and was sent to England for repairs. Queen Street was much wider than the present Main Street; beginning with John Talcott's permission in 1644 to build a cart house in front of his house lot (near



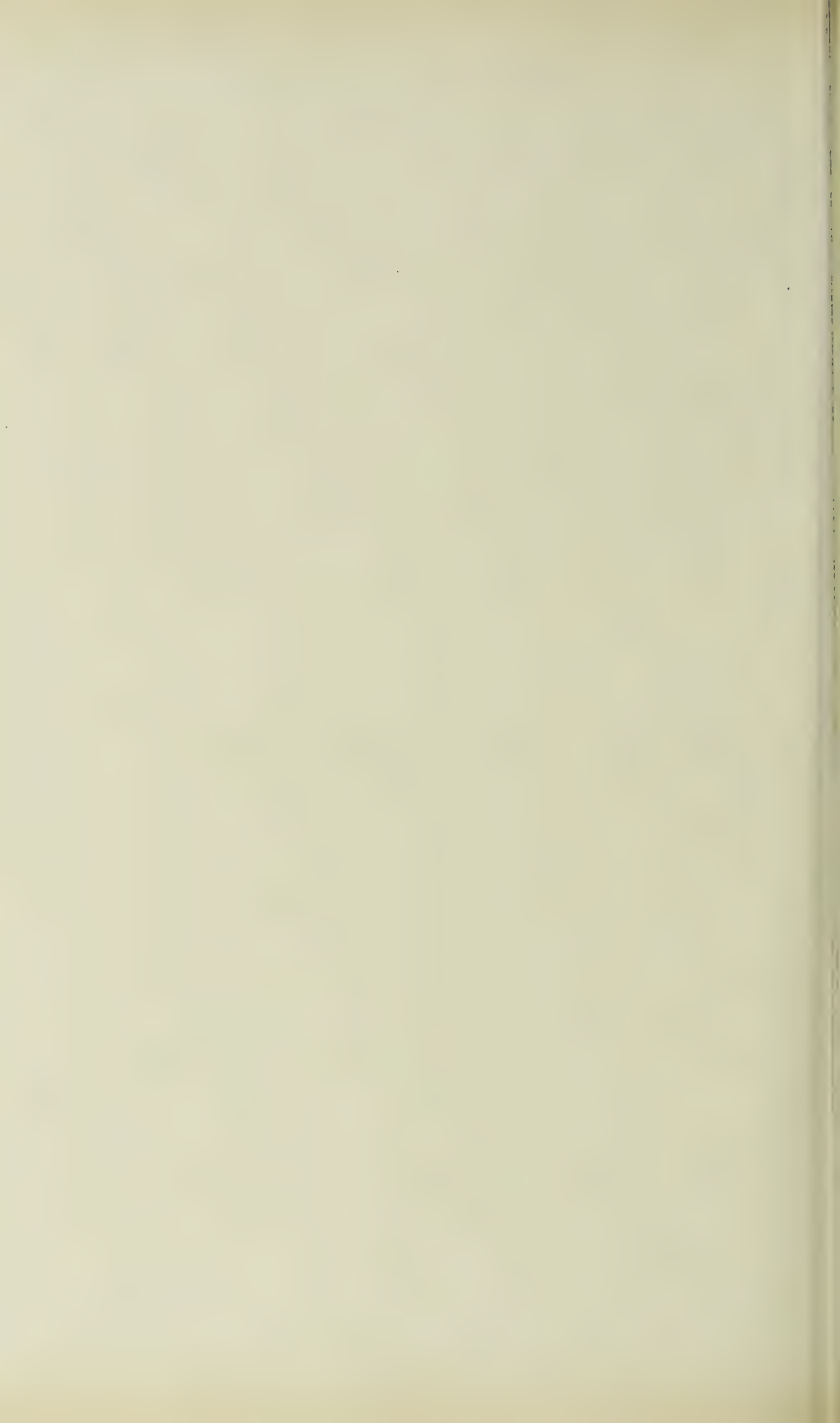
CONNECTICUT'S FIRST STATEHOUSE

Drawn from descriptions preserved in the records



STONE ARCH BRIDGE, MAIN STREET, HARTFORD

One of the first arch bridges in the country. Farmers would not risk it. In distance, old Daniels grist mill and first dam in the county. Looking west on Park River. (Ancient sketch by J. W. Barber.)



the present corner of Talcott Street) encroachments had continued till the Assembly took action as the town had done in 1683. But encroachments on the yard, which originally covered the area from Grove Street to Kinsley Street, continued. The pair of stocks which the law in 1706 required every town to maintain were located in the yard near the church, as likewise the somewhat gnarled log, mounted on four legs, known as the "wooden horse," astride which culprits had to sit. For perjury, a guilty man who could not pay the heavy fine was placed in the stocks an hour with his ears nailed. In 1785, for horse-stealing a man had to ride the horse half an hour, receive fifteen stripes, pay £10, go to the workhouse for three months and on Monday mornings of the first month, ride the horse and be whipped.

What today is called the "Ancient Cemetery" was suffering from neglect, even as it was to do before its final restoration late in the nineteenth century. It became necessary in 1712 to adopt a regulation prohibiting driving over the grounds, and, after vegetation thus had gained an opportunity, it was fenced in as a convenient place for keeping sheep and calves. Forty-four years later it was fenced again and the vote ordered that it be kept up with as little expense as possible. The brick school building, elsewhere referred to, was erected at its northeast corner in 1771.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century and on, the Little River problem assumed proportions as distressful in their way as those immediately antedating the building of the present Connecticut River stone bridge. The first ferry for many years had been a private enterprise. Bissell's ferry at Windsor, used for the Boston route, had enjoyed the encouragement of the General Court, and Edward Stebbins and Thomas Cadwell were doubtless conducting a similar business at Hartford, especially after the beginning of the cultivation of the East Side meadows. Produce and livestock had to be transported. The "proprietors," it is known, owned in common one large boat. In 1715 there was a boat on each side. The town had voted for a public ferry in 1681 and Thomas Cadwell had been given the franchise for seven years. He had a warehouse at the landing at the foot of Ferry Street. His widow and then his son continued the business. The one complaint was about the disturbances caused by those who had to come from the East Side to attend church services in Hartford prior to the granting of the petition for a church on the East

Side in 1694. The charge for the franchise, which was held thirty-seven years by the Cadwells, was £10 a year. Daniel Messenger secured the rights at £13 in 1726. The following year the town began importuning the General Assembly for a lease, but in vain. The privileges now went to the highest bidder, and he could afford to pay well because of the liquor traffic at the landings. Another ferry was opened to the southward by the then lessee, in 1757, yet competition sprang up. The town committee was authorized to make a lease in 1769, inhabitants to have free passage to and from church and on public business. Till the bridge was built in 1810, there was sufficient traffic to support more ferries.

A similar problem of these times and during the great agitation and expense of the colonial wars (to be considered further on) was that of the passage over Little River for people of the North Side and South Side who were finding more and more interests in common. When the town established its first grist mill near the palisado on the north side of the "rivulet" by buying Edward Hopkins' mill east of the ford, in 1666, and building one beside it, the only certain means of crossing was at the ford on the rocky ledge still visible near Hudson Street and by a crude ferry further down-stream. That was the beginning of the mill center along both sides of the stream, rights in which were conspicuous in financial and industrial history till a recent date. A kind of bridge had been built there earlier but could not withstand the high water and was therefore a heavy expense. When the Second Church was erecting its edifice on the south side, its members urged a better and more enduring bridge nearer the Main Street line. In the distractions of the day, matters dragged. Much as in the case of the great stone bridge over 200 years later, they were brought to a head in 1672 by the burning of what then served as a bridge. Two men were charged with arson but escaped conviction; there was no popular lament. The bridge that took the place of this one went out with the next flood. Its successor followed it. By 1728 exhausted patience insisted upon a more pretentious structure at a cost of £300. Good work was done but the series had to be continued, and that, too, despite an especially strong one built by lottery money in 1804. The destructive power of Little River when reinforced at flood-time by the set-back of the Connecticut River defied the engineers, and the

items of repairs and rebuilding continued to appear in the reports of town meetings. It was not till 1832 that the seemingly extravagant ideas of the most advanced engineers prevailed and the first stone-arch bridge of the country was built, as good today as it was the day it was dedicated, fearful as were the farmers for many years to drive their loads across it. It was twenty feet east of the site of the earlier bridges and it was necessary to raise the highway five feet at the north end to make a proper level. The vicinity was a more popular business resort than ever.

Largely for the purpose of meeting the frequent outlays for bridges at this point, the town began leasing land on both sides of the stream. In the 1700s these leases were for about twenty years; after the Revolution, they were for 999 years. In 1824, when inducement was being made to locate Washington (Trinity) College in Hartford, and eight years before the expensive arch bridge was constructed, the decision was won for Hartford by quit-claiming its rental and fee to the amount of \$5,000 to the promoters of the institution.

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The colony did not encourage manufacturing and England naturally objected strongly to it. Each house was its own factory and the women were the "hands." The house-lot grass of a morning was covered with bleaching linen, the meadows with rotting flax and the sunny walls of the house with strings of sliced apples to dry. They represented only a moderate surplus of the good-wife's work by candle light the previous evening. In the daylight hours, after meals had been cooked over the open fire, the butter churned, the cheese squeezed dry, the washing done at the big bench by the back door in water drawn by bucket from the well, the tallow poured into candle molds, the lye set to drain from the chiseled stone slab, the flax hatched and spun, skeins of wool and flax hung on the walls, other skeins reeled off for use on the big looms which some one must keep in almost constant operation to supply clothing and blankets and sheets and curtains, and the cows milked, there was a few moments' respite for supper and then the evening routine, the prayer and Bible-reading at 9 o'clock usually supplementing those of the early morning. Customarily the reading was consecutive, chapter by chapter, verse by verse, "begat" by "begat." Between planting and harvest, the black-

smiths were hammering out the hoes, shovels, axes, scythes, plow-shares, and shoemakers were on their neighborhood rounds.

Copper ore, much of it in the bog, was found in Windsor, Granby, Simsbury and Bristol, but supplies were not large and facilities and laws were discouraging. Deposits of feldspar in South Glastonbury were yet to become valuable. Alluvial deposit produced crops which by 1750 put the tax rate at 15 shillings an acre as against less than half that in other counties. This was the soil which by 1845 was to rank first in production of tobacco (90 per cent), Indian corn, rye, fruit and hay. The first charter privileges for mining in America were granted for works at present East Granby in 1709 where mining had been going on for six or seven years. The ore shipped to London showed 20 per cent copper with admixture of gold and silver but it was difficult to separate the quartz, and as England would allow no smelter and the hazard and expense of transportation counted heavily, the mine was closed by attachment. Such was the beginning of the famous Newgate mine and prison, elsewhere described. Samuel Higby in 1728 obtained a ten-years' monopoly on the manufacture of steel by a "curious art" he had discovered "to transmute common iron into good steel." He finally abandoned this, as also did Thomas Fitch and others who took up the enterprise later.

William and Edward Pattison of Ireland, who had settled in Berlin, might be considered the founders of Connecticut salesmanship—the first "Yankee tin-peddlers." In 1740 they began making tin kitchen utensils after the fashion they were familiar with at home. The delight of their neighbors led Edward to quit farming and go on the road with such pans and pails as he could accommodate on his horse's back. Thus an enterprise was started which gave Connecticut fame to the most remote sections of the colonies and a principle of salesmanship established which was to put America in the lead among the nations. Carts and four-horse covered wagons in turn succeeded the saddled mare, supply stations throughout the land were constructed, while the glitter of the wares and the rattle of the pretentious vehicles were the substantial advertising equivalent of printer's ink today, good workmanship being the foundation.

Enough activity in ship timber enabled the General Assembly in 1715 to increase revenue (for wars and other purposes) by im-

posing a tariff by the hundred pounds on all importations by non-residents. Twenty years later, there being fears of deforestation and, perhaps, incidentally, an increasing need of revenue, an export duty was placed on pipe (hogshead) staves, clapboards and tar, and in 1741 the size of staves was fixed by law, with inspectors in every town. So pressing did the needs become that in 1747 a tariff was imposed on all imports of over £15 in value from other colonies and also from England and Ireland. A tariff on lumber had been suspended because of protest.

Whereas in 1680 there was but one ship of ninety tons registered in the colony, and in all there was an even score of petty merchants, and in 1730, four vessels of from thirty-five to sixty tons burthen were made in the North Meadow Brook; in 1750 there were seventy registered vessels. The number of ratable persons in 1654 was 177; in 1761, by the selectmen's census, there were 868 whites and sixty-eight blacks in Hartford North Side, and 720 whites and sixty-eight blacks South Side; 1,158 all told in East Hartford and 653 in the Western Division, a grand total of 3,938 in the town. Windsor and Farmington were somewhat larger.

And yet there were those who believed the colony was headed toward bankruptcy, and all because of these women whose daily labors have just been referred to. Thus wrote a correspondent in the *Courant* in 1765:

"Who without the most melancholy apprehension can behold in this poor colony a thousand ladies, each of whom costs not less than £30 per annum in board, clothing and attendance, half of which she does not earn? Here is a clear annual loss of more than £15,000, which together with the ill example of about 1000 pairs of idle hands gives us a too sure presage of speedily obtaining the appellation of a bankrupt colony."

A western post ran from Boston through Connecticut and New York to Pennsylvania once a week in summer and fortnightly in winter, a vast improvement over the haphazard service from Boston established by the *Penny Post* in 1694. In 1755 there was a post rider between New Haven and Hartford each week-end. John Walker, with office on Main Street not far from the State House, was local postmaster in 1764, and New London was added to the postal list three years later. The first formally commissioned postmaster was William Ellery, appointed by Ben-

jamin Franklin and Thomas Foxcroft, postmasters-general by royal appointment, in 1768, or four years after the *Courant* was born. The post office store was near the Little River (or "Great") bridge. There was only one mail a week till 1786. Ellery was postmaster most of the time till he resigned in 1777. Thomas Hilldrup's succeeding administration was marked by so many changes of location as to create ridicule. After the inauguration of the national post system in 1790 and the appointment of Ezekiel Williams, the location was more certain, at about the corner of Main and Grove streets, and conduct of business more systematic. In 1717 Capt. John Munson was allowed the monopoly of carrying goods and passengers by coach between New Haven and Hartford for seven years, running once a week except in winter. Stage coaches began running to Boston and New York in 1752.

Of the colored population enumerated in the selectmen's census only a few were slaves; what there were were retained in the families, there being no traffic, and under the law owners were obliged to care for them in their old age. The imitations of white men's doing furnished much amusement. They held their regular "training days," under the command of an elaborately equipped "general" and the men in the ranks were uniformed grotesquely. From 1770 till about 1820 they elected and pretentiously inaugurated a "governor," usually an outstanding Negro whose word was law among his constituents and whose henchmen were "justices of the peace." The punishments inflicted at the South Green were enough to hold the careless in restraint. After Governor Philip Skene of Skenesborough, Vt., was brought here as a prisoner in the Ticonderoga campaign of 1775, his body servant Cuff gained popularity. His election as "governor" created no little alarm for he was accused of giving aid and comfort to the enemy, the tories, and it required a serious investigation to dispel the fears. "Old Boston," who held the high office several times and was in every way a good citizen, was buried in the First Church cemetery.

The election and training days of the whites were already beginning to indicate what they would be in the next century. After the last French-Indian war, when tension grew less, flow of good fellowship was unrestrained and there were forerunners

of tavern balls of later days. At the same time there was organization for charitable work and higher appreciation of citizenship.

In 1762 the time was ripe for the first Masonic charter. It was issued for St. John's Lodge, No. 4, and John Townley was the first worshipful master. The first meetings were held at the taverns of Hezekiah Colyn and Mrs. Sarah Flagg till a hall was prepared in the Black Horse tavern. Israel Putnam was a frequent visitor. The Grand Lodge was formed in 1769, a lodge in Farmington in 1787 (afterwards located in Plainville) and one in Berlin in 1791. From these have sprung all the others in the county. Washington Commandery, Knights Templar, was organized in Colchester in 1796, removing to Hartford in 1844, now the oldest in the country.

§

It is left for a summary of religious conditions in the eighteenth century to indicate the effect upon the people of the anomalies—of the great change that had come over them in the interrupted progress toward better things. In the study of the successive revolutions, social and ecclesiastical, one must keep ever in mind the flesh-and-blood warfares. Could the state save the church? Could the church drag down the sorely troubled state? Could either survive the changes in sentiment? Should they live separately?

These pages have followed the stormy Half-Covenant days and the sealing of the union of church and state by the Saybrook Platform. Plans of wise men had failed to foresee three important factors in the immediate future, and so there must be still more groping and experiment, more agony of soul. The three factors were: Change in character of population; loosening effect of the Half-Way covenant and the immoral effects of the wars. As early as 1714 the parental General Assembly was compelled to recognize the increase in irreligion and immorality. The committee of the General Association of the church reported lack of Bibles, contempt for church, family degeneration, educational indifference and intemperance. Among a naturally devout people were mingling freebooters and camp-followers; the people themselves were becoming piratical in disposition under the series of wars, and, to go deeper, many of the strong were yielding under

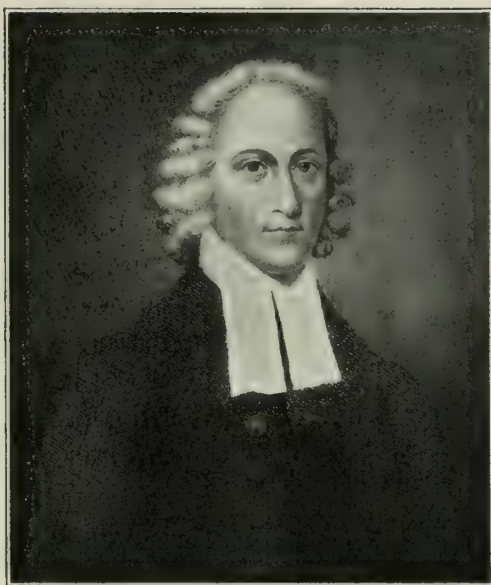
the depression caused by the currency and financial distresses concomitant with war.

The Assembly had but one recourse by the system that it had built up. It must itself adopt warfare against organizations, individuals, against clergymen themselves when they ignored regulations, preached outside of their jurisdictions or allowed others to preach within them, no authority having been granted. Tax collectors and constables joined in the fray. By sad yet sequential fatuity, a law was passed in 1717 welding church and town, the minister to be elected by town vote.

It was an era of madness when only a great awakening could be hoped for as the beginning of a basic reformation, which came but was not to be complete for a hundred years. Legislative enactment did not produce it. Jonathan Edwards, in world history forever as one of America's greatest theologians, modest and mild of manner out of the pulpit, burst forth at this juncture with what to the unsophisticated of later days was the most nerve-rasping sensationalism since the horrors of the Inquisition. It is not realized by such as they that he broke down the slovenly Half-Covenant, that as a metaphysical writer he moved Europe as well as America and that such a book as "The Freedom of the Will" is among the world's greatest. He went to the church at Northampton, Mass., in 1727, from Yale, where he had graduated and had remained as a tutor, and continued at the church till dismissed after denouncing church members who read widely circulated immoral books from overseas. Chosen president of Princeton College, he died of smallpox in 1858, before he had entered upon his new duties. His son, of the same name, followed him closely in character and career even to college presidency and early death.

He himself was the son of the hard-hitting Rev. Timothy Edwards of South Windsor where he was born in 1703. His first hell-fire sermon in 1734 had its effect throughout New England. His own church experienced a revival despite animosities aroused, and thence he went forth to preach by request in other churches. The result became known as the "Great Awakening."

But the converted, though strengthened by George Whitefield, fell away. The spirit of the old days and the politics thereof had changed for the spirit of the new as represented by men like Franklin. Bitter quarrels were uncontrollable. Separatists or



(Engraved by R. Babson and T. Andrews)

JONATHAN EDWARDS
(1703-1758)



the new Congregationalists and New Lights and Old Lights fought each other; application of law was severe but ineffective. Town was divided against town, family against family; homes were sold by tax officials, husbands and wives parted and, in instances, ministers went to jail. The laws had relaxed to allow Episcopalians, Quakers and Baptists to have churches and not pay for Congregational ministers, and the new Separatist Congregational churches found themselves outside these provisions. Nor was there relief for them when men like Roger Wolcott, Jonathan Trumbull and Thomas Fitch in 1750 revised out the old persecution enactments but not the Saybrook Platform. The King was appealed to. At that dangerous moment, however, President Clap of Yale initiated a movement to get back to early church freedom, and by 1791 all churches were allowed to incorporate. By 1818 and the new Constitution, non-church members also were relieved from contributing to the support of the once Established Church. John Smalley of New Britain was one of the more eminent ministers who preached and trained others to work for the timely reforms.

With it all, in 1797, after the worst of the wars in the field, there was needed—and came—a genuine revival of Christian grace. Hartford's old Hooker Church was furnishing a comparatively mild illustration of the need. Rev. Nathan Strong with his brother-in-law Reuben Smith, was running a distillery not far from his historic church and also was dealing extensively in real estate and other property having to do with the adjuncts of the whiskey traffic. President Timothy Dwight, the elder, of Yale inaugurated the revival which this time worked a more lasting reform throughout the state.

XIV

WARS OF DISILLUSIONMENT

COUNTY RESPONDS AGAIN AND AGAIN—ITS OFFICERS AFFRONTED—
TREASURY DRAINED—ATTITUDE ON FRANKLIN'S UNION PLAN—RE-
SENTING STAMP ACT.

These wars of the eighteenth century, some of the evil by-products of which in the colony have now been noted, had an effect upon world history which cannot be overestimated since they had much to do with bringing on the Revolutionary war. There was eventual triumph in the territory of the English colonies over covetous Europe, but in the '70s it might be said with Jeremiah, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth have been set on edge." George III's coterie forfeited the prize.

Men who above all else had wanted the time which peace allows for doing the great civic and physical tasks devolving upon them, who had thrown themselves, unprepared, upon the first annoying Indians and who had set apart days of fasting and prayer to ward off war, early had had to adopt military organization, and to perfect it before the close of their first century in the wilderness. Matchlocks of 1642, with two pounds of match (or specially prepared rope carried on the gunstock) to each gun, had given place to flintlocks in 1673, as they in turn were to give way to percussion caps in 1820. A troop of horse, with Richard Lord of Hartford as the first captain, organized in 1658, was an important adjunct of the militia and was attached to the First Regiment in 1739. In 1668 there was a troop of dragoons commanded by Benjamin Newberry of Windsor. Sergeant major was the highest office in the county, to which John Talcott was appointed in 1673. Jonathan Bull of Hartford followed him and the position was held by John Chester of Wethersfield in 1702 and by Roger Wolcott of Windsor in 1724. In 1737 Wolcott was

in command of the county regiment of forty-seven companies, 3,480 men, and two troops, 106 men. Names of Daniel Webster, Gideon Welles and of other prominent families in history appear on the rolls.

Formal regimental organization dates from the law of 1739, when there were thirteen regiments, each with a colonel. Wolcott's previous titles had been major and colonel. John Whiting was colonel in 1741, followed by Joseph Pitkin, George Wyllys, Samuel Wyllys and Roger Newberry, the two last named in the revolutionary period, or until the title was changed in 1785 to lieutenant-colonel, the first to hold which was Hezekiah Wyllys, then Oliver Mather and then Timothy Seymour till 1800. Part of the Sixth, Tenth and Twelfth Regiments came within the county when it included Middletown, Hebron, East Haddam, Barkhamsted, Bolton, Tolland, Winchester, Colebrook and New Hartford. Colonels of the Sixth till 1800 were Thomas Welles of Glastonbury, John Chester, Jabez Hamlin, Elizur Talcott, Samuel H. Parsons, Tomas Belden, Howell Woodbridge, Roger Welles, Ezekiel P. Belden and Elisha Hale. A troop of horse was added to each regiment in 1741. The thirteen regiments in 1662 averaged 1,558 men each, including the troop.

The clash of English and Dutch interests in the previous century was a matter of little moment compared with the long drawn-out struggle with France after Dutch King William came to the English throne. He perceived that while the English were superior in number and had built their homes to occupy the land, the clever French were establishing strategic military posts along the outskirts even from the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi. The busy home-makers themselves had given no heed; wide stretches of wilderness, inhabited by savage tribes, intervened. But William had seen in King Louis' flaunt a challenge to Protestantism which must be met by making England and eastern America a unit for defense and aggression. None of his successors exhibited equal judgment.

William died five years after his war and was succeeded by Queen Anne at the time when England, Holland and Austria attacked Louis XIV of France for putting his grandson on the throne of Spain, for declaring for James' son for King of England and for generally disregarding the treaty of Ryswick. The colonies vainly had besought England to give heed to their terri-

tory, Nicholson of Virginia, Penn of Pennsylvania and Bellomont of New York being especially urgent. In the eighteenth century the fatuity of English rule was in the ascendancy.

The increase of unseemly carriage in the colonies was not a source of the Revolution; it was a reflex of both the alarm and discontent as time had gone on. Intemperance was rampant, petty crimes were common, contempt for law and traditions not infrequent. In Hartford County Capt. William Whiting ruled with a strong hand as sheriff but the jail which had been built in 1698 on the north side of the square was overpopulated. The son of Rev. John Whiting, he established the long-prominent militant branch of the family, and war duty came to demand more time than civic duty. For this war of the Spanish succession, or "Queen Anne's war," which was to run on for eleven years before the crowns of France and Spain were separated, he was of the county Committee of War, the others being such leaders as Nathaniel Stanley and Captains Aaron Cook and Cyprian Nichols of Hartford, William Pitkin of East Hartford, Maj. John Chester of Wethersfield, and Capt. Matthew Allyn of Windsor. The fiascos of the previous war and the loss by the treaty of what little had been gained, like Port Royal and Acadia, rankled deeply, but training was redoubled as news came of the French-Indian outrages in the South and the North, of the midnight horrors at Deerfield, Mass., and of French supremacy on the sea. Alarm succeeded alarm. Fortified houses were designated as during King William's war and all precautionary measures taken. In 1707 a council of war in Hartford ordered firmer organization and dogs were procured to help hunt the Indians who were even now burning Haverhill in Massachusetts.

Requests for aid from England were of no avail. The one cheering prospect was when an expedition thence was equipped, but only to be sent for service elsewhere. Port Royal and Acadia must be scotched, since they were the supply station for the Indians and the rendezvous for privateers. Col. Benjamin Church was authorized to undertake the task but was forbidden to attack Port Royal, which stronghold refused to surrender without attack, despite the presence of a New England fleet. Nicholson of Virginia gained reward in 1710 after five years of personal effort in London itself, in the shape of a fleet to retake Port Royal with the aid of the New England militia. He captured the fort

and gave the name of Nova Scotia. Of the 1,050 colonials, Connecticut furnished 300. Officers from Hartford County included Colonel Whiting, Lieutenant-Colonel Allyn, Lieutenants Jonathan Belden of Wethersfield, John Clark of Suffield, Samuel White of Hartford and Rev. Thomas Buckingham, chaplain. And again, in the treaty this prize was to be given up.

In 1711, by earnest desire of the colonies, Nicholson secured from England Admiral Walker's fleet and seven of Marlborough's regiments which were to sail up the St. Lawrence to Quebec while Nicholson led the colonial levies through the wilderness by way of Lake Champlain. Connecticut furnished two of the transports to coöperate with the fleet. Part of the fleet was lost in the fog and through bad handling, and it put back with a heavy loss in ships and men. Nicholson had assembled 2,300 men at Wood Creek, including the Connecticut men under Whiting and other officers who had assembled before, the name of Capt. John Mason of Norwich among them. There was nothing for them but to make their way over the rough trail back home again.

When in 1723 Massachusetts was threatened with another Indian invasion, prompted by the Canadians, she called upon Connecticut, but the colony had had to draw in its own borders from the west and Major Talcott was patrolling from Simsbury to present New Milford. The Council of War, however, was able to dispatch one company to protect Deerfield and Northfield. Another company was sent to Litchfield and a bounty of £50 was offered for Indian scalps. Capt. Cyprian Nichols marched with a company to Hampden County.

After a short peace, England set out to clear the Indies and the Florida coast of Spaniards. While fortifying New London, Connecticut promptly responded to the call for 1,000 men to join Wentworth and Admiral Vernon's ships at Jamaica, after stipulating that the units should elect their own officers. The troops were treated as hirelings and rumors of jobbery and defection disheartened the would-be loyal men. Tropical disease already had swept the worried ranks when they were sent to slaughter under the walls of Cartagena. Turning northward, the English found Havana an easy prey but the yellow fever an unconquerable foe. Of the 1,000 who went out less than 100 returned. Among the officers who died was Capt. Roger Newberry, one of Windsor's most promising men.

It was not till 1744, when France ceased to act secretly as an ally of Spain, that real peril threatened New England. From Cape Breton, where towered Louisburg, "America's Gibraltar," devastation was being dealt along the New England coast, yet the appeal of Governor Shirley of Massachusetts met with no response from the North. It was the business men of Hartford County who aroused Connecticut to offer 500 men and then to increase the number to 1,100, with bounty of £10 and each man to furnish his own equipment. The troops sailed from New London in the ship *Defense*, itself a further contribution. Sir William Pepperell was in command of the combined forces and Lieut.-Gov. Roger Wolcott his chief lieutenant. Most of the Hartford County volunteers were well-to-do citizens who responded with such alacrity that commissary was neglected and material for rations had to be collected from cellar to cellar. One of the company commanders was William Whiting; Rev. Elisha Williams of Wethersfield was chaplain. The colonial fleet sailed from Boston in March, 1745, undeterred by the non-appearance of England's promised support. Commodore Warren, however, was on his way from West Indies and joined in the attack on Louisburg. By June 17 the citadel had succumbed and was left in charge of the victorious colonists. The appeal to England for reimbursement was disallowed. Neighboring colonies contributed to the fund raised in New England. One American officer received recognition by the royal government, in the person of Capt. David Wooster who chanced to be in England at the time and was made lieutenant in the army on half-pay for life; his life was given in the Revolution when he was aiding in the repulse of Tryon's raid on Danbury.

France thirsted for revenge and England planned the conquest of Canada. Connecticut sent 1,000 (in addition to a detachment for Hampshire County) as her portion of New England's 5,300 in the expedition. The French fleet having met with disaster by storms and disease, England failed to appreciate its opportunity and the expedition was recalled. The treaty was signed in 1748. The expense had been £80,000 which would have been given cheerfully could the victories of the colonists have been sealed. But, as at the previous peace, the prizes won for the mother country—the nests from which the French roamed out to annoy the colonists—were given back to the enemy. Life and

treasure were deemed to have been wasted by a government which became less and less understandable.

During the peace, Connecticut in common with the other colonies made rapid progress. In 1755 Connecticut had a population of 160,000 and industries were being developed. But the time when history could be written in something besides blood had not yet arrived, nor was it to arrive till the country had freed itself of European meshes. The student who would discover new reasons for the war for independence must blind himself to the record of a hundred years and particularly to the crystalization of sentiment in the middle of the eighteenth century. No amount of expatiation upon religious views, universal frontier peculiarities or the ambition of individuals or groups can weigh against the officially established experiences of the colonies, whether as to charter uncertainties, subjection to royal whims, sacrifice through incompetency of satraps or marshals, or being the tail of kites whipped about by every European breeze, in England alone or in any other monarchy.

Fresh strife was made certain by the French policy of encroachment after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. King William's theory was proving tremendously correct. Frontier posts were of little value at this late day. Delegates from New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland attended the historic Albany convention in 1754. The Connecticut delegates, William Pitkin, Roger Wolcott, Jr., and Elisha Williams—already familiar county names—were instructed, especially against undue control of the troops. The plan Franklin submitted was doubtless as liberal as conditions would allow, but in the pooling of the military under royal direction—that is, through a colonial council whose president-general should be a royal appointee—Connecticut, though the Hartford County men who represented her stood alone, saw insuperable objections. But her breath against acceptance of the plan was wasted, for England on her side feared too much freedom and her counter proposition for actual royal control through governors pleased none; experience was too recent.

War had not been declared, but French aggression must be stopped. Brave Braddock early in 1755 demonstrated with his

life the unadaptability of European training for American warfare. For the plans being made, Connecticut stepped out with 1,000 men and 500 reserves to march with the army against Crown Point, the Lake Champlain stronghold, and voted £7,500 in bills at 5 per cent for three years and a tax of 2 pence on the pound. Commissioned major-general, Phineas Lyman of Suffield, then a member of the upper house of the Assembly, was given command of the colony's troops in the army of Gen. William Johnson for the expedition. He also was commander of the First Regiment, John Pitkin of East Hartford lieutenant-colonel, while Elizur Goodrich of Wethersfield was colonel of the Second with Nathan Whiting of Hartford as second in command. Israel Putnam was a captain under Lyman, who soon was to win distinction. Colonel Whiting and Colonel Williams of Massachusetts had been ambushed near Fort Edwards in an advance-guard movement toward the French general Dieskau, who was marching to the relief of the fort. Williams having been killed, Whiting alone rallied the two regiments and brought them back to Lake George where Johnson's column was waiting. In the ensuing battle Johnson was wounded and the command of the army devolved upon Lyman. Though taken at a disadvantage, he fought for five hours or until Dieskau had been taken prisoner and his force almost wiped out. So great was the rejoicing in Connecticut that two regiments of 750 men each were sent as reinforcements, under command of Col. Samuel Talcott and Col. Eli Chauncey. Their task proved to be merely helping erect Fort William Henry on the site of the battle, for Johnson rested instead of pushing his advantage. England knighted Johnson and allowed £50,000 for expenses; Lyman who had fought the fight was ignored. He was deeply embittered but hardly more so than his fellow colonists. Once more the men toiled home to spend another winter nursing unpleasant memory of a great opportunity lost.

The expedition against Niagara also was a failure but that to Nova Scotia was successful, though it involved the removal of 15,000 Acadians to remote places, some of them to Hartford and vicinity.

The year 1756 brought Frederick the Great's seven-years' war. The earl of Loudon was sent to be governor of Virginia

and commander-in-chief in America, while Abercrombie was to succeed Shirley of Massachusetts. For him was assembled at Albany the largest army the colonies had known, 10,000 men, in which body Connecticut had double her quota with 2,500. The summer was spent in bickerings, and late fall saw the colonials dragging back to their homes disgusted over failure to act. In the spring came another loud call for 6,000 to unite with 6,000 regulars sailing from England. The treasury exhausted, the Assembly authorized a grand lottery in Hartford, for £1,000, conducted by Col. Samuel Talcott, Col. Samuel Welles of Glastonbury, and Richard Edwards. Connecticut furnished 1,400 who expected to resume the Crown Point campaign but instead were ordered to recapture Louisburg, the mighty citadel which had been restored to France after New England had taken it. The British, late in arriving, decided that the strengthened works were too strong to attack and sailed back.

While the Assembly was still drawing on its depleted treasury, increasing taxes and devising means to raise more money, while the husbandmen were again leaving their long deserted fields and for the most part furnishing their own equipment, the most depressing tragedy of all was preparing, and that, too, at the spot where hope twice had been turned to bitterness. When the forces summoned to Lake George had been depleted for the Louisburg folly, Montgomery had seen his opportunity to cut through on the line to New York. Webb, whose timidity had been largely responsible for the previous year's failure, was in command of the 7,000 men left to guard this vital point. Disregarding the advice of Maj. Israel Putnam, Webb got himself into a tangle which, despite the frantic efforts of both Putnam and General Johnson, caused him to abandon Colonel Monroe and his men, women and children at Fort William Henry where the French themselves were hardly able to stay the massacre by their Indians—a tale which needed no garnishing to make it the most harrowing chapter of Cooper's great novel in later years. In Hartford, as throughout the colonies, the shock was paralyzing for the moment but was followed by a keener sense that the French must be withstood. Five thousand men from Connecticut in a few days were climbing the same old steep hills on their way to Albany, dragging and pushing their supply wagons with them as usual. This increased the colony's total to 6,400

in Webb's now well-conditioned army which also included 20,000 regulars, in addition to the large reinforcements from the other nearby colonies. Every man was determined to see the French driven back for once and all. Their commander did nothing; the French devastated the surrounding country, and in the fall it was the same story of the weary homeward march—to families that were almost destitute through neglect and to an Assembly distracted.

Yet the wise men of the Assembly knew that the English people as such were sympathizing with them deeply. There were reverses everywhere and there was a stirring against the government that was reminiscent of the days of George I. That winter the voice of a commoner was heard. William Pitt, in taking over the premiership, said England must be brought out of her enervate state. His letter read in the Assembly March 8, 1758, cheered the fainting colony. The vote was to furnish one-quarter of the 20,000 quota for New England and the wherewithal to raise it, by bounties and otherwise. The battle this time in the Lake George section was by an army exceeding its predecessors in numbers and training, led by Howe till he fell. Putnam had ably supported him. Abercrombie, of recent painful memory, succeeded him, lost both nerve and wits, rejected the brave proffers of Putnam and his colonials, kept his artillery in the rear, drove a bayonet charge against entrenchments, was horrified by the sacrifice, and retreated. To add to the bitterness of a defeat which facts revealed could have been a splendid victory came the news of the achievement of the gallant Amherst and Wolfe at Louisburg, of Bradstreet of Massachusetts at Frontenac and of Forbes, with Washington, at DuQuesne. Three Connecticut regiments in the defeat were commanded by Lyman, Fitch and Wooster, and other regiments in the army were commanded by Nathaniel Whiting, Eliphalet Dyer and John Reed. It was soon after this that Putnam, conducting a reconnoissance toward Ticonderoga, was betrayed by a British officer who would indulge in pastime shooting, was caught in ambush and was carried into long and painful captivity.

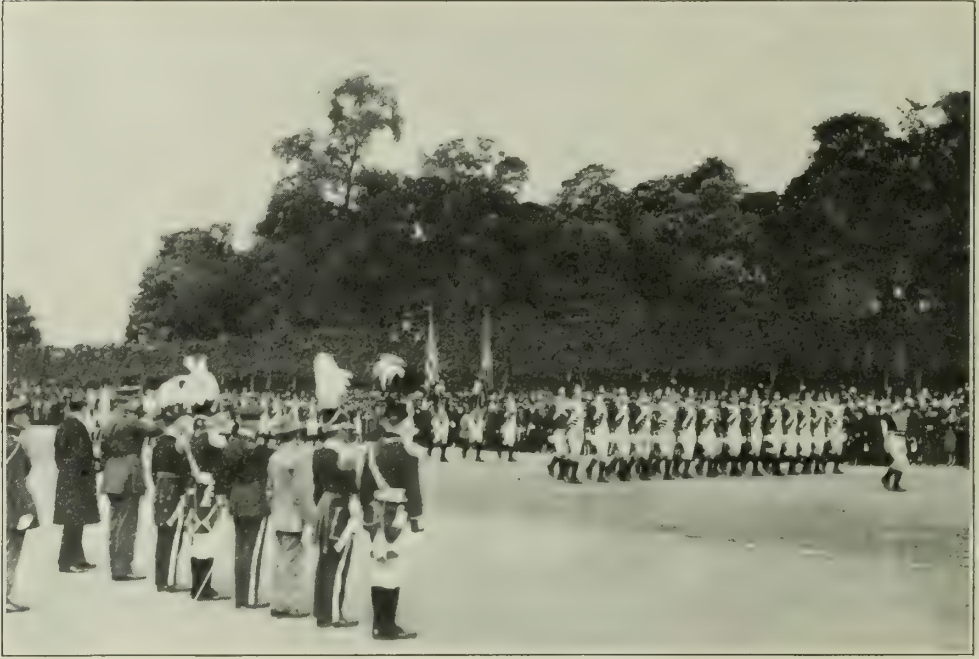
The net results of 1758 encouraged England to make one grand stroke the following year, and Pitt found the colonies, though exhausted, responsive. Once more Connecticut voted one quarter of the 20,000 called for in New England, raised the

bounty to £7 and issued new bills of credit. Lyman and Whiting again led regiments, and Putnam was back for second place in Fitch's regiment. Assembled at Albany in May, Amherst inspired and led them swiftly in pursuit of Montcalm; Johnson was regaining favor by his victory at Niagara, and Wolfe, with his last breath, was taking Quebec. Most cheerfully, therefore, under Amherst did the old army in 1760 start for Montreal and the Connecticut men had their old commanders. Montreal surrendered in the fall; French power in America was ended. In the work of consolidating the territory the next year, Hartford County men were among the 2,500 from the colony who served under Lyman and Whiting, and in the fall among the 1,000 who went out with Lyman and Putnam for a West Indian expedition against Spain, from which only a handful returned.

Formal peace was declared in 1763. Slow and painful was the recuperation of the colonies from the mishandling by the government and long were the years to be before the real heart of the English people was to be permitted to reveal itself, as in the editorial of the *London Times* on Washington's retirement to private life: "In resigning his station, he has concluded a life of honor and glory. His address in resigning his office is a very masterful performance and we shall give it at length."

Parliament's act of 1765 requiring a stamp on every formal paper in itself was no serious matter, after it had been cut down on the admonition of Governor Fitch and of Jared Ingersoll of New Haven; but the Assembly said it infringed upon the colony's right to have no taxes but its own, and when Ingersoll, on his way to Hartford as stamp master, reached Wethersfield, 500 mounted Sons of Liberty joined him, and at the State House, in the presence of the Assembly and a throng of citizens, made him read his resignation. Parliament must have heard the noisy celebration over the repeal of that law but it ignored the evidence that the democratic spirit was spreading throughout all the colonies and decreed a levy on importations. The closing of the rebellious port of Boston was like fire to flax. Indignation meetings by towns were followed by a convention which passed resolutions of protest and gave encouragement to home industries. Towns vied with each other in expressing their sentiments and in sending aid to the Boston people. In Farmington a copy of

the act was burned by the hangman. A non-consumption agreement was adopted at a convention held in Hartford September 15, 1774, and anyone guilty of serving or drinking tea after that was held to be a public offender whose name was published in the *Courant* with warning to confess.



GOVERNOR'S FOOT GUARD IN REVIEW BEFORE THE KING OF BELGIUM, 1926

King Albert, the second from the left; Major Louis H. Stanley, commanding First Company, on right of reviewing line; Captain D. Frank Conkey at head of company; color bearers (each six and a half feet tall), Sergeants Valentine E. Gilson and Kenneth A. Woodford. Second Company (New Haven), Major Edwin A. Judge, following.

XV

IN THE REVOLUTION

CONSTITUTION PREEMINENT—INDICATIVE LOCAL INCIDENTS—SHARING IN SACRIFICES—FOOT GUARD AND HORSE GUARD—TICONDEROGA PLOT—"PROVISION STATE"—DEANE, WADSWORTH AND THE OTHERS—WASHINGTON, ROCHAMBEAU, LAFAYETTE—NEWGATE.

The Lexington alarm reaching here the night of April 20, 1775, was met with an immediate session of the Assembly, while men and boys were seizing their guns and starting. Hartford sent four companies, led by Jonathan Welles, Timothy Cheney, Abraham Sedgwick and George Pitkin; East Windsor the same number, under Charles Ellsworth, Matthew Grant, Lemuel Stoughton and Amasa Loomis; Windsor, one company, Capt. Nathaniel Hayden; Wethersfield, one, Capt. John Chester; Simsbury, two, Amos Wilcox and Zachariah Gillet the captains; Bolton, two, led by Ezekiel Olcott and Thomas Pitkin; Enfield, one, Capt. Nathaniel Terry; Glastonbury, one, Capt. Elizur Hubbard, and Suffield, one, Capt. Elisha Kent.

The Assembly reviewed past grievances suffered despite evidences of loyalty and self-sacrifice, called for troops on May 1 and on May 6 summoned one-quarter of all the militia—6,000 men in six regiments, a major-general and two brigadiers each of whom also was to command a regiment as colonel; and at a July session called for two more regiments, making a total of 7,400, all officers appointed by the Assembly. The Assembly authorized the payment of commissary bills and soon after appropriated £50,000 for that purpose and a like amount twice again within a short time. By the rolls of 1774 there had been 23,000 men between 16 and 60, drilling in twenty-two regiments, with two more added when the county of Westmoreland, which had been the Litchfield part of the Pennsylvania region, was established. There were only patches of irregular uniform here and there; the one requirement was that men should be able to shoot straight

and sleep wherever they might halt, in fields or woods, and with only odds and ends from their own homes to cover them. Connecticut's government alone of the colonies remained unchanged, barring a touch of the pen on the royal charter provisions. It is to be remembered also that the essence of the Constitution and charter was DUTY along with independence.

To get this picture clearly, however, developments of adverse character during the prolonged French-Indian wars must not be forgotten. Numerical strength of the soldiery and quality of preparedness, indicated by orders for drilling, might elsewhere be as misleading as would be the reading of the religious exhortations and zealous conduct of the faithful in the churches. Even the solemn exercises of the inauguration of the governor had degenerated into something scandalous. When some of the clergy who assembled for the great sermon of the year and took part in the processions were none too able to walk after their libations, there is little wonder that the military escort of his excellency had become a rabble. These manifestations had so offended those who were really making colonial history that the Assembly had to appoint a committee to "take notice and resent the disrespect and indignity shown them by the military company ordered to serve." Prosecutions followed the committee's investigation and for two years an East Hartford company had to be the escort. Young men of Hartford who would redeem the town's fair name organized among themselves a company which should be worthy.

It was on October 2, 1771, that Samuel Wyllys, recently from Yale and soon to win high honor in war, with forty-three others petitioned the Assembly, saying that the individual expense of keeping up companies for escort duty and having their turns come but once in many years, made it seem wise to have one company formed to do the duty regularly. The Assembly was grateful. The uniform adopted was that of the British grenadiers, maintained as the dress uniform of these the Governor's Foot Guard to the present time—to be laid away, however, during war so soon to come and never, in Connecticut, to be worn under the British flag until a memorable day in Hartford during the World war when that flag had place with the American flag on the Capitol. The Assembly was so pleased with the company thus outfitted in 1772 that it directed that muskets be procured direct from England for the men. On the formation of a like company

in New Haven in 1775, the Hartford company became the First and the New Haven the Second Company. Wyllys was still captain of the company in 1775 and its members were active in improving the morale they had done so much to save.

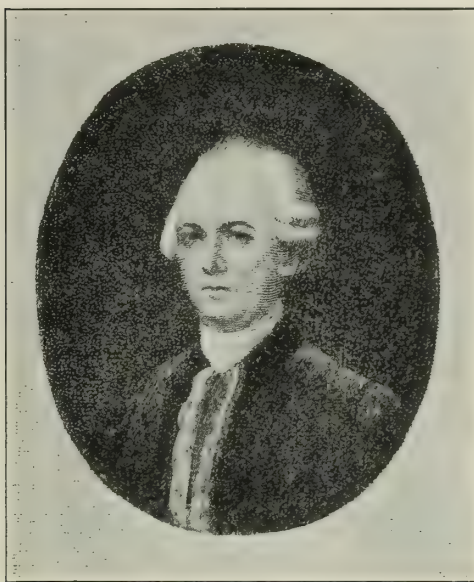
Another power for good was the *Connecticut Courant*, which, as elsewhere told, was established in 1764 and was now giving its meagre bits of news of the rapid progress of affairs, for one thing answering the question as to which fired first at Lexington—the British or the hastily assembled farmers; and for another, publishing the public sentiment concerning those with tory sympathies. It appeared that critical year of '75 with varying size of paper and sometimes omitting advertisements. For two months it was printed on wrapping paper. On October 11 it rejoiced over the prospect of a paper mill (which was to become a source of supply for over a hundred years), yet soliloquized thus: "But we live in a crooked world and through the monopolizing spirit of the times things are often puffed out of their proper channel, by which means it is reduced to its present awful and distressed condition." Later the editor urged the Daughters of Liberty to save rags for him, lest there be no paper whatever. Daughters and mothers were making rags go a long way at home, and in December the *Courant* had to announce suspension till it could get paper from some source. Its next issue was on January 22, 1776—the only hiatus in its unparalleled history.

The capture of Ticonderoga May 10, 1775, was one of the most effective incidents of the war period. It was the colonial way of capturing supplies as compared with the British way at Concord. Moreover it closed that historic gateway from the north which so carelessly had been left unguarded since the days when the blood of the colonials had been spilled there in vain and for which Burgoyne was to contend most fiercely at a later date. The few cannon and the powder that Ethan Allen found there, transported to Cambridge, were of material aid to the colonies. Benedict Arnold's quick eye had perceived the opening and he had spoken of it to General Parsons, but it was Silas Deane of Wethersfield who deserved the credit of arranging and putting through the project. Theoretically without the Assembly's knowledge, Deane and ten others procured £800 from the colonial treasury, pledging therefor their private fortunes. The ten were Samuel Wyllys, Samuel H. Parsons, Samuel Bishop, Jr., Joshua Por-

ter, Jesse Root, Ezekiel Williams, William Williams, Thomas Mumford, Adam Babcock and Charles Webb. Hartford men on the committee of sixteen from Connecticut were Epaphras Bull, William Nichols, Elijah Babcock, Capt. John Bigelow, Bernard Romans and Ashbell Wells of Hartford and Capt. Elisha Phelps and Noah Phelps of Simsbury. Ethan Allen, of Southbury birth and Salisbury raising, the Green Mountain leader who had worsted the New York speculators in their attempt to get control of Vermont lands, commanded the expedition after the force had been made to number eighty-three by the addition of men from Pittsfield led by Col. John Easton, a native of Hartford, and men from Vermont. Benedict Arnold received the first of that series of snubs which were to make him a traitor when he sought command because he bore a commission as colonel in Washington's forces and the men voted for Allen as the two men stood before them.

After Arnold and Seth Warner had pushed the Ticonderoga victory, the prisoners were sent to Hartford in the care of Epaphras Bull. They included Governor Philip Skene of Skenesborough, who later was to figure among the British officers at Bennington, and his son, Major Skene. They were permitted to attend an Episcopal church in Middletown till friction arose between them and the neighbors of Mrs. Sarah Whitman Hooker, in whose house they lived (on present New Britain Avenue in West Hartford), a house which recently has been bought by Mrs. Ralph E. Gerth and in 1928 was dedicated to the use of patriotic organizations. The General Assembly took up the subject and limitations were put upon the Skenes during the rest of their stay and before parole. War had not yet been declared.

Deane's ability was recognized by the colonial government when it began to take shape and he was sent to France on a semi-secret mission to secure munitions. Beaumarchais was ready to assist and devised ways to make the shipments which counted for so much, as, for an example, when they enabled Gates to turn the tide against Burgoyne. Eight vessels then had evaded the British and had landed their cargoes at Portsmouth, N. H. Deane also did so well in advancing the cause of the sailors that he was known among them as the "father of the American navy." In diplomacy his skill was of value in bringing about the alliance of France. To Franklin and Lee he was indispensable. And yet



SILAS DEANE
(1737-1789)



THE DEANE HOUSE, WETHERSFIELD

New residence of Congressman E. Hart Fenn. Washington was entertained here on his way to take command of the army. Webb House to the right.

his last days were to be embittered by slanders at the national capital, based upon misinterpretation of his necessarily secret work, and, his fortune expended for his country, he died alone and in poverty in England, his reputation not to be cleared till near the middle of the next century.

One of the scandals framed against Deane, one which perhaps more than any of the others was made to impress Congress, had to do with Hartford citizens and business, with no less a personage than Gen. Nathaniel Greene, a favorite and adviser of Washington, and with Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth of Hartford, who as commissary-general for the allied armies, did much to win for Connecticut the title of the "Provision State." When Deane went to Congress in 1779, leaving his fine residence in Wethersfield now the home of Congressman E. Hart Fenn, he turned over his large affairs there and in Hartford to his brother Barnabas whose home in Hartford was on Grove Street. He was closely associated with Colonel Wadsworth in the produce and shipping business. Early in 1779 the firm of Barnabas Deane and Company was formed for general trading. At that time the government was being imposed upon by profiteers. General Greene was Washington's quartermaster-general, and what between the scheming at Philadelphia and the difficulty in getting supplies at any cost, his duties were onerous. Having seriously impaired his fortunes, he welcomed a plan to join with Commissary-General of Purchase Wadsworth to get supplies without having it known that the government was the purchaser. Both he and Wadsworth entered this firm as silent partners. The company owned grist mills, was interested in distilleries and tried to establish salt works to eke out the supply that could be brought through from the Indies. Not a word must be said to Silas Deane or anyone else, for if the secret became known great damage would be done to the cause, and profiteers would make the most of it. The army and the cause suffered all they could endure as it was, and more of it might have meant defeat.

Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull of Hartford a hundred years later obtained the key to all this correspondence, stories about which so disturbed the country in later days, and revealed not only the high honor of the men but "the difficulties and prejudices insurmountable which beset them in their superhuman effort to keep

the army from disintegrating through want of the bare necessities of life."

The county's highways were hardly clear of the men who had hastened to Lexington when they were filled again with others who had made the weary marches from the colonies further south. Many were returning after a few days to reorganize under enlistments for two months and to march back to become a part of the army then in command of General Ward of Massachusetts, 3,000 of whose eager troops were from this colony. Among those who went with Putnam the night of June 16 to throw up the trenches on Breed's Hill were John Chester of Wethersfield and his men and they were a part of the brave contingent who the next day checked the British after their hard-won victory and covered the retreat of the Americans from Bunker Hill. The repulse after repulse the magnificently trained and magnificently uniformed army of Gage had suffered was, in the frank statement of the veteran Burgoyne, the worst spectacle he ever had witnessed.

One item will give an idea of the work of recruiting through the summer, reorganizing and beating the raw material into shape, with almost no resources for equipment. It is the receipt of a Simsbury captain and reads:

Aug. 1, 1775.—Three guns and 2 bayonets prized at 55s. each gun and bayonet of the selectmen of the town of Simsbury to supply my solgers now going in the service of this government. The gun without the bayonet, is prized at 50s.

Rec'd by me Elihu Humphrey, capt. 4th Company, 8th Regt. Marked on ye barrel— DW—two of the guns—1 gun marked S B on thumbpiece.

A member of that company was Daniel Barber, later a clergyman, who minutely described the recruiting and departure of the company in his "History of My Own Times" (1827). Nowhere is there a better account of what was being done at that critical hour in America's history in every little hill town, or a better sidelight on the men who were doing it. Of the captain he says he was a well-bred gentleman, of friendly turn of mind and sweet disposition, who became major and died in 1776. Lieut. Andrew Hillyer (whose descendants, it may be remarked, have been prominent in Hartford history through all the years since) was a handsome, sprightly young gentleman, with a college educa-

tion—unassuming, gentle, persuasive, and later a colonel in the militia. Lieut. E. Fitch Bissell of Windsor was a gentleman, though not of the most easy and familiar turn, efficient and well respected. Sergt. Aaron Pinney had “a fierce and fiery countenance and commanding air, well becoming a soldier of ’75.” From Sergt. Jacob Tuller, no one expected much flattery; his brow was generally knit together. Sergt. Daniel Higley, veteran of the earlier wars, entertained them with camp songs. Sergt. Thomas Hayden was a military man, “but I should guess no soldier ever admired him for his pleasant airs.” Jonathan Humphrey, clerk of the roll, was a most charming companion.

As soon as seventy-five had been enrolled, the company met at the captain’s house, ready to march. Rev. Mr. Pitkin of Farmington, by request, that day preached the farewell sermon, the company appearing in the church “as men prepared for battle.” In going to and from the service, the soldiers were accompanied by a mixed multitude of relatives, friends and strangers. In the midst of this scene of sorrow, the drums beat to arms, and with one lingering look, the long march is begun in silence. The most of the men had not been twenty miles from home before. The company marched eight miles that afternoon and put up at Marsh’s inn. For the first time in his life the writer spent the night on the floor with a cartridge box for a pillow. Due to scarcity of horses, an ox team carried the provisions and a barrel of rum. The rations were salt pork and dried peas. “While passing through Connecticut, the females were very polite, in lending us knives and forks; but after entering Massachusetts, we were not allowed the like favor without pledging money or some kind of security—the people saying they had lost many of their spoons by the soldiers who had gone before us. Our bread was hard biscuit, in which there was a small quantity of lime, just enough to make the mouth sore.”

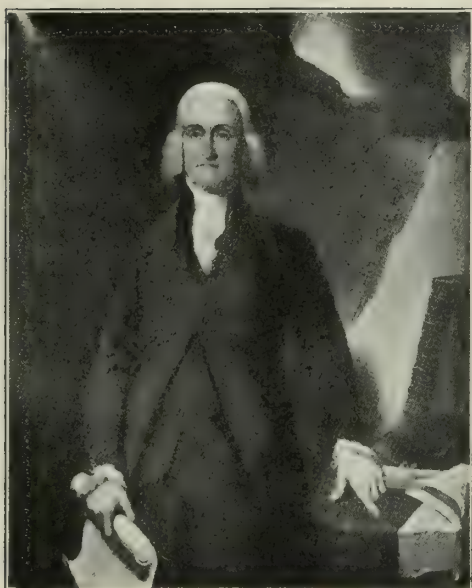
The marching and martial music on Sundays and while passing churches caused reflection on whether the Lord would be as well pleased as if the men had stayed home to read their Bibles; but military discipline soon effected a degree of relaxation and in time many came to consider all days alike. Soldiers are not inclined to the same degree of civility as others. During the march it was not uncommon if a soldier were not well treated by the inn-keeper to show resentment by firing a ball through his

sign. In Connecticut (again) the men were treated with great respect, but as they came nearer Boston they were treated as though they were "a banditti of rogues and thieves," and the soldiers expressed themselves resentfully. It required about ten days to reach camp at Roxbury. Six men were there quartered in each 6x7 tent. "Our household utensils were an iron pot, a canteen or wooden bottle holding two quarts, a pail and a wooden bowl."

Lieut.-Col. Roger Enos of Windsor with his men was sent with Arnold on his Quebec expedition in September, 1775, but turned back with his half-starved followers, and when court-martialed was exonerated and indirectly commended for good judgment. Capt. Oliver Hanchett's company of Wethersfield was in that expedition and Benjamin Catlin of Wethersfield was a quartermaster.

In the reorganization after the first brief enlistments, the number of Connecticut regiments was reduced from six to five. Samuel Wyllys became colonel of General Parsons' old command. In 1776 the number of "regular" state regiments was increased to eighteen and of militia to thirty-three. Matthew Talcott of Hartford County was appointed a colonel of militia. Erastus Wolcott of Windsor was made colonel of Waterbury's former regiment at New London. Colonel Enos commanded a regiment on the threatened western border. In James Wadsworth's brigade, hurried to reinforce Washington in June, 1776, Fisher Gay of Farmington and John Chester of Wethersfield were colonels of two of the eight regiments. The Assembly voted £110,000 in credit bills. Col. Thomas Seymour, 4th, of Hartford (later the city's first mayor) commanded a large body of light horse; because of disagreement as to guard duty he brought them back but later returned and received special praise from Washington for their services. His son, Thomas Youngs Seymour, was given a commission in Sheldon's Dragoons while still a student at Yale in the class of 1777.

Following the custom of the earliest days, a war committee was appointed, or Committee of Correspondence and Observation as it was styled in 1774 when sympathizing with the Boston brethren. The Hartford County men, composing the larger part of the committee, were Samuel Pitkin, Aaron Bull, Samuel Wyllys, Timothy Cheney, Richard Pitkin, Noah Webster, Eben-



JONATHAN TRUMBULL
Governor 1769-1784

ezer Welles, Oliver Ellsworth, Hejekiah Wyllys, Jonathan Welles and Ashbell Wells. There also was a committee to disburse public money for the care of soldiers' families.

From the beginning, Washington looked to "Brother Jonathan," Gov. Jonathan Trumbull, the only governor elected by the people, with utmost confidence. Thus when advised of the swarming of the British from overseas and from the South to attack New York, the distracted commander of the pseudo army of ill-assorted and ill-conditioned colonials, almost weaponless and held by no reasonable terms of enlistment, told Trumbull of the situation. It was August 12, 1776, that, in his own handwriting, the governor dispatched to the officials in each town his historic circular letter of appeal. In a week the attacking force would number 30,000. "*In this day of Calamity and general expectation* when our enemies are exerting every nerve to pluck up pull down and destroy us it is of the greatest necessity that everything in our power be done for the defense of our *rights, properties, lives and posterity.*" All men exempt from military duty were urged to form companies, choose officers and attach themselves to the militia already preparing to go to New York—to be held only for the short time of the emergency. "Play the man for God and the cities of our God, may the Lord of Hosts and the God of the armies of Israel be your Captain and leader, your Conductor and saviour, give wisdom and conduct to Generals and officers, and inspire our Soldiery with courage, resolution and fortitude, that God may delight to spare us for His own name's sake."

This document in itself, of which only one copy is known to exist, breathes the spirit of the hour as felt by Washington's closest civil associate, pictures the conditions and more clearly than could pages of description indicates the position the colony occupied, the character of its leader and his faith in his people as well as in the common cause. It marks the contrast with the Hessian hirelings, who by their training and experience in European wars, could laugh at such an appeal to provincials.

Commanders of the fourteen militia regiments already specifically ordered and organizing under Maj.-Gen. Oliver Wolcott of Litchfield, scion of the Windsor family, included Maj. Roger Newberry of Windsor, Col. Elizur Talcott of Glastonbury, Lieut.-Col. Selah Hart of Farmington, Col. Jonathan Pettibone of Sims-

bury, Lieut.-Col. George Pitkin of Hartford and Col. Matthew Talcott, then of Middletown. Preceded by the dragoons and picking up the extra companies on the way, they immediately began their march to New York, where already Connecticut men were enduring unspeakable hardships in hastily preparing fortifications. Under direction of a Congress, which through fear of "militarism" had ignored Washington's request to organize an army with enlistments for at least a year, the general's position, spread over Brooklyn, New York and upper New Jersey, was absolutely untenable, and no Lord of Hosts could save him from defeat. Weakened by expiring enlistments and by disease, and badly equipped, part of his force already dispatched up-river at behest of Congress, he could count but 8,000 fairly effective men the night before the battle. And one-third of them were from Connecticut, with Putnam in command in Brooklyn as second to Washington.

The world knows the rest—Putnam's remarkable handling of his men against the overwhelming force Howe was landing, and Washington's marvelous retreat—the most notable in history, according to late British authorities. The shock to the anxious people at home was tremendous but not unnerving, as the immediate sequel showed; many hung their heads in shame over the stories of Americans running away at Kip's Bay, told by unexperienced men who, no more than their home folks, could grasp the wonderful exhibition of military science.

Parsons, Huntington, Knowlton, Nathan Hale and many other Connecticut leaders made imperishable names in those few days, and the men from Hartford County were an important part. Col. Selah Hart of Farmington was as much a type as those who fared through or gave their lives on the field. Worn out by his exertions in the campaign around Boston, he left a bed of sickness to rally a regiment at the call in June and was deaf to all suggestions through the summer that he spare himself. The force of his devotion was felt till he died; he was buried on the day of the first battle.

Distress at home compelled a resort to price-fixing, for both labor and necessities, a law which was repealed in 1777 but re-enacted in 1778 after a colonial convention called by Congress. The care with which prisoners were attended to was not diminished with the reports from the colonials suffering on the British

prison ships. The local committee on prisoners consisted of Col. Erastus Wolcott, Samuel Wadsworth, Ezekiel Williams, Epaphras Bull (commissary), Henry Allyn, Col. Fisher Gay, Col. Matthew Talcott, Jonathan Welles and Ebenezer White with Col. James Wadsworth and Col. J. Humphrey. Col. Nathaniel Terry of Enfield, who had succeeded Gen. Erastus Wolcott in command of the Nineteenth Militia on the latter's appointment to be a brigade commander, was also active in arranging for prisoners and in providing supplies for the front line.

For the most part the prisoners were allowed freedom within prescribed limits, as in the case of Governor Skene which has been mentioned. Any infraction of regulations meant jail. A romantic case was that of Maj. Christopher French of a British regiment, taken prisoner at Gloucester, Mass.—improperly, according to his diary. He lived at Mrs. Knox's where there were other officers, some of whom engaged in private teaching. French devoted himself to writing long harangues to the authorities to prove that they were ignorant and incapable. Like the Skenes he was permitted to attend Rev. Mr. Jarvis' Episcopal church in Middletown till he tried to escape. His obnoxious bearing brought him in occasional conflict with the rougher element and he was locked up. Inasmuch as there was suspicion that the jail inmates had communication with the tories and as there were supplies of munitions in Hartford, a fence was built around the jail and Barzillai Hudson was appointed chief of the guard. French formed a habit of addressing circular letters to his fellow inmates, assuming an authority over them. One thing led to another till he was brought before a committee of which the eminent jurist Jesse Root was chairman, sitting with Samuel Wadsworth and Mr. Payne. He seemed to welcome this as an opportunity to malign Judge Root and ridicule the positive evidence that he was in communication with those outside of jail. His contention was that his parole—date of which he had fixed himself before his escape in November and his recapture in Branford—had expired. He was committed to still closer confinement, yet nevertheless succeeded in getting away late in December. Rev. Roger Viets of Simsbury was found to have been in connivance and was punished.

Governor Franklin of New Jersey, stepson of Benjamin Franklin and somewhat like a white elephant in the keeping of

the colonists, was here and in various other places at times, and also other distinguished individuals like Mayor Matthews of New York and the mayor of Albany. Members of Burgoyne's command were brought into the county after his surrender, and near the close of the war, when Newgate mines in Granby had been made a general prison, the government was arranging to have many of the soldier prisoners sent there. In all there were nineteen of Burgoyne's officers living in East Windsor, with forty-three servants, and forty-three Hessian officers with ninety-four servants, all on parole and under the observation of Capt. Roswell Grant of Maj. John Roberts' command. Among the officers was Brigadier-General Hamilton with four servants, quartered at Edward Kilbourne's and very highly respected.

There were but few executions, the most notable being that of Moses Dunbar of Bristol for high treason. Dunbar married Phoebe Jerome of that town, whose family were tory sympathizers. They attended Rev. James Nichols' Episcopal church and their four children were baptized there. On the death of this wife, Dunbar married Esther Adams. His neighbors held him under a suspicion which was confirmed soon after this marriage. He had been mobbed for talking too freely, had been sent to jail once and had fled to Long Island, prior to his marriage, to escape arrest. While at that tory refuge a second time he accepted a commission as recruiting officer for the King's army. The chaplain of his regiment was Rev. Samuel Seabury, afterward the first bishop in America. On his return he secured one recruit before he was betrayed by James Smith and turned over to Justices Strong and Whitman of Farmington who committed him to the Superior Court, then in session, January 23, 1777. There he was convicted under a law passed the previous October. There were several other trials under this statute but only Dunbar was executed. Before the date of his execution March 19, 1777, Elisha Wadsworth helped him escape, for which Wadsworth was imprisoned for one year. Dunbar was recaptured and the sentence carried out, on Gallows Hill, on the bluff west of where Trinity College now stands. According to the *Courant*, a "prodigious concourse" of people witnessed the execution. Rev. Abraham Jarvis, afterward bishop of Connecticut, preached for him in the jail, and Dunbar sent his children a powerful appeal to lead godly lives. His pregnant wife rode with him to the gal-

lows. She went within the British lines, later returned to Bristol and married Chauncey Jerome, Jr., brother of Dunbar's first wife. They made their home in Nova Scotia till peace was declared.

Lafayette made occasional visits back of the lines. It is possible that published recollections of a visit of a number of days to South Windsor in the spring of 1778 are correct, though it scarcely could have been later than May, when the alliance with France was being made known, when Lord North—two years late—was making a peace gesture by sending commissioners, when Howe was acknowledging his weakness by turning the army at Philadelphia over to Clinton, and when the despicable Lee was inviting if not promoting disaster for Washington's little band just prior to the battle of Monmouth. Earlier in the year, Gates had been trying to win the young Frenchman, not yet 21, to his cabal by planning a conquest of Canada, and Lafayette had been to Albany. Immediately after that scheme fell through, Burgoyne was pushing his complaint that the stipulations at the time of his surrender had not been lived up to and an indignant Congress had postponed the sailing of his army till it could get formal approval of surrender conditions from England itself. Lafayette may have wished to talk with some of Burgoyne's officers and hence have come to South Windsor. That Washington called upon him there is hardly compatible with the special obligations then devolving upon Washington at Valley Forge and around Philadelphia. Yet the recollections are specific as detailed in Doctor Gillette's "Sketches."

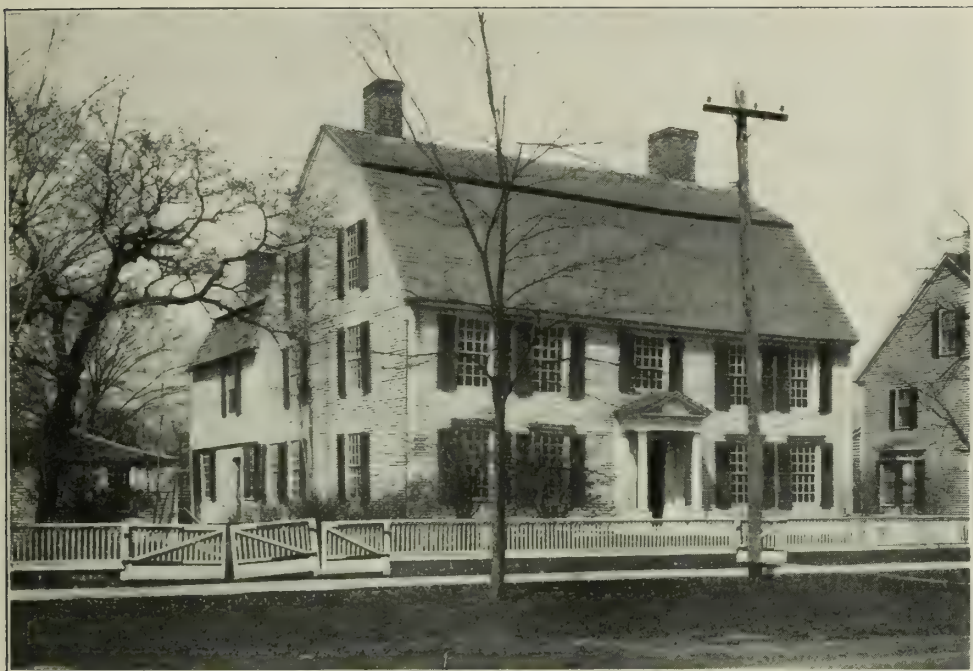
According to these reminiscences, Lafayette made his headquarters at the home of Nathaniel Porter whose son acted as the general's secretary till stricken with smallpox contracted when carrying a letter to Washington. On the occasion of Washington's visit, Lafayette requested Lieut. Alexander King of East Windsor to report to him with a mounted escort. The escort appeared without horse equipment and the men carrying sticks in place of sabres. Lafayette introduced them to Washington as the "Old Testament Light Horse." Justus Grant of Wapping sometimes was in the general's party when trips were made around the state. Grant told of wrestling bouts he had with the young marquis, but at fencing the marquis was always the victor. The Hessian prisoners were set at planting trees along the

highway, on suggestion of the marquis, and he and the younger Porter held the rope for the alignment. Horse-racing was one of the amusements of the prisoners, the course being from Lafayette's quarters to the Fitch house. The sword of Colonel Brayman of Burgoyne's army came into the possession of John Gillette of East Windsor, and is now in the Connecticut Historical Society's rooms, as also the small-sword and cane of Lieutenant Fyfe who was quartered in South Windsor.

Connecticut had but two regiments in the Burgoyne battles, Cook's and Latimer's, both of which were thrown in at a critical moment and brought their state much credit. Capt. Zebulon Bidwell of East Hartford commanded one company and Captain Wadsworth another, made up of men from the immediate vicinity of Hartford. Both of these captains were killed in the first battle, September 19, 1777. A fitting memorial has been erected to Captain Bidwell by his descendant, Daniel D. Bidwell, who served in the navy in the Spanish war and is a widely known newspaper man. The impressive tablet stands between Bidwell Street and Tolland Street, near the site of the captain's home. The terror struck by Burgoyne's plan to cut New England off from the other colonies caused every able-bodied man to prepare in response to the call sent out through New England. Some reached Bennington in time to help Ethan Allen, Seth Warner and other Vermont sons of Connecticut check Burgoyne's progress, and the Hartford company of the Governor's Foot Guard was on its way to Gates' army under its first and only orders to leave the state in time of war, but was turned back by the news of the victory at the second battle of Saratoga. Capt. Thomas Y. Seymour of Sheldon's Dragoons, who was serving on Arnold's staff, was detailed to escort Burgoyne to Boston, and so agreeable were his services that the general presented to him his leopard-skin saddle-cloth which frequently was seen in later days when Seymour was in command of the Governor's Horse Guard.

Part of Gates' forces in October, 1778, camped in North Meadows and in West Hartford. On November 3, Governor Trumbull gave an entertainment for them. There was a parade by an artillery company and a dinner at 3 o'clock at the Bunch of Grapes. Two of Gates' regiments camped here while en route in 1779.

In December, 1777, Col. Samuel B. Webb of Wethersfield was



THE WEBB HOUSE, WETHERSFIELD



captured in a raid he was making on Long Island. He had been an aid on Washington's staff till Congress had made its first call for three-years men, with eight regiments for the colony's quota. Then he was given command of one-half of the "additional" regiment that Congress had asked for. The colonel was exchanged soon after his capture. Captain Buckland of Hartford was in the First Artillery with a company of Hartford men on this first organization of the "Continental Line." At the time of the battle of Saratoga the Connecticut line for the most part was supporting Putnam at Peekskill to prevent the enemy's getting through from the north. Webb's regiment was at Valley Forge the winter of 1777-8 and with Putnam at Redding, Conn., the next winter, when incidentally a brigade threatened to march on the General Assembly to demand its pay but was stopped by Putnam. Enos' regiment was in the battle of Monmouth in 1778. Noadiah Hooker of Farmington commanded one of six battalions held in reserve. Capt. Jarius Wilcox of Wethersfield commanded a company of artificers in some of the campaigns.

In that agonizing winter of 1778, the Assembly voted £60,000 more and laid a 2-shilling tax. A bounty of \$200 besides land was offered to rank and file. And Congress, still unable to do much financially, was urging every colony to pay its way so far as it could. No colony did this as well as Connecticut was doing; hence, after the war, no colony recovered more rapidly. The congressional articles of confederation in 1778 did not meet with the approval of the Hartford County town meetings.

In February, 1779, Capt. Titus Hosmer of Hartford, commanding a Redding outpost, detected the approach of Tryon's men for a raid and notified Putnam who was not far away just in time to enable him to escape and to return with reinforcements enough to drive the expedition back. Maj. Benjamin Tallmadge of Wethersfield (Sheldon's Dragoons) raided Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, captured 500 and broke up a nest of raiders. Calls for men had been coming frequently when early in 1779 Washington asked Trumbull for 12,000 to join in an attack on New York; the order would have been filled had not Washington been compelled to abandon the plan through lack of support. Putnam himself, half-sick, returned with the Connecticut men who had started, and on his journey back to the front was prostrated in Hartford. The utmost the town could do for the great

character was done, but his military career was ended. He lingered till May 19, 1790.

In addition to the appointment of officers to raise loans, the Assembly had made effort to secure systematic supplies for the troops, following a vote of £60,000 in credit bills. The collection of supplies was pitiful in amount but very large as a burden upon the givers. Women and children were still doing the field work for which the men periodically returning from the front were mostly unfitted. They knew another call would be published within a short time, perhaps tomorrow, and the man who would hold back would be no better than the despised Tories. In April, 1779, the demand for flour had become so imperative that the Assembly requested a committee to make a census, with returns by householders under oath before May 6, the surplus to be subject to orders for public use. Attempts to sell to commissaries at an unreasonable price would mean surrender of one's surplus; those revealing a deficiency could get permission to buy what they needed, endorsement of amount and price paid to appear on the form which had to be returned to the town. A similar law the next year covered salt, rum, salted beef and pork. It was further provided that commissaries finding themselves unable to buy at reasonable price, could get warrants from justices of the peace for seizing such amounts as were required, giving a statement to be used in adjustment with the government. Attempts to remove any of these commodities should subject them to confiscation. (Doctor Primus, a popular colored "doctor" who had lived with Dr. Alexander Wolcott added to his statement: "Awantum; sufficet.") The hardest was to get beasts of burden that could bring in supplies.

§

The year 1780 saw the British victories in the South but also the end of the cabal against Washington and the first military results of the French alliance. On September 21 Washington, Lafayette and Alexander Hamilton held their first conference with Rochambeau at Hartford. This was Washington's second appearance in this vicinity and the narrative must be interrupted long enough to note the contrast and to include the more momentous third visit. The first visit was on June 30, 1775, when the Virginian, just appointed by Congress, had been dispatched to

take command of the army at Cambridge and to try to bring order out of chaos. Worthy as his record already had been, he was little more than a name among New England people. Maj.-Gen. Charles Lee and a small escort accompanied him. To Mrs. Silas Deane of Wethersfield he brought a letter of introduction from her husband, then in Philadelphia. The Deane residence (significantly—where the Ticonderoga plot had been hatched) was—and is—next to the house of Joseph and Col. S. B. Webb, already known locally as “Hospitality Hall” because of the charm of Mrs. Abigail Chester Webb, the mistress of it. Either of the houses would add distinction to any of the typical Connecticut villages, then or now. At this visit there was no time to arrange social entertainment and the generals hurried on after brief refreshment through Hartford, where little note was made of their coming by a people stunned by the events of the preceding weeks.

This the second coming was a matter of universal moment for it was with the purpose of conferring with the loudly heralded Rochambeau, commander of the new French forces whose voyage all had acclaimed as the hope of salvation, and with him Admiral Ternay. With their ships and 6,000 good soldiers they had sailed into Newport Harbor July 10, 1780—and there they had been bottled up by the fleet of Clinton, gloating in New York over his conquests in the South. Washington’s companion at the outset of this journey had been his old friend Benedict Arnold, who even at that moment had arranged with Clinton the surrender of the one stronghold in the North, West Point, and in doing so was at one with others in his belief that the cause of independence was lost. Washington could see in the faces of the women and children who cheered him in every town he passed through—the men being absent in service—that that cause was not lost; pressing the hand of one of his suite he paused to say: “We may be beaten by the English in the field; it is the lot of arms; but see there the army which they will never overcome.”

On his approach to Hartford, Washington stopped at the home of Capt. Nathan Stillman of Wethersfield, once captain in Wash-

ington's Life Guard, embraced him and brought him to Hartford in his suite. His destination was the home of Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth, where the Atheneum now stands. On the approach of the French group, he was escorted by Governor Trumbull and the Governor's Foot Guard to meet them as they came up from the ferry. Of the conference there is no record; at best it must have been solemn. But one writer puts it: "The interview was a genuine festival for the French, who were impatient to see the hero of liberty. His noble mien, the simplicity of his manner, his mild gravity, surpassed their expectations and gained for him their hearts." It was on Washington's return, as he was approaching West Point, that he learned of the treachery of Arnold, the officer he had befriended at the risk of his own reputation.

The third visit to this vicinity marked the beginning of the victorious end, though few but Washington could see it. One need picture a culmination of all the hardship and suffering of the previous days to realize the situation, from the people's standpoint, in May of that next year, 1781. But Gates had been redeeming his reputation in the South and Washington had just received secret information that Clinton was about to send further reinforcements to Cornwallis in Virginia. So far as the world could see, England was victor in the European war, hinging on the rights of the seas, and the American situation was causing her no anxiety; troops were plenty and generals were doing well. She was counting without the American spirit as typified in Washington, and the American cleverness which had won such campaigns in the French-Indian wars as had been won.

Familiar to all readers is the glamor of this third meeting—the entertainment at "Hospitality Hall;" Governor Trumbull's reassurance of backing; the breaking of the religious Saturday evening calm of Wethersfield when the cavalcade attending Washington, General Knox and General Duportail of the French, stopped at the Stillman tavern; the attendance at the church with the beautiful spire on Sunday; the sermon by Rev. Dr. Marsh and the singing by the choir who repaid Washington's compliment by giving him a special concert the next night; the booming of guns on Monday and the escort by the Foot Guard and militia under the command of Capt. Frederick Bull when Rochambeau

and his following, including Chevalier de Chastellux (Admiral de Barras having been detained by another British threat) marched up from the ferry through a cheering multitude; the march back to Wethersfield for the dinner at the tavern, many members of the Assembly in the procession. Then the conference Tuesday, thus summarized by Washington in his diary: "May 22.—Fixed with Rochambeau the plan of campaign." A dinner was given at Collyer's tavern the night before Rochambeau left. Before Washington's departure on the 24th, he sent letters to all the New England governors to complete their battalions in the Continental line—for three years or the war if possible—and to Massachusetts a request for a loan of powder. It would have to be borrowed; a bushel of Continental money would hardly buy a keg.

Briefly, the campaign "fixed" was that they should threaten New York to prevent Clinton's sending aid to Cornwallis, that the fleet meanwhile should make off toward southern waters, and that the armies should be ready to seize any chance to slip by Clinton, reach Cornwallis first and crush him. With its startling elements of boldness and desperation, that plan "fixed" American history.

Washington's next visit to Hartford was in 1798 after he had sought private life, and the people improved their opportunity to express their love for him. On that occasion there was the Governor's Horse Guard, led by Maj. John Caldwell, to join in the escort with the Foot Guard.

Lafayette, impressed with Connecticut's loyalty as shown by her furnishing nearly half of the twenty New England regiments remaining with the Continental army, wrote his wife: "No European army would suffer one-tenth what the American troops suffer. It takes patience to support hunger, nakedness, toil and want of pay, which constitute the conditions of our soldiers, the hardest and most patient to be found in the world." That is a picture of the situation when Washington and Rochambeau were consulting.

The march of the French through the state was a blessed revelation to inhabitants who never had seen a large body of uniformed men and whose knowledge of the French forces had been gained only from the hateful French-Indian wars. It was an

encouraging spectacle, and the conduct of every officer and man, inspired by the noble commander, was such as to win the enduring respect of the cheering populace. While a body of 600 hussars and infantry marched as flankers from winter quarters at Lebanon by way of Wallingford and New Haven, the main body of 4,000 effective troops took the road from Providence, the four regiments proceeding with intervals of one day's march between them so as not to overburden the towns where they encamped each night. The commissariat had been arranged in advance. Rochambeau reached East Hartford, by way of Bolton, on June 24 with the first division and left on the 25th, and the others in order of arrival. The officers wore white uniforms; the men, according to regiment, white, white and green, black and red, and the artillery blue with red facings. The *Courant* was enthusiastic over them as had been President Stiles of Yale when he saw them at Newport. The officers were pressed to accept the hospitality of various homes, while the rations of beef and pork for the men were eked out and served by the women of the towns with delicacies they had vied in preparing. In East Hartford, there was another surprising feast for long unaccustomed eyes when silver coins were taken from kegs to pay the soldiers, and the road at that place from that day unto this has served as a memorial to that great event by bearing the name of "Silver Lane." (The location was marked by boulder and tablet, with patriotic ceremonies, in 1928.)

Their next night's encampment was at the south end of Farmington, across the brook that flows from Diamond Glen. On the green in that town a bronze tablet has been set in honor of "our French allies," with exercises described in the history of the town in another part of this work. Thence the route was through Middlebury and Southbury to Dobb's Ferry and Washington's camp. After the surrender of Cornwallis October 19, 1783, the French were on duty in Virginia till the next fall, when they marched to Boston to embark, passing through Farmington and Hartford in two columns the last days of October.

The right of the line against Cornwallis had been given to Lafayette. Ten of his thirty-six companies were from Connecticut, two of them in Lieut-Col. Alexander Hamilton's battalion of four companies on the extreme right, the place of honor. Among the officers were Maj. John P. Wyllys of Hartford and Capts.

Jonathan Hart of Farmington and Roger Welles of Newington. Webb continued in the service till late in 1783, even after the Connecticut line had been reduced to three regiments, and was made brigadier in September. Capt. Elisha Hopkins of Hartford led one of the companies on the evacuation of New York, November 25, 1783.

Connecticut had furnished 31,959 men of the Continental army, not including those who enlisted in other states, or 14 per cent of the total, a larger percentage than any other state on a three-years basis. The state's population in 1790 was 238,141 out of a grand total of 4,000,000 for the country. Her expenses had been \$20,199,531; the Government in course of time reimbursed with \$2,445,679, leaving the state's net contribution \$17,753,852, actual public expenditures only. The state had been loyal but it had reserved the right to criticise and to resent infringement of state rights, as seen in resolutions adopted in Hartford town meeting in 1783 for the Assembly. They resented all encroachments of Congress upon the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the states and every assumption of power not expressly vested in the Articles of Confederation. In particular the resolutions desired investigation as to whether Congress was authorized to give half pay for life to officers or commutation of five-years' full pay, and if such right had been obtained, it should be taken away. Protest was made against the appointment of an ambassador to Europe—an unbearable expense under prevailing conditions. Finally, the resolutions called for removal of placemen, pensioners and all superfluous officers of government, and the publication of the yeas and nays upon every important question in the House.

The peace celebration, locally, was not so disastrous as that on the occasion of the repeal of the Stamp Act, but seriously threatened the State House. The small cupola on the modest building caught fire and was destroyed, never to be replaced.

The Governor's Horse Guard, to which reference has been made, was authorized as an escort to the governor by action of the Assembly in 1788. Several of the signers of the petition had been charter members of the Governor's Foot Guard. Capt. Thomas Y. Seymour was the moving spirit, succeeding Major Caldwell in command in 1792. It was the first uniformed cavalry

organization in the state and out of it was to grow the present-day cavalry.

The celebrated Newgate prison, one of the historical features of the state, visited by thousands each year, was on the highest point of land in East Granby. There the first copper mining in America was begun in 1705. Ten shilling on each ton had to be paid to the town. Part of this went to the support of Yale. Three ministers named Woodbridge, of Springfield, Simsbury and Hartford,—John, Dudley and Timothy, Jr.—conducted the business for a period of time. As England would allow no smelting in America, the ore had to be shipped to London. In the 1730s companies in Boston, London and Holland put in much money there. Samuel Higley's mine where were made the copper tokens marked "I am a good copper" and "Value me as you like," so highly prized by collectors today, was half a mile to the southward. The General Assembly took over the property for a prison in 1773 and named it Newgate after the famous English prison. The first convict escaped in two weeks, and thereafter there was a series of uprisings, escapes and fires. In 1777 all the prisoners were taken to the prison in Hartford. In 1780, however, the prison was rebuilt, only to be abandoned again in 1782 and then rebuilt in 1790 and to be used till the prison at Wethersfield was completed in 1827. The wall around the yard was built in 1802. At night the inmates were confined in the watery substructure where also was a treadmill. After passing into the possession of private owners, mining was tried again several times up to 1859. Today it is in the hands of Col. Clarence W. Seymour, of Hartford, who is carefully preserving it for its historical associations, aside from charm of wonderful scenery. (Other details are given in the Simsbury and East Granby section).



(From Barber's Historical Collections, 1836)

NEWGATE PRISON, EAST GRANBY

XVI

HOOKER SYSTEM FEDERALIZED

ELLSWORTH, OF ORIGINAL THREE TOWNS, FIRM FOR GRAFTING IT AND FOR CONNECTICUT COURT PRINCIPLES—WESTMORELAND, WESTERN RESERVE AND SCHOOL FUND.

Beginning with the Federation of New England Colonies (less Rhode Island), there had been sundry efforts to form a general union when Congress in 1776, on July 4, by mandate of the people, adopted the Declaration of Independence. Silas Deane of Wethersfield had been a delegate to the Philadelphia convention of 1774, called on the passage of the Stamp Act. During the war it was more and more evident that there must be a congress that was something stronger than an advisory board. On November 11, 1780, a convention of New England and New York was held in Hartford, the home of independence since 1639, to advocate a congress on constitutional footing. Its recommendations, including that for laying impost to raise revenue, were taken up by Congress and from that time forward there were constant efforts to build up a federal republic. One state after another acceded to the confederation idea and relinquished its claim to territory beyond its borders. Oliver Ellsworth of Windsor and Hartford was one of the three ablest lawyers of the day appointed to report on how Congress could be given the power of coercion without which victory in the war, even if possible, would be useless. The report was a document in the campaign of education, preparing the way for Washington, in his circular to the people after the close of the war, to insist upon a constitution.

In January 1781, Connecticut was the first of the states to grant import collectible by Congress—to the end of the third year after the war. Hamilton with Morris was working up the national bank. The next year New York spoke out for a federal convention, reiterating the ideas of the Hartford convention.

Money meanwhile was being advanced by France—largely through Deane's influence—and all was going well till Rhode Island first and then Virginia opposed allowing anyone outside their borders to levy taxes on them. The six years' conflict between Washington and Madison in the latter state against Richard Henry Lee, champion of state sovereignty, had begun.

Meantime, led by Hartford County men, Connecticut was furnishing an example of the beneficence of authority by a union. Her claim to Westmoreland in the Pennsylvania section, strictly just by her charter, had caused warlike clashes between the Connecticut founders and the neighboring Pennsylvanians. Both states agreed to leave the dispute to five commissioners appointed by Congress, and Connecticut submitted quietly to the adverse decision, her precious charter for the first time overridden.

Connecticut's charter entitled her to all the land between the given parallels, to the Pacific, and her rights were acknowledged at different times, as when the Mississippi was to be considered the western boundary. In ceding her rights she asked and received rights to three and a half million acres west of the Pennsylvania line, or eleven of the counties in present northeastern Ohio, the disposition of which will be mentioned later, since Hartford County men were much concerned in it.

The country's perils had thickened during the days of drafting the peace treaty. The venerable Governor Trumbull, retiring from public life, responded heartily to Washington's letter of warning to the people. Noah Webster, writing in Hartford, said that so long as one state had the power to defeat the will of the other twelve, the confederation was a cobweb; state sovereignty in relation to state government must be maintained, but on whatever affected all states, a majority of states must decide. "As a citizen of the American empire, every individual has a national interest far superior to all others."

The hope of an industrial revival in Hartford and elsewhere was crushed by importation at low prices of English goods which merchants overbought; traffic with the Indies was destroyed by England's prohibition on American bottoms; pitch, ship material and tobacco no longer could be sold to England. The common cry was echoed in Hartford streets that there must be a congress to lay prohibitive tariff as states were doing independently. New

seeds of bitterness were being sown. For England's part, she knew not how to deal with an un-united and now alien country and adopted severity, born of pessimism—applying rigid navigation laws and holding military posts on the frontiers because some of her creditor citizens here had not been treated justly.

Further need of a union was marked in the confusion as to currency of different states. Connecticut had been the first, by act of the Assembly in Hartford when the Lexington alarm was sounded, to issue paper currency for war expenses. The bills were not good in private business, and the issue was suspended from 1777 to 1780. Then the Assembly discriminated between contracts calling for coin and those calling for paper and gave the courts authority to referee, meantime providing a table to mark the rate of depreciation. The first New England state to use paper money, it was the first to return to coin. "Its people," says Bancroft, "as they were frugal, industrious and honest, dwelt together in peace, while other states were rent by factions." "For demanding reforms, and persisting in the demands, Connecticut had the most hopeful record."

Congress continued impotent. Virginia led the way with the tentative Annapolis convention and then inspired the great one at Philadelphia in 1787. Some states were backward, but for Connecticut the voice heard in Hartford was no less certain than that heard when Hooker addressed the General Court, or when Fletcher got his answer, or when the die had been cast at Lexington. Elizur Goodrich of Wethersfield, in his election sermon, invoked the shade of a prophet of Israel to prove the need of a national union and a national honor. Governor Huntington urged on an Assembly which sent to the convention Roger Sherman, William S. Johnson and Oliver Ellsworth, the Windsor statesman and jurist, imperturbable of nature, clear-minded and convincing. They were "so able that scarce any delegation stood before them," to use the words of an eminent commentator. Ellsworth, only 42, had served on the committee in 1781 for amending the then Constitution and the committee in 1783 for considering further reform. He had been a student at Yale and had graduated at the College of New Jersey in 1768. He had been state's attorney, a member of the Assembly, and, like Sherman, was a judge of the Superior Court.

Connecticut with her inheritance, and her experience under

it for 150 years, was against the Virginia plan for two houses of Congress both with representation by population, and a president and judiciary appointed by such Congress. Between the "large" and "small" states her delegates became the mediators. "This," to quote Historian Johnstone, "is the crowning glory of the system which Hooker inaugurated in the wilderness, and of the commonwealth of Connecticut." "It is hardly too much to say that the birth of the Constitution was merely the grafting of the Connecticut system on the stock of the old confederation, where it has grown into richer luxuriance than Hooker ever could have dreamed of." Ellsworth agreed that the first (lower) house should be chosen by the people but held to the principle that the Senate should be chosen by the legislatures, to tie in the state and federal governments. Then he threw his whole strength into his motion that vote in the upper house should be by states, making the government partly federal and partly national; "if the great states refuse this plan, we shall forever be separated."

This is known in history as the "Connecticut compromise." Long and earnestly the battle raged around it. For the first and only time, some of these, the country's ablest, stooped to personalities. The convention seemed doomed to failure. When on subsequent days this feature came up, Ellsworth and his colleagues, voting as one, were firm, unperturbed. Virginia could not yield. Franklin was moved to ask that sessions be opened by prayer, for their trust should be in the Lord. All hearts were heavy. To hasty aspersion upon Connecticut by the powerful Madison, zealous promoter of the convention, Ellsworth replied calmly, fixing his eyes upon Washington, the presiding officer:

"To you I can with confidence appeal for the great exertions of my state during the war in supplying both men and money. The muster rolls will show that she had more troops in the field than even the state of Virginia. We strained every nerve to raise them; and we spared neither money nor exertion to complete our quotas. This extraordinary exertion has greatly impoverished us, and has accumulated our state debts; but we defy any gentleman to show that we ever refused a federal requisition. If she has proved delinquent through inability only, it is not more than others have been without the same excuse. It is the ardent wish of the state to strengthen the federal government."

On July 5 five states voted with Ellsworth; five of the "national" states voted against him. Georgia, the sixth "national" state, was divided when Abraham Baldwin, a native of Connecticut, voted for the Connecticut plan. Franklin also had come to favor it. The matter went back to the special committee of one from each state. On July 16 the committee submitted an amended report. It was now evident that New Hampshire and Rhode Island if present would vote against the nationalists who still refused to see that their plan must some day enable the large states, by controlling the votes of both houses, to establish a tyranny over the small states. When finally the vote was taken, North Carolina broke from the large states and the Connecticut plan was adopted by a majority of one. Governor Simeon E. Baldwin's comment is: "It was the influence of Connecticut that thus stamped on the United States its dual character, and left the states still sovereign, though within a narrowed sphere." And he continues:

"Two years later the new government came into being. It was Oliver Ellsworth, sent by Connecticut to represent her in the first session of the Senate, and made chairman of its judiciary committee, who drew up the act of Congress under which the courts of the United States were organized. It shaped the judicial system of the Union closely to the pattern of that then existing here, and its merit is evinced by its remaining substantially unchanged for a hundred years, and with but slight modifications to the present day."

And Ellsworth later was appointed by Washington to be chief justice of the United States.

The story of the ratification of the Constitution by the individual states is another exciting chapter in American history. Connecticut's ratifying vote, at convention held in Hartford, was 128 to 40.

To complete the account of the Western Reserve in Ohio: In 1792 some 500,000 acres in the western portion of it were given for the relief of those who had suffered by the raids of the British during the war and came to be called the "Fire Lands." The rest of the land was sold in 1795 for \$1,200,000 to a land company composed of forty-eight men in the state, the foremost of whom were Oliver Phelps of Windsor and Suffield and Gideon Granger, Jr., of Suffield, after which considerable bodies of emigrants

journeyed to that wild frontier, still often referred to as "Connecticut Reserve." The money was set aside for a school fund, the interest from which has ever since been devoted to school purposes. Mr. Phelps was also prominent in a similar enterprise for land granted to Massachusetts which land is now Westchester County in New York.

XVII

THE CITY INCORPORATED

WHAT HARTFORD WAS THEN—WASHINGTON'S ORDER FOR INAUGURATION SUIT—FIRST SELF-PROPELLED VEHICLE—INVENTION OF THE STEAMBOAT—SOCIAL CONDITIONS—CHRIST CHURCH PARISH.

Habit of thought and ways of doing business had been greatly changed by the long war period. Bankrupt as the state was, the activities of individual men had been quickened and thought had been given to improving methods. In Hartford, New Haven, New London, Norwich and Middletown there was resolve to incorporate as cities, a privilege granted Hartford May 29, 1784. The lines ran from "Dutch ground" to a point north of Charter Oak Avenue (using present-day designations); thence to the southwest corner of Wethersfield Avenue and Wyllys Street; thence westerly to the corner of Washington and Jefferson; thence northwesterly to about the corner of Park and Lafayette; thence northerly to Broad (Imlay's "upper mills"); thence northerly to the corner of Windsor Avenue and Belden Street; thence east to the river. With changes in 1821, 1853, 1859, 1871 and 1873, town and city lines were made the same in 1881. Annually in March the freemen were to elect a mayor, to hold office during the pleasure of the Assembly; four aldermen and a maximum of twenty councilmen as a court of common council; also a clerk, a treasurer and two sheriffs. All by-laws must be submitted to popular vote. There should be a city court presided over by the mayor and two aldermen to hear personal actions (where land title was not involved) grounded on contract or injury.

George Wyllys, senior justice of the peace, presided at the first election, June 28, 1784, when Col. Thomas Seymour, 4th, was elected mayor, a position he held thirty-eight years. The aldermen were Col. Samuel Wyllys, Jonathan Bull, Jesse Root and Capt. Samuel Marsh; councilmen: Capt. John Chevenard, Barnabas Deane, Ralph Pomeroy, James Church, Chauncey Goodrich,

Peter Colt, Capt. John Olcott, Capt. John Caldwell, Zebulon Seymour, Zachariah Pratt, Ashbell Steele, William Nichols, John Trumbull, Barzillai Hudson, Capt. Israel Seymour, Daniel Olcott, Daniel Hinsdale; city clerk, William Adams; treasurer, Hezekiah Merrill; sheriffs, Capt. Joseph Talcott, James Wells. To the list of councilmen should be added the name of Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth who had written from abroad that he intended to use some of his means to "build up my native town." Solomon Porter's plot of the city was made and approved, street lines were corrected and nuisances abated and prohibited.

There had been fierce opposition to the incorporating, on the ground that town power was ample. It would mean heavier taxes to provide the improvements and it were better to let well-enough alone. What, then, were the conditions at the time?

In population, Hartford had 3,027 in 1756, a little less than Farmington and Windsor; in 1782, Hartford had 5,495, about the same as Farmington and 2,000 more than Windsor; in 1790, after East Hartford had been set off (1783), Hartford numbered 4,000 to Farmington and Windsor each about 2,400. Streets were still in disgraceful condition in the '80s. Agriculture and shipping were the chief occupations. The "public landing" was on Little River east of Front Street, where long had been a landing, near Governor Hopkins' house, and there the trade of the South Side was largely conducted. The Boston-New York stage began running bi-weekly in 1772. Toll roads did not come in till 1792, and it was to be nearly a hundred years (1839) before towns took care of highways. From 1640 to 1784 only one new highway was ordered in Hartford. In 1760 Hartford's main street (Queen Street) was declared, in a futile petition for a lottery, to be the worst road in the colony. The first stones to make it more passable were put in in 1790.

The number of stores had been increased since 1747 when Ebenezer Plummer of Newburyport had been advised to locate in Glastonbury because Hartford already had one. Most of them were near the warehouses along the river, but now their signs were beginning to appear on the main street. These stores were in the lower part of dwellings which encroached upon the original road. Dr. William Jepson opened a drug store in 1783 near the South Church, and kept a supply of surgical instruments. From



COAT OF ARMS, WITH THE CITY'S SEAL
ADOPTED IN 1852



THE FIRST SEAL OF THE
CITY OF HARTFORD, 1785



Meeting-house Yard northward, the east side of the street already had been preempted by drygoods, together with jewelry, drugs and provisions. On the west side it still was mostly residences. Capt. Samuel Wadsworth's house stood on an embankment eight feet high on the north corner of present Asylum Street.

Most of the maritime trade preceding the Revolution had been with the West Indies, and in it were men of such familiar names as Bunce, Forbes, Chevenard, Goodwin, Caldwell, Olcott and Bigelow. John Ellery, proprietor of the "Great Store" at the foot of present Potter Street, and Col. Samuel Talcott were two of the leading merchants in this river district. Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth (1743-1804), son of Rev. Daniel Wadsworth of the First Church, was one of those who took advantage of reviving trade. He served in Congress and the upper house of the Legislature. He was the father of Daniel Wadsworth, founder of the Athenaeum. His wife was the daughter of Governor Trumbull. In Minister's Lane, which was being opened as Prospect Street, because of the wonderful view it had over the lowlands and down the river, he built two houses, one for himself on the site of what is now the Atheneum Annex, a part of the institution named in his honor. The Watsons and others built there, making of it quite the select residential section, remote from business activities. As such it remained through many generations, defying the crowding of business and changing most gracefully, without losing its atmosphere, to admit Club Row, the beautiful *Times* building, and the eastern grounds of the Civic Center. Jacob Ogden built a large warehouse on Ferry Street in 1781 and the building on State Street which became the celebrated Ransom's Coffee House and later Exchange Hotel. John Morgan (1753-1842) was another of those active in retrieving after the war. He was beginning activities which were to give him a leading position well on into the next century. He built the most notable block of stores on the street which bears his name, and there also his own fine residence. Elias Morgan, his half brother, built two houses and the New Theater.

Maj. John Caldwell (1755-1838), son of Capt. John Caldwell, owned large ships in the carrying trade but his fortune was wiped out by the War of 1812. As already noted he was the first commander of the Governor's Horse Guard, was president of the Hartford Bank and altogether was one of the most valued citi-

zens. His daughter Sarah was the mother of Col. Samuel Colt; his daughter Margaret married Jared Scarborough who owned much land on Scarborough Hill, now Prospect Hill. Barnabas Deane, who previously has been mentioned, was one of the leaders.

"Sinking Fund" was for half a century the common name for the section along the river north of Morgan Street. A number of leading merchants in 1791, including Morgan, Caldwell, Wadsworth and Jones, bought the section and built docks, all profits to be put into a sinking fund till the property was paid for. The river teemed with trade southward to Potter Street, where there was a busy shipyard, while the northern docks attracted little and went to ruin. Flatboats extended the trade to northern New England, being poled over the falls at Enfield, and great rafts of timber were floated down from the north. For inland trade, over fairly good roads, there was a long string of carts to the west and northwest till the Boston and Albany railroad was built, and a tavern every few miles. At the one near the corner of present Windsor Avenue a fresh barrel of rum was opened each morning for the refreshment of tired drivers. The increase in business compelled the extension of State Street from Front to the river in 1800, and warehouses began to encroach on the residential section of both Front and State streets. Before many years the *Courant's* advertisements showed there were enterprising establishments conducted by Dennison Morgan, James M. Bunce, Eliphalet Averill, Elisha Peck, Nathan Morgan, Russell Bunce, Solomon Porter and Company, David Porter, David Watkinson, Edward Watkinson and Eli Ely. The largest West India concern was that of Eliphalet and Roderick Terry, sons of Eliphalet Terry of Enfield, at the junction of Main and Windsor streets.

The struggle to overcome financial stringency, heavy debt, high taxes and lack of stable currency, to say nothing of depreciation of labor and the lowering of moral standards, was brave but not always successful. The women in 1786 banded together in an association pledged to eschew ribbons, feathers, beaver hats, furs, muslins, chintzes and silks except for weddings, in the belief that "calamities are caused in great measure by the luxury and extravagance of individuals." This was not altogether pleasing to the followers of President Stiles of Yale who had been studying

the silk subject since 1732 and with Nathaniel Aspinwall had originated the industry. He had secured the planting of mulberry trees here and in many towns with view to raising the cocoons at home, and after forty years of devotion to the cause he wore a gown of Connecticut silk at commencement in 1789. The county's interest in the sequel to this in the next century was to be deep.

Manufacture of broadcloth was encouraged by legislation in 1788. On land acquired by Ralph Pomeroy near the foot of present Mulberry Street, Daniel Hinsdale and a stock company including men like Wadsworth, Jesse Root, Oliver Ellsworth, Peter Colt and Mayor Thomas Seymour, established the country's first woollen mill that year. The capital was \$6,000. Before the mill became Cyprian Nichols' soap factory, it had given the name Factory Lane to present Gold Street and had made history. National advertising had been the first and most successful step. The first outside "display ad" appeared in the *Daily Advertiser* of New York, January 16, 1789. Nathaniel Hazard of 51 Water Street made known that he had "just received from the flourishing manufactory at Hartford a few pieces of superfine BROAD-CLOTHS of an excellent quality," in both "London Smoke and Hartford Grey."

By a letter recently found, George Washington read that advertisement and at once quoted it to General Knox, then living in New York, with commission to purchase him a suit of clothes of such color as the general should prefer, remarking however that if the dye did not seem well fixed or the cloth after all should not be very fine, "some color mixed in might be preferable to an indifferent (stained) dye." Nothing more would be needed except the twist for the button holes. He hoped the goods could be sent by stage within a short time. "Mrs. Washington would be equally thankful to you for purchasing for her as much of what is called (in the advertisement) London Smoke as will make her a riding habit. If the choice of these clothes have been disposed of in New York, where could they be had from Hartford in Connecticut where I perceive a manufactory of them is established?"

When the first Congress assembled that spring, President Washington, Vice President Adams and the Connecticut delegation, including Senator Oliver Ellsworth of the stock company,

wore at the inauguration dark "Congress Brown" suits, and at the opening session of the next year, Washington's suit was of the same kind but of "crow color." This color then was advertised as "changeable hues—\$2.50 to \$5 a yard." Two years later, a lottery was authorized for providing more machinery; in 1794, a dividend was paid with goods in hand; that was the only dividend and the business collapsed under the pressure of cheaper goods from England.

Normand Smith was establishing in 1794 the first harness and saddlery business of importance in the country which was to be carried on for many generations by his descendants and continues today as the Smith-Worthington Company, on Sigourney Street.

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Upon these scenes of renewed activity, and on Main Street, appeared in 1797 Dr. Apollos Kinsley in the first self-power vehicle, driven by steam and immediately dominating the mirey thoroughfare. It was the fruit of his own genius. Days of witchcraft were past but there were inhabitants who could see naught but evil in the invention, and their prophecy that the fiery, noisy thing could not live long was fulfilled. Discouraged most perhaps by bad roads, the doctor turned his genius to other lines, and invented a pin-making apparatus and the first brick-burning machine, by aid of which he built his house on Kinsley Street. The world's present revolution in vehicular traffic was postponed a hundred years.

Commemorated by a bronze tablet in the Capitol by order of the Legislature, John Fitch, born in South Windsor in 1743, was the first man to apply steam to the propulsion of watercraft, using therefor a condensing engine before he knew of the Watt engine. The honor is sometimes still given to Livingston and to Fulton who launched his *Clermont* in 1807, but the official records of New Jersey show that Fitch's invention was recognized in 1786 and he given rights to run his steamboat. Delaware, New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia granted him similar rights in 1787. In 1788 he had a boat making regular trips at Philadelphia, and in 1791, Washington, Jefferson and Knox signed the letters patent given by Congress after it had received jurisdiction over the navigable waters of the nation. In 1824 the New York Gen-

eral Assembly officially confirmed this priority after an investigation of the claims—never pushed by Fulton but by those who sought to make the honor his. Admiral Bunce Section of the National Navy League was instrumental in collecting still more evidence in 1909 and in having the memorial tablet placed. Fred-eric Knapp, chairman of the legislative committee, caused to be published a valuable monograph of the evidence at that time. As a farmer's boy, Fitch worked for Timothy Cheney, the East Hart-ford clock maker. After his marriage he left home because of domestic infelicity and thereafter led a life of most romantic wanderings, as clock tinker, button maker, surveyor, map maker, gun maker and peddler, before he turned his thoughts to the use of steam in 1785 at Philadelphia. While making maps of the Middle West he was taken prisoner by the Indians and was held by them and in Quebec, finally winning his exchange by his cleverness in carving metal. In the Revolution he was a lieutenant from New Jersey till his skill as a gunsmith caused him to be sent back to open a shop. Later all his machinery was destroyed by the British and for a while he was an army sutler at Valley Forge. In 1793 he went to France to get rights and build a boat, but the Revolution there preventing, he left his designs with the American consul (who loaned them to Fulton for some months), came home discouraged, went to Bardstown, Kentucky, and there shot himself in 1798. A monument given by Hon. S. E. Elmore was erected in 1914 to mark Fitch's birthplace in South Windsor.



ORIGINAL MODEL OF JOHN FITCH'S
STEAMBOAT

Presented by Fitch to the American Philosophical
Society of Philadelphia, now in the Smithsonian
Institute, Washington, D. C.

The fire department had its origin five years after the incor-poration of the city. Every citizen had to keep a supply of buck-ets which were enumerated yearly. Water was supplied from

cisterns, nearly all of which were within the lines of present streets, their number being increased by one a year as territory extended. There was a large one near the State House. They were built substantially of brick or stone. Every citizen had to respond to the cry of "Fire" and take buckets with him. A double line would be formed from wells or cisterns, one for passing along the buckets, the other for returning them. Most of the water for the cisterns came from adjacent roofs, the eaves of which connected with the cisterns by channel or wooden pipes. The largest cisterns held 1,200 gallons. The first engine house was provided in 1790, for housing a cart in which buckets and axes could be kept. Fire limits were established in 1799, with regulations that all chimneys within the limits must be of brick or stone. Prior to that, chimney sweeps had been required.

Great improvement in traveling was inaugurated when the Hartford, New London, Windham and Tolland turnpikes were chartered in 1795. They were under the control of commissioners. Gates were about ten miles apart. Tolls were 25 cents for a stage, or carriage, 6¼ cents for a one-horse wagon and 1 cent for each animal driven.

The county sheriff, the two city sheriffs and the constables constituted the police force till in 1797 the city was divided into four wards each with a "ward and watch"—James Pratt, Ezekiel Williams, Ashbell Wells and Richard Butler respectively.

Through committees the town had managed the classical school, the inception of which has been told. In 1798 it was incorporated as the Hartford Grammar School. The Second North School was started in 1793, occupying rented quarters till a building was built at the junction of Ann and High streets.

The First Baptist Church was organized in March, 1790, and four years later its first edifice was built at the corner of Dorr, now Market Street, and Division, later Theater and now Temple Street. Rev. Eahanan Winchester, a Universalist minister best known in Philadelphia and London, died here in 1797 and the General Convention of Universalist churches erected the monument over his grave.

Indicative of the times, the Charitable Society of Hartford was organized in 1792 to furnish relief for those not provided for under the poor-laws. This the first charitable organization in the

city has been well maintained ever since, its funds being distributed by almoners. The Missionary Society of Connecticut was organized in 1798, with headquarters later at the Congregational Home on Garden Street.

Chastellux in his "Travels," 1780, wrote that Hartford was "one long street parallel with the river" and "did not merit attention." Brissot de Warville, the French traveler, wrote in 1788: "The environs of Hartford displayed charming cultivated country, neat, elegant houses, vast meadows, covered with herds of cattle of enormous size. To describe the neighborhood of Hartford is to describe Connecticut. Nature and art have here displayed all their treasures; it is really the paradise of the United States."

"Wethersfield," he wrote further, "is remarkable for its vast fields, uniformly covered with onions, of which great quantities are exported to the West Indies. It is likewise remarkable for its elegant meeting-house or church. On Sunday it is said to offer an enchanting spectacle by the number of young, handsome persons who assemble there, and by the agreeable music with which they intermingle the divine service." This was one of the churches where individual and disputatious sentiments were giving place to united effort to restore the pre-war standards of morality among the people and to promote toleration of sects. From Washington's impression and de Warville's, the beautiful church in Wethersfield must have been a leader, but there is evidence of lingering traditions in this extract from the records of that church in 1790: "Whereas there have been great disturbances in this church and society on account of the seating of the congregation, therefore be it resolved that here after the seating committee shall place people 'first' with regard to their wealth, 'second' with regard to their position in society, and 'third' with respect to their piety." Sittings by decree of a committee in churches in general was not superseded till later; the custom of selling pews auctionwise to raise funds was inaugurated in Norwich in 1791.

New England's colonial relations with the mother country from the beginning had not been of a kind to foster regard for the Church of England. In many places bitterness added to antipathy during the Revolution, but in the federation, what with

Washington and other leaders being members of that church, and in Connecticut loyal men like William Samuel Johnson of the Constitutional Convention, and in Hartford, such citizens as William Pitkin, John Morgan, Jacob Ogden and William Imlay, there was a sense of what was, under the circumstances, very notable toleration. America's first bishop was consecrated in Connecticut, as has been said, the first year after the war in which he had served as a chaplain of a British regiment.

The first William Pitkin in 1664 was one of the complainants against being deprived of personal preferences and having to contribute toward the support of ministers of other faith than theirs. Ninety-eight years later John Keith and others of the parish which had been formed bought a church site where now stands the cathedral of the diocese and began to build but abandoned their plan and sold the lot because of the general unsettled conditions. After litigation over the sale, the property was restored to the parish, in 1772, by the Superior Court.

Two years after the consecration of Bishop Seabury, there was reorganization and Mr. Imlay and Mr. Morgan were chosen wardens. By 1792 a fund had been raised for building the church. Some of the contributions were in the form of "pure spirit," some in molasses, and that of Noah Webster, Jr., was seven dozen of Webster's spelling books. The edifice, of frame construction, was consecrated in 1801. The present one replaced it in 1829. At the semi-centennial celebration Bishop Clark said of it, referring to more pretentious churches which had been built: "None of them is as far in advance of Christ Church, Hartford, as this was of all others that existed at the date of its consecration." In the earlier days services had been held under direction of the English missionary organization. Calvin Whiting was lay reader in 1795. The first of the distinguished list of rectors was Menzies Rayner, 1801 to 1811. The work of the Episcopal Church always has been hand in hand with that of those of the faith of the colony's founders.

XVIII

“HARTFORD WITS”

NATIONAL VALUE OF FIRST LITERARY CENTER—LAWYERS AND DOCTORS — ENTERTAINMENTS — ALMSHOUSE — CEMETERIES — DISCUSSION ABOUT “FIRST” CHURCH.

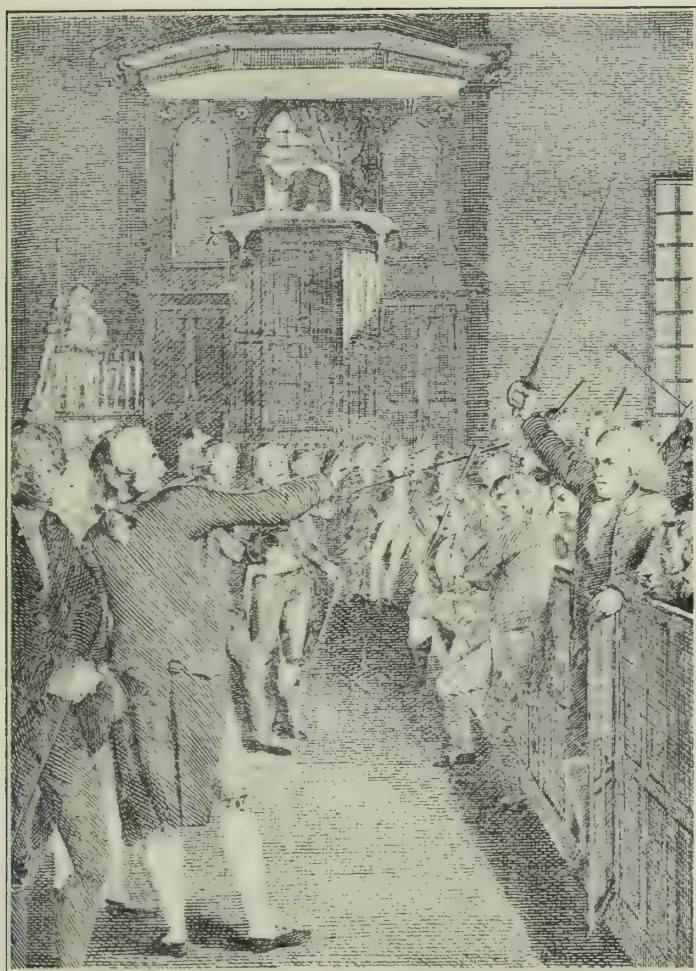
Founder Thomas Hooker would have been known for his theological treatises even if he never had been known as builder of free government. Jonathan Edwards' writings gave him a name more enduring than that for his “Great Awakening.” Roger Wolcott of Windsor (1679-1767), soldier, jurist and statesman, became the leading poet of New England in his later days. He laboriously mingled colonial scenes with landscapes of the ancients, and Indian chiefs with dwellers on Parnassus. The “Hartford Wits” were the first to make of Hartford a national literary center. They were Yale graduates who had chosen Hartford for their rendezvous in the strife of Washington and federalism for closer union of the states, against Jefferson and anti-federalism for greater independence of the states and French democracy. They “hung up the sword in Hartford, and grasped the lyre.” France was seeking America's aid in her wars; mobs were doing violence under Shay of Massachusetts and other leaders; a certain element were refusing to pay taxes and denouncing Washington and his officers as aristocrats, hundreds of orators were appealing to the masses to rise and prevent a new monarchy. Among the literary authorities, Barrett Wendell says of the Wits: “An heroic, patriotic effort they stand for, and one made with enthusiasm, wit and courage.” And Carl Halliday: “Undoubtedly they helped to an appreciable degree in the preservation of the nation.”

John Trumbull* (Watertown, 1750—Detroit, Mich., 1831), was a tutor at Yale where he was graduated at the age of 17 and a student of law, a dashing writer there and in Boston who, it is said, would have been another Pope or Dryden had not the cause of liberty called him to the field of political satire. His "Progress of Dulness" and "McFingal" gave him fame that seems to flash out periodically with new glamor. The former was a satire on college systems, on worthless boys of wealth in college and on not giving women opportunity for higher education. The latter and stronger is the still fascinating story of a Scotch orator who stood for submission to Parliament, as against "Honorius," a patriot. "McFingal" was completed in Hartford and ran into scores of editions—mostly pirated—both here and in Europe. In Hartford he became state's attorney, member of the Assembly, judge of the Superior Court, judge of the Supreme Court and treasurer of Yale for many years. Some of his writings in 1775 were appearing in the *Courant* and no doubt the character of that paper was one of the reasons for the Wits' choosing Hartford for their abode.

Another reason was the divergence of Yale and Harvard sentiment in the field of religion, Harvard having a spasm of unorthodoxy while Yale thinkers were firm for the old faith. Timothy Dwight, Sr., chaplain in the war, and later, as president of Yale, the inspirer of the second great religious revival, was directing his humor along with his preachments against the ungodly, as shown by this quotation from one of the more famous poems, referring to a Harvard cleric:

"* * * the smooth Divine, unused to wound
The sinner's heart, with hell's alarming sound.
No terrors on this gentle tongue attend;
No grating truths the nicest ear offend."

* Joseph and Judah Trumbull were settlers in Suffield. Each had a son John. Joseph's son John (the elder of the two), born in 1670, was great-grandfather of John Trumbull, LL. D., the writer and jurist and state treasurer. Joseph, another son of Joseph of Suffield settled in Lebanon and was the father of Governor Jonathan Trumbull. The latter's eldest son Joseph was commissary-general early in the Revolution; his widow married Col. Hezekiah Wyllys. Another son, Jonathan, was governor 1798-1809 and a third son, John, was the artist and the personal friend of Washington. A fourth son, David, was father of Governor Joseph Trumbull, 1849. Dr. Benjamin Trumbull, state historian, was also a descendant of the Suffield Joseph.



THE COLONIAL TOWN MEETING

From the poem "McFingal" (1795) by John Trumbull of Hartford. Engraved by E. Tisdale, suggesting Old South Church, Boston.



Joel Barlow (1754-1812), educated at both Dartmouth and Yale, admitted to the bar in Hartford in 1785, founder of the *American Mercury*, one of the vehicles for the Wits, and winning fame in Europe for his great work, the "Columbiad" (America's history in verse from discovery till the end of the war and after), but most popular through the generations for "Hasty Pudding," descriptive of the simplicity of New England life (published in Paris!), extolled by Jefferson in 1805, then dweller in magnificence in Washington, minister to France in 1811 and dying in wretchedness in trying to answer the call for a conference sent him by Napoleon who was retreating from Moscow and whom Barlow condemned in his last breath, was counted among them till he left in 1788.

Col. David Humphreys (1753-1818), born in Derby, the aid whom Washington sent to Congress with Cornwallis' surrendered colors and long and frequent guest at Mount Vernon, recipient of a sword from Congress for bravery at Yorktown, secretary of the French legation, member of the Assembly in 1786, and brigadier-general in the War of 1812, was another of the group.

Theodore Dwight, Sr. (1764-1846), native of Northampton, Mass., was a later comer. He and his brother-in-law, Richard Alsop, Hartford bookseller, helped write the "Echo" series, in 1791, in the *Mercury* four years after Barlow had resigned from that periodical. The publication continued till 1805, ending with a burlesque on Jefferson's inauguration. Dwight was congressman in 1806 and secretary of the Hartford Convention in 1814. After that he conducted the *New York Daily Advertiser*. His hymn on Washington's death was widely printed. Doctors Mason F. Cogswell of Hartford and Elihu H. Smith of Wethersfield and Litchfield also contributed some lines to the "Echo."

Dr. Lemuel Hopkins (Waterbury, 1750-Hartford, 1801), eminent as a surgeon, wrote much for the group's "Anarchiad" and the "Political Green House" as well as for the "Echo." When Ethan Allen spoke for infidelity, Hopkins replied:

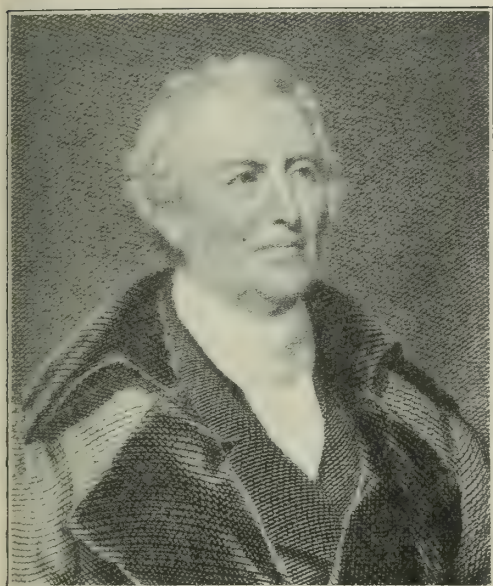
"All front he seems like wall of brass,
And brays tremendous as an ass;
One hand is clenched to batter noses,
While t'other scrawls 'gainst Paul and Moses."

Of the many attacks by anti-federalists upon the Wits, the following from a Philadelphia paper, in 1793, signed "Mirabeau," is a sample:

"Hartford! curst corner of the spacious earth!
Where each dire mischief ripens into birth * * *
Hartford, detested more by faction's race
Than hardened sinner hates the call of grace."

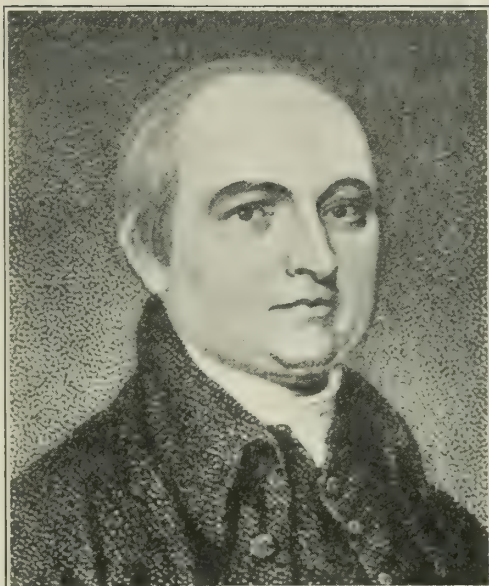
The Hartford County Medical Society was established in 1792 to assist in securing "incorporation of the faculty throughout the state." Dr. Elihu Tudor was chairman of the meeting. The Connecticut Medical Society held its first meeting in Middletown the next month. Among its early members were: Dr. Mason F. Cogswell who in 1803 ligated the carotid artery for the first time in America and was influential in establishing the asylum for deaf mutes; Dr. Elihu Todd of the Retreat; John L. Comstock, writer of valuable scientific works; William Tully, "most learned and scientific physician in New England;" Amariah Brigham, superintendent of the Retreat 1840-42 and afterwards of the asylum in Utica, N. Y.; Dr. Archibald Welch of Wethersfield and Hartford, prominent in the early days of life insurance as medical director of the American Temperance Life, the present Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Company, who was killed in a railroad accident in 1853; Dr. Samuel B. Beresford, educated in Edinburgh and London, with his father, Dr. James Beresford, who also was a member of the Royal College of Surgeons in London; Dr. George B. Hawley, founder of the Hartford Hospital and its leading spirit till his death in 1863; Dr. Charles W. Chamberlain, authority on public hygiene, who assisted in establishing the State Board of Health of which he was first secretary, and a long list of surgeons in the Civil war. Also there was the Hopkins Medical Society, 1826-1844, named after Doctor Hopkins. The Hartford Medical Society was established August 27, 1846.

The first homeopath to practice in the county was Dr. Gustavus M. Taft who came to Hartford in 1842. He gave his life in the battle against yellow fever in New Orleans in 1847. His brother, Dr. C. A. Taft, became a partner with Dr. P. S. Starr. The society of these practitioners was founded by Dr. John Schuë of Hartford and others in 1851. It became the Connecticut



(From the engraving by A. B. Durand after the painting by
Waldo & Jewett)

JOHN TRUMBULL
(1756-1843)



TIMOTHY DWIGHT
(1752-1817)
President of Yale College, 1795-1817



Homeopathic Medical Society. Doctors Gardner S. Browne and James D. Johnson were presidents of the state association. Dr. O. B. Freeman introduced homeopathy in Collinsville and George P. Cooley in Bristol.

Smallpox at times threatened to be as much of a scourge as it had been among the Indians. The doctors of the county fought it bravely. In 1797 Dr. Eliakim Elmer of Hartford was given right to build a hospital and practice inoculation. Previously, in 1792, Dr. Daniel Butler, Dr. Eliakim Fish and Dr. Lemuel Hopkins had been practicing inoculation under direction of the selectmen, and Starr Chester had taken the house of Col. Samuel Talcott in West Hartford for like purpose.

The period following the war and on into the next century saw a great increase in the number of capable lawyers. The Superior Court which had been first colonial and then the State Court became the County Court in 1798, with from three to five judges till 1819 when only one presided. Of the fifty-eight judges in that period seventeen were from this county and of them three were promoted to the Supreme Court. They were Stephen Mix Mitchell of Wethersfield, John Trumbull of Hartford, John T. Peters of Hartford. Of the nineteen chief judges of the Superior Court, five were from the county—Judge Mitchell, William Pitkin, Jr., of Hartford, Jesse Root of Hartford and Coventry (after whom General Grant's father was named; colonel in the militia and captain of volunteers in 1777; member of the Legislature and member of Congress; again member of the Legislature and member of the Constitutional Convention of 1818; one who had fitted for the ministry and had decided he was unfit for it because he smiled when he saw a mouse in church); Governor Roger Wolcott, Sr., and Governor William Pitkin, 3d, of Hartford.

The Supreme Court of Errors was created in 1784. Till 1806 it consisted of the governor and lieutenant-governor and the twelve assistants. Of the total of thirty-nine such *ex officio* judges, eleven were from this county, namely, Governor William Pitkin, 4th, East Hartford; Governor Oliver Wolcott, Sr., East Windsor and Litchfield; Governor Oliver Ellsworth, Sr., Windsor; Gen. Erastus Wolcott, East Windsor; Governor John Treadwell, Farmington; Col. John Chester, 4th, Wethersfield; Gen. Roger Newberry, Windsor; Col. Thomas Seymour, 4th, Hartford; Col.

Jeremiah Wadsworth, Hartford; Jonathan Brace, Glastonbury and Hartford; Lieutenant-Governor Chauncey Goodrich, Durham and Hartford. Between 1807 and 1855, four of the twenty-four Superior Court judges who were *ex officio* of the higher court when sitting in *banc* were from this county—Judge Mitchell, John Trumbull, Hartford; John T. Peters, Hebron and Hartford; Thomas Scott Williams, Wethersfield and Hartford, Mitchell and Williams becoming chief judges. Beginning in 1855 Supreme Court judges have been commissioned as such. The earlier ones from this county—those after 1880 being named in their appropriate periods—were Governor William Wolcott Ellsworth, Windsor and Hartford; Chief Justice William L. Storrs, Middletown and Hartford; Thomas B. Butler, Wethersfield; Dwight W. Pardee, Bristol and Hartford, and Elisha Carpenter, Ashford and Hartford. In this earlier period, nineteen of the seventy-nine judges of the Supreme Court were from this county, and of the seventeen chief judges, seven.

The list of prosecuting officers bears many distinguished names. Through the earlier period and from the beginning they are such as: William Pitkin, 1st, Richard Edwards, Jesse Root, John Trumbull, Thomas Y. Seymour, Isaac Toucey (governor and, under Buchanan, secretary of the navy), Thomas C. Perkins (of the Pitkin family and recognized head of the bar), Governor Richard D. Hubbard, Horace Cornwall and William Hamersley.

The Hartford County Bar Association was founded November 14, 1783. Among the lawyers of special note prior to 1800 and not mentioned in the preceding paragraphs were: Samuel Pettibone of Simsbury, Capt. Thomas Seymour, 3rd (father of Mayor Thomas Seymour, 4th), of Hartford, Bildad Phelps of Windsor, Silas Deane of Wethersfield, Gideon Granger, Sr., of Suffield, Maj. William Judd of Farmington, Gen. Roger Newberry, Jr., of Windsor, Tapping Reeve (founder of the celebrated Litchfield Law School) of Hartford, Capt. Daniel Humphrey of Simsbury, Alexander Wolcott, Jr. (founder of Jeffersonian school of politics in Connecticut) of Windsor, Noah Webster (the lexicographer) of Hartford, Gen. Samuel H. Parsons (who helped form Middlesex County) of Middletown, Ephraim Root of Hartford, Joel Barlow of Hartford, Gideon Granger, Jr. (postmaster general, 1801-1814) of Suffield, Gen. Nathaniel Terry (judge of

Superior Court) of Enfield and Hartford, Gaylord Griswold of Windsor, Decius Wadsworth of Farmington, Hezekiah Huntington of Hartford, Theodore Dwight, Jr., of Hartford, Timothy Pitkin, Jr., of Farmington, and Hezekiah Bissell, Jr. (judge of Superior Court), of Windsor and Hartford.

At the beginning of the 1800 period the number greatly increased. It continued to be that a large percentage were from the towns around the city. Again omitting the names previously mentioned, the more prominent of those admitted to practice included: Thomas Day (revisor of statutes, fifty years Supreme Court reporter, chief judge of county court and many years secretary of the state) of Hartford, Walter Mitchell (chief judge of County Court) of Wethersfield and Hartford, Joseph Trumbull, Jr. (grandson of the war governor, president of the Hartford Bank, congressman, governor in 1849) of Hartford, Samuel P. Waldo (writer of biographical volumes) of East Windsor, Elisha Phelps (congressman and judge of County Court) of Simsbury and Hartford, William Dixon (congressman and judge of County Court, father of Senator James Dixon) of Enfield, Martin Welles (son of Gen. Roger Welles, speaker of the House, chief judge of County Court) of Farmington and Hartford, Noah A. Phelps (sheriff and also secretary of the state) of Simsbury, Lorrain T. Pease (judge of County Court) of Enfield, Ethan Allen Andrews (author of Latin lexicon bearing his name) of New Britain, Henry L. Ellsworth (son of the chief justice, twin of Governor Ellsworth, commissioner of Indians in Jackson's administration and for ten years patent commissioner) of Windsor, John M. Niles (active in politics and newspaper work) of Hartford, Samuel H. Huntington (judge of County Court) of Hartford, William Hungerford (one of the most learned) of Hartford, Royal R. Hinman (secretary of the state and compiler of history) of Southington and Hartford, James Dixon (congressman, senator and writer) of Enfield and Hartford, John Brocklesby, Jr. (professor and acting president at Trinity) of Hartford, Thomas M. Day (editor of the *Courant*) of Hartford, Aholiab Johnson (reporter of the Supreme Court) of Enfield, Henry Howard Brownell (Admiral Farragut's secretary and writer of the famous "War Lyrics") of East Hartford, Lucius F. Robinson (student of Greek, Latin and Hebrew classics, brother of Henry C. Robin-

son) of Hartford, and Col. Henry C. Deming (scholar, orator, soldier, mayor) of Hartford.

The play had not been "the thing" in the New England colonies till long after the war, and then those who did glance in its direction were classed among skeptics, revellers and others of low morals against whom the church people were compelled to lift their standards. So when a group of Yale students studying in Glastonbury, in 1778, prepared for a theatrical production, the county was scandalized. Glastonbury authorities quickly put a veto on it, but by some collegiate hook or crook the boys did get the right to appear at the very State House itself. This along in the May vacation. The play, which they had written themselves, was based on Revolutionary war incidents. It cost £60 to stage the performance. They held up the mirror to nature faithfully—according to their lights—in such characters as Burgoyne, an arch enemy, and Prescott of Bunker Hill, a demi-god. We can gather, however, from a printed communication from a lady who went, or heard said, that the mirror may have been somewhat too faithful as she bewailed the profane language put in the mouth of Prescott—this to say nothing of the defiance of law in utilizing women's apparel.

Altogether, then, there were no more undertakings of this sort till 1794 when Hallam & Henry, an outside combination which was working for the erection of playhouses in the leading cities, got Ephraim Root to erect a theater on the north side of Temple Street, known then as Bachelor or, after the dedication, Theater Street. The structure was about 500 feet from Main Street. Several prominent men bought some of the sixty shares of the company's stock, the rest being held by members of the troupe, which included Mrs. Frances Hodgkinson of New York, wife of the leading man and playwright. It was an English company of players. The advertisement asked patrons to go out only "by the doors," for the sake of example and to preserve tranquillity. The repertoire included plays like "She Stoops to Conquer." Editorially the *Courant* requested the management to bar the indecent and irreligious or else submit the plays to a committee of "literary gentlemen," possibly like the Hartford Wits. At the afternoon performances, "young gentlemen up to twelve and young ladies up to fifteen" were admitted at half price. For the even-

ing performance, the curtain rose at half-past five. Performances were mostly in the summer. The second season, in the cast and as scene painter was Joseph Jefferson, grandfather of the "Rip Van Winkle" Joe. The Governor's Foot Guard, with startling scenic effects, put on a drill in one of the plays in 1797. The management was highly laudatory of the town but could not conceal its surprise that the ladies would not buy seats in the pit as they did in other towns.

What evidently was the best era of the stage for those days was brought to a close by a legislative act in 1800 prohibiting all theatrical representations. The theater never was used again except for the assemblages of Rev. Dr. Joel Hawes' parishioners while the new First Church was being built. Fourth of July had been and continued the chief day of entertainment, the Order of the Cincinnati and other societies holding exercises in the morning and all assembling at the churches in the afternoon where distinguished speakers were heard.

Dancing was approved by the clergy and greatly encouraged by popular masters. Anne Wolcott, according to "Wolcott's Memorials," wrote to her brother at Yale that while he was "poring over some antiquated subject," she had been dancing all the forenoon and would be dancing again in the evening. "Assemblies" became the special feature of social life. For many years all the prominent people were subscribers. An especially notable one was held the week after Washington's death when the ladies were requested to wear white trimmed with black and the gentlemen a crepe insignia on the arm. At the inns and taverns where the assemblies were held wine was served freely with the suppers. These pleasures were maintained, in common with the Election Day ball, for many years except for interruption through scarcity of money during the period of the War of 1812 and also when there was a revival at the First Church.

A great attraction in 1805 was Steward's Museum in the new State House. Previously the only exhibitions of wax-work and the like had been held at private houses, and in 1799 there had been a circus on the Commons, or South Green, now Barnard Park. Steward's moved in 1809 to a building opposite the Episcopal Church and in 1824, as seen in the picture of State House Square, it was established in the conspicuous building on the corner of Main Street and Central Row where now towers the build-

ing of the Hartford-Connecticut Trust Company. Travelers were invited to bring contributions to the collections. For many years it was the only place of entertainment in the town.

There were few evidences of poverty. The property the Legislature had permitted the town to buy for an almshouse in 1785, opposite the present North Cemetery, had been sold at auction in 1797 to Ashbel Spencer. At the approach of the War of 1812, however, matters were somewhat different. After various workhouse experiences, wholly inharmonious with the idea of alms, that same place was leased in 1811 and was maintained till 1822 when for \$5,000 the Kelsey farm on present Sigourney Street was bought, well utilized with buildings and cultivated fields, a hospital added, and the "Town Farm" continued till the surrounding land was needed for residences and a park when the property was disposed of and the present almshouse was built in the last quarter of the century.

In the matter of cemeteries there were periods of uncertainty. As has been seen, the first specially designated burying ground, near the First Church, had been encroached upon, first by the church itself and then by other buildings and had been neglected. The vote in 1785 to sell off lots along the street to raise money for a new cemetery appears not to have yielded a new place for public interments. In 1800 "Old South Yard," on Maple Avenue, was bought for the use of the two churches. But in 1806 it was again voted to sell land near the old cemetery and the following year the land for the present North Cemetery on Windsor Avenue was bought of Hezekiah Bull and opened for public use. There were few burials in the Ancient Cemetery after that. The burial of Town Clerk William Whitman in 1836 was the last till that of Mrs. John M. Holcombe, as told in the story of recent times. A monument was erected in 1836 by the Ancient Burying Ground Association in memory of the first settlers, and later a memorial by the First Company, Governor's Foot Guard. In 1843, Zion Hill, another public cemetery, was opened. Cedar Hill, on Fairfield Avenue was established by a private corporation in 1866, and Spring Grove adjoining the North Cemetery. The first hearse was built and maintained for the town in 1800.

A Hooker item which has aroused discussion concerning the priority of colonial churches may here be set forth. Was the

Hooker church or the Warham church in Windsor literally the first church in the colony? The account of the settlements of the two towns, as given in the early pages, is by the accepted records. The Dorchester party arrived in the Bay Colony in May, 1632. Rev. John Warham was one of their spiritual leaders. The "Hooker Company" arrived in September, 1632. Mr. Hooker arrived the next year and he and Mr. Stone were inducted into office in October. Mr. Warham accompanied members of his church to Windsor in 1635, leaving his colleague with some of the members behind. Mr. Hooker and his followers joined his advance party at present Hartford in 1636. None was making history with thought of priority. Mr. Warham's became the First Church in Windsor; Mr. Hooker's the First Church of Christ in Hartford.

Mr. Hooker died July 7, 1647. The wife of Governor John Winthrop the younger died in 1672 and was buried "just beyond the south side of Mr. Stone's monument, within three or four feet." Letters show that in 1683 her son Fitz John Winthrop was corresponding with James Stancliff relative to a stone to mark her grave and that Stancliff inquired what to inscribe on it. On the back of his letter is an acknowledgment bearing date of November in that year of £4, 8 shillings from Wait Winthrop, with no specifications. After the death of Fitz John, the stone-cutter wrote Maj. Wait Still Winthrop (November, 1710), saying the slab was ready to deliver and asking about the pillars to support it; he said he would finish setting the stone in the spring. Then ensued delay over the inscription. Major Winthrop died in 1717. His son John in that same month received a letter from William Stancliff saying he expected to set the slab the next spring. This grandson of Mrs. Winthrop never had lived in Hartford and took no particular interest. He died in England in 1747. Doubtless it passed out of his mind that Mrs. Winthrop was buried here. In 1772, the body of Rev. Edward Dorr was buried just south of Mr. Stone's, not more than three feet between them. This was the location of Mrs. Winthrop's grave as revealed by the letter of her son to the stone-cutter, found many years later.

In 1817, on suggestion of Seth Terry, the First Church Society voted to look into the condition of monuments erected in memory of the ministers. In 1807 the present edifice had been built on

these grounds, setting further back from the street than had the first one. There was still considerable space between the rear of it and the grave of Mr. Stone. Mr. Hooker's grave was presumed to be just north of Mr. Stone's; that is, Mr. Stone's on his left. The location of Mrs. Hooker's could not be surmised and in 1817 there was no knowledge of the incidents connected with Mrs. John Winthrop's. An uninscribed slab with pillars was found near the Stone monument or table. They were set up on the north side of Mr. Stone's, with this inscription under the direction of Mr. Terry:

In Memory of the Rev. Thomas Hooker Who in
1636 With His Assistant, Mr. Stone, Removed
to Hartford With About 100 Persons When He
Planted Ye First Church in Connecticut. An
Eloquent, Able and Faithful Minister of
Christ. He Died July 7, 1647, Æt LXI.

It is possible that the expression "First Church in Connecticut" was accidental; it is also possible that then as in later years, the word "First" had been stretched in the public mind, familiar with Hooker's greatness and the first written constitution, to include the whole colony, but Rev. Dr. Hawes and Rev. Dr. Walker long after him gave evidence of their knowledge of history.

XIX

THE BULFINCH STATE HOUSE

GREAT ARCHITECT'S FIRST PUBLIC BUILDING—DIFFICULT FINANCING—
PROMOTERS OF FIRST BANK, FIRST INSURANCE, EPISCOPAL BANK
AND FIRST CONNECTICUT BRIDGE.

The gambrel-roof State House, with its burned-off cupola, had become unworthy and inadequate. Heeding the complaints, the Legislature in May, 1792, appointed a committee to superintend the building of a new one. It voted £1,500 on condition Hartford raise a like amount, within a year, and subscriptions were called for, payable to the committee, John Chester, Noadiah Hooker, John Trumbull, John Caldwell and John Morgan. Of this state committee, Col. John Trumbull, the artist, being in Hartford in September, wrote his friend Oliver Wolcott, then comptroller of the United States treasury, saying that he and Colonel Chester (of Wethersfield) and the rest of the committee were desirous of having "an elegant and durable building," after a design by Mr. Bulfinch "worth executing in the best material." Middletown brownstone had been favored by the committee but the colonel believed Philadelphia marble would be better if not too expensive, and he asked for prices on cornice, column, pilaster, pedestal, entablature and window blocks and for the cost of good workmen. When only twenty-four had subscribed from \$25 up to \$500, the Legislature authorized a lottery to raise £5,000 for the completion of the structure. Lotteries were becoming unpopular, this lottery failed, but the committee was undaunted. Gen. Andrew Ward of Guilford and Jeremiah Halsey of Norwich agreed to furnish the building, the state to guarantee them by conveyance of a deed to the "Gore Lands," the proceeds of the sale to be divided with the state.

Governor Huntington signed the paper July 25, 1795. The Connecticut Gore Land Company was formed and forthwith opened for business. The story of the gore land dates back to the

charter grant and the Massachusetts boundary war. The Plymouth Company in 1628 sold the Bay Colony's association all of New England to the Pacific. Connecticut's part came to be considered, by her charter, to be bounded on the north by Massachusetts. Between the Massachusetts survey and that of Connecticut there was a strip lying between forty-one degrees and fifty-five minutes north latitude and forty-two degrees, or two and one-third miles in a strip running from the western boundary of New York, as assented to, a distance of 245 miles, all in accord with the state's cession of its western territory, its loss of Wyoming and its receiving the Western Reserve when making its cession. Business for Ward and Halsey had started briskly when New York raised objections in court, and lost. The decisions of the courts, however, were nullified in the final discussion with the government relative to the territory of the Western Reserve. By 1804 the Gore Land Company was ruined. Nevertheless the State House had been built, and Ward and Halsey were reimbursed with an appropriation totaling \$40,000, over a period from 1805 to 1808. General Moses Cleaveland of Canterbury, as agent for Oliver Phelps of Windsor and the others who had bought the Reserve lands, had bought of the Indians, for \$1,200 worth of goods, and had established New Connecticut and his city of Cleveland.

Connecticut possessed what was considered the handsomest building in the United States. It had cost \$52,480, of which at time of completion \$3,500 represented Hartford's subscription, \$1,500 the county subscriptions and \$35,000 that of Ward and Halsey, repaid. The Legislature held its first session there in May, 1796.

Charles Bulfinch of Boston had designed private houses and thereby had acquired some fame at the time Colonel Trumbull wrote General Wolcott that he was preparing the design for this State House. In 1887 he had made plans for the Massachusetts State House and he was to design the Capitol at Washington and other famous buildings, but this was the first of his public buildings. Because nothing could be found in his writings about the Hartford building, there was doubt for a time in the last century whether it was his work, but with the discovery of this letter of Trumbull's, of drawings among Bulfinch's papers and comparisons by experts, the evidence was considered complete before



OLD STATE HOUSE, HARTFORD, BEFORE CUPOLA WAS ADDED
(From rare China plate in collection of Morgan B. Brainard)

Charles A. Place in 1925 published his book on the architect. Brownstone had to be substituted for the marble finally for the lower part of the building and the trimmings, with brick for the upper courses. In the background of a portrait of Colonel Halsey in the Connecticut Historical Society's collection and on an exceedingly rare English plate in the collection of Morgan B. Brainard here reproduced, the structure can be seen as it looked when occupied. The roof balustrade was added in 1815 and the cupola, surmounted by the statue of Justice, in 1822 when the city gave the bell, "but both," according to Mr. Place, "were doubtless in the original design" since they are characteristic of Bulfinch's style. "It is stated that the cupola is copied from the one on the New York City Hall and, though the lines are good, they are not those of Bulfinch."

The size of the structure is 50x100 feet with porticos on both the east and west sides. That on the east, marking the main entrance, had an especially beautiful and classic effect with its pillars. The balcony commanded a broad view down State Street to the river. On either side were residence sections, shaded by trees and surrounded by wide grounds. In the foreground, taking in the rest of the old Meeting-house Yard, was a green which was to become a park with a fountain in the center of it, altogether to be widely reproduced in engravings and on the doors of the more elaborate clocks which vied with chinaware in being the particular items of vertu. How State House and park were submerged in the rush of business and then saved by Hartford spirit is a story in itself, to add interest to a later page. The rush began to be felt in 1870; business had centered westward, and after the new Capitol was built and the State House became City Hall in 1880, Justice turned her face westward and the park was a backyard.

The earlier State House—or "Court House" as it had come to be called—was moved to the rear of Christ Church when the Bulfinch structure was begun. For many years it was a tenement house, then George J. Patten's schoolhouse and afterwards Charles Hosmer's print shop, a church for the Methodists, a carriage factory and, with power furnished by a horse in the cellar, William Loomis' saddlery. Christ Church parish bought it in 1833 and sold a part of it which was removed to Pearl Street where, on the rear of the lot on which the Southern New England

Telephone Company began its large buildings in 1910, it was occupied as a paint shop by Robert Walker and later by Preston & Kenyon.

Country and county were picking up after the war, but the first bank no more than the State House was an evidence of prosperity in the '90s; rather they both were evidence of the same pure grit and devotion that had led their ancestors to come with Hooker to Hartford. Alexander Hamilton was educating the people to see that without currency and financial stability the United States could not go on. Getting Congress to incorporate the Bank of North America in 1781 was a notable patriotic achievement. Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth was the largest subscriber and a year after the Bank of New York was organized, or in 1785, he was elected president on the advice of Hamilton. Also he was a director in the United States Bank. Good results despite croakings and threats of the political opposition led him to believe that Hartford, like Boston and Providence, should at once have such an institution, and his old-time associates here agreed with him. Their names are already familiar in this history. They met at David Bull's tavern on the evening of February 27, 1792, and voted to petition the Legislature for a charter, with a capital of \$100,000 in 250 shares, and Maj. John Caldwell, Barnabas Deane and John Morgan were appointed the committee on subscriptions.

Noah Webster, John Trumbull and Chauncey Goodrich prepared the petition after subscribers had advanced 5 per cent of the capital, and the charter was granted June 14. Oliver Ellsworth, presiding at the meeting, Wadsworth, Caldwell, Morgan, Deane, Timothy Burr, James Watson, Caleb Bull and Ephraim Root were elected directors and Caldwell was elected president after Wadsworth had declined the honor. Hezekiah Merrill, on a salary of \$500, was made cashier. The first formal location was on the south side of Pearl Street, near Main, where a vault was dug in the ground for the resting place of a safe Wadsworth had secured in New York, access to which was through a trap door. Entrance from the street was gained only through a double door iron-sheathed and iron-barred. The bank's classic building on State Street, to be its home for the better part of a century, was not erected till 1811, the second of its only four locations. At a time when there had to be recourse to barter, and credit was



BULFINCH STATE HOUSE AND PARK, HARTFORD, ABOUT 1825
As originally when it fronted east. Post Office now on this park



OLD STATE HOUSE, HARTFORD, 1927
Captured German gun temporarily placed on front walk



a thing of tissue, the bank created a confidence which was the beginning of the Hartford as it exists today. One of its first regulations was that bills should be payable in dollars and cents, thereby introducing the decimal system in place of the cumbersome English method of calculation. In 1806 it made the mistake of permitting unlimited subscriptions from religious societies and school corporations for five years on equal terms with the state, so that such certificates could be surrendered at par or taken at par, whatever the value at the time, and the capital had been increased to \$1,000,000. The handicap was not fully overcome till the bank nationalized in 1865.

The history of the bank was to be one with the history of the city. Its stock is still held by descendants of the original holders, and the names of those holders are still prominent in Hartford affairs. Col. Francis Parsons, vice chairman in the present enlarged organization, is a grandson of Major Caldwell's second wife who was the widow of the brilliant young lawyer, William Brown.

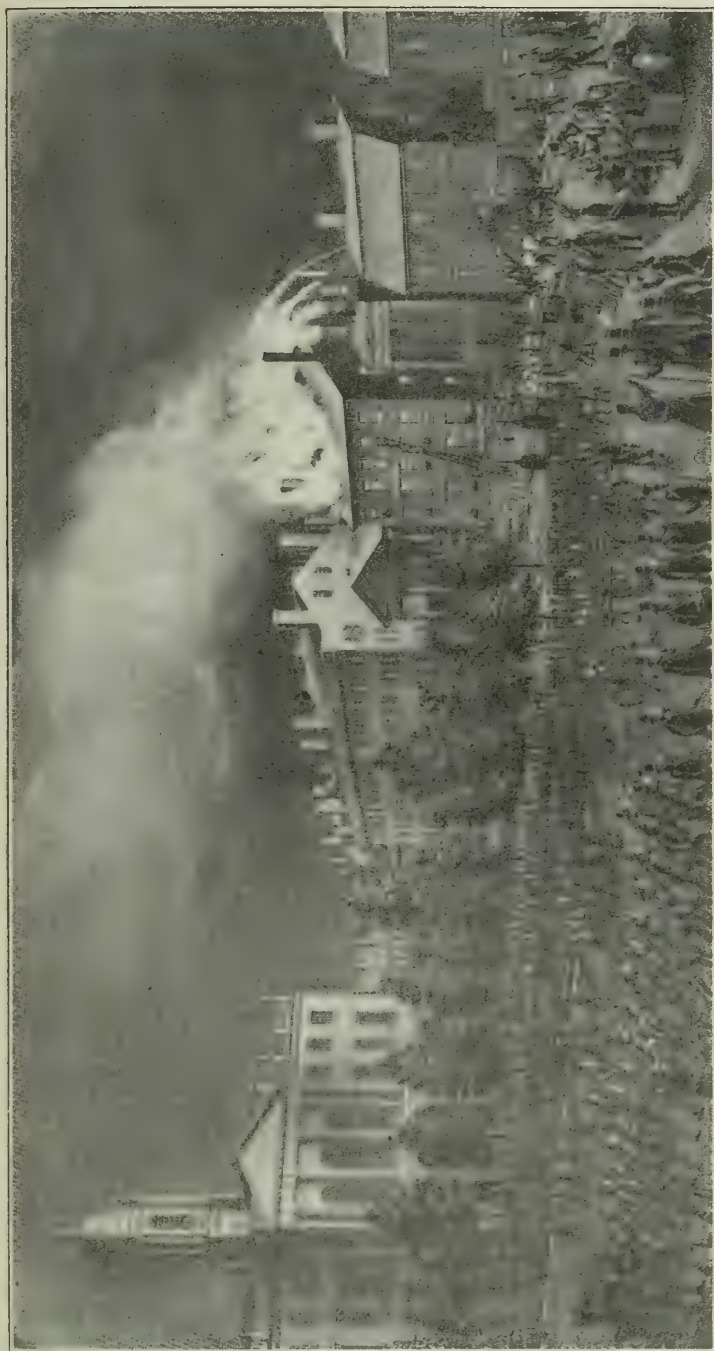
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But another striking peculiarity the student of the old Constitution town finds, in addition to this of continuity of family so frequently remarked, is that of unity of interests in enterprise and effort. Here at the inception of the modern Hartford, in the first days of independence under a federal Constitution so much like its own of 1639, one can make special note of this fact. The city long has been preeminently the world's City of Insurance. The first insurance and the first bank were closely allied; increasing number of companies and increasing number of banks have continued so, in personnel and activities—mutually helpful, always watchful for the good name of Hartford.

Great were the natural risks in the large shipping business. After the manner of the ancient Greeks, a group of substantial men would write their names (be "underwriters") under an agreement to cover losses; if the voyage were successful, they would share in the profits. Peleg Sanford, private secretary of Colonel Wadsworth, was one of the more active in securing these underwriters. By 1794 he thought to apply the principle to land property and Colonel Wadsworth's only son Daniel became asso-

ciated with him, providing for the purpose printed forms. No. 2 of these policies, February 8, 1794, is in the possession of the Hartford Fire Insurance Company. It insured the house of William Imlay against fire or tempest for one half of 1 per cent for one year; no proofs were required; no loss would be paid not exceeding 5 per cent; salvage would be allowed for and expense thereof would be paid on the insured's personal affidavit. March 10, 1794, Sanford & Wadsworth's first advertisement appeared in the *Courant*. The following year Elias Shipman joined them in forming a marine "firm" named the "Hartford and New Haven Insurance Company." Colonel Wadsworth, Major Caldwell and John Morgan shared in this enterprise. Shipman retired after two years and set up his own office in New Haven with a company of which he was president for twenty-six years. Sanford following him, the Hartford firm was dissolved. The principle, however, was kept alive by Wadsworth and Caldwell, with Ezekiel Williams the active agent. In 1803 Caldwell and others organized a marine company under the Hartford name, which later became the Protection (1825-1854).

At the May session of the Legislature in 1810 these leaders in Hartford with others from New Haven, Middletown and New London secured a perpetual charter for what is today the great Hartford Fire Insurance Company. As their institution was to stand not only for the good of the city but as a bulwark for the United States when general credit was threatened by great fires, the names of these founders are venerated today. Maj. Nathaniel Terry, a native of Enfield, commander of the Foot Guard, in whose honor the title had been changed to major, legislator, congressman, judge of the County Court, member of the Constitutional Convention, president of the Hartford Bank from 1819 to 1828, mayor for several years, and progenitor of Gen. Alfred H. Terry, was president. His wife was Colonel Wadsworth's daughter. The other directors were: David Watkinson who came from England in 1795, was a merchant, gave generously for the Hartford Hospital, founded the Watkinson Farm School, subscribed \$100,000 for the Wadsworth Atheneum and left the residue of his estate for the Watkinson Reference Library with \$5,000 for enlargement; Thomas Glover and James H. Wells, leading merchants; Nathaniel Patten, printer; Henry Hudson, son of Barzillai Hudson, one of the publishers of the *Courant*,



From rare old engraving in collection of H. B. Clark.

FIRE IN STATE HOUSE SQUARE, HARTFORD

About 1830. Burning building was on site of the present Courant Building; Old Hartford Bank, west side; Exchange Bank, east side. East (and real) front of State House, facing park where Post Office now stands. The whole was within the original "Meeting-House Yard." First Meeting-House was to rear of observer. Jail at northeast (right-hand) corner



interested in Hudson Brothers' paper mill in Manchester (Oakland), and mayor in 1836-1840; Ward Woodbridge, drygoods importer and cotton manufacturer, president of the Hartford Bank, the third wealthiest man in the city, of a family of prominent men including his brother Deodatus who was the grandfather of Richard M. Bissell, the president of the company today; Daniel Buck of Wethersfield and Hartford, merchant and with his brother, Dudley Buck, proprietor of a line of steamboats to New York; and Thomas Kimberley Brace, Yale 1801, wholesale grocer, president of the Aetna Insurance Company in 1819, mayor in 1840-1843. Walter Mitchell was general counsel and secretary. He was the son of Chief Justice Stephen Mix Mitchell of Wethersfield.

The office, which also was Mitchell's office, was fitted up at an expense of \$21.25. The calf-bound record book in which the minutes of the first meeting were written attests today the longsightedness of these men for it has been used for the same purpose ever since then. The first investment was in Hartford Bank stock, fourteen shares at \$400, leaving \$9,400 in the treasury. Engaging no local agents at the outset, they did carry in the *Courant* the largest advertisement ever seen in its four pages, one-quarter of a page, headed by a picture of a large fire in a building near the Ferry Street dock. The first year's premium income was \$3,000 and no losses; expenses, \$530. The first two agents outside were appointed in 1810; the first outside the state, in 1811. They turned in little business; they were allowed in lieu of a commission the charge for the survey and 50 cents for each policy, which the insured paid. At the time of the expansion in 1820 Anson G. Phelps of New York, one of the country's foremost philanthropists, established the company's office in that city. Timothy Dwight, son of the president of Yale, was the representative of the company in New Haven. The first company the Hartford reinsured was the New Haven.

There was no other bank till 1814 and no other insurance company till 1819.

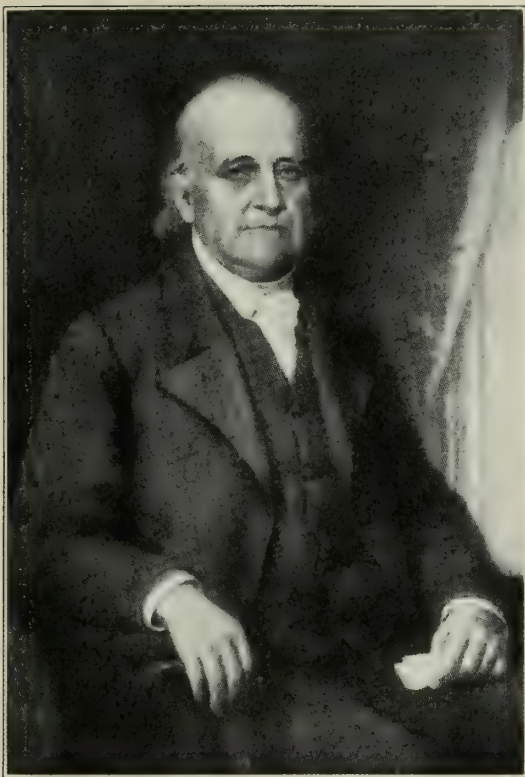
American conditions in 1814—national, state and municipal—make one of the most fascinating chapters in the country's history, as detailed in the "First Century of the Phoenix National Bank" (1914). Items of it are essential to a comprehension of

the salvation from economic ruin of state and Union at that period. Briefly, bills of credit issued by so-called exchanges or banks, of which Hartford had two or three, had been a last resort in the financial distress since the beginning of the French-Indian wars. Such issues having been prohibited by the federal Constitution and currency rapidly diminishing, Congress chartered the Bank of the United States in 1791, and its bills became "regulators." When that charter expired in 1811, state banks created a political contest over the power of Congress and over alleged foreign control, with result that the charter was not renewed. Its legitimate successor was not to come till 1816.

Therefore when war actually was precipitated in 1812, the only dependence was on state banks serving only local communities, and when they had suspended specie payment in 1814, there was chaos throughout the land. While the British were burning Washington, the only banks had been falling like reeds broken by the wind—but not the Hartford or the new Phoenix. The certificates worthless, the government was obliged to default; there was rioting in many cities. Contrary to law, fractional notes were circulated from banks, signed by outsiders, and then directly from outsiders, till the Legislature permitted the small denominations. Inflation raged independently in the various states. Banks had to carry a frequently corrected table of relative values of the little slips of paper, and even that proved inadequate in the fall of 1814. Outside of a few cities, people were dependent upon ridiculous barter and were warring with each other over perpetration of fraudulent measurements.

At home here, although the bank was making much money on loans up-river, the keystone of actual prosperity had fallen with the ruin of foreign commerce. The Hartford Bank and its own courageous men were in dire straits. Caldwell had lost through the French spoliations, and Terry and others by the embargo and the war. Parallel tragedy in 1928 would be headlined: "Everything Wiped Out."

And still another locally distressing feature was to develop when the bold petition for another bank was presented. In the mad struggle of people and institutions for mere existence, religious principles got mixed with politics and banking—and happily the way was being opened to put an end to that sort of thing constitutionally. As previously remarked, some minds have not



NATHANIEL TERRY

First president of the Hartford Fire Insurance Company; Major, Governor's Foot Guards; a leading member of the Constitutional Convention of 1818

N^o 2

{ Reduced Fac-simile of the
Second Policy issued by
the Hartford Fire Ins. Co.,
February 8, 1794. }

Wm Inlay.

Sum Insured \$800

Prem + p^{er} cent --- 1

Premium received

\$24

WHEREAS *William Inlay Esq of Hartford*

on whom this is may concern, wholly or partly, Friend or For, doth make Assurance on his House

against Fire, and all Damages of Fire; moreover against all Damage which on Account of Fire may happen, either by Tempest, Fire, Wind, or by Fire, Negligence and Fault of own Servants, or of Neighbors, whether those insured be furnished with all external Accidents and Misadventure; though it be and not thought of, in what Mannersoever the damage by Fire might happen upon the first day of the year commencing on the eighth day of February 1794 and ending on the eighth day of February 1795, both at twelve O'clock at Noon ending specially and exclusively the said

House at the Sum Insured

And the Assured, on whom it may concern, in case of Damage, or Hurt, shall send to two or three not less than the Value of the Policy and sufficient. And in case it should happen that the said
Whereas *we do hereby provide punctually to pay and ready, within the term of three Months after the*
Fire shall have happened, due Notice having been given to us, not less than the sum of
eighty Two and six p^{er} cent, provided said loss amounts to Five per Cent, under which loss or Damage
shall be paid. And in case of a partial loss, all that shall be found to be saved and preserved, shall be credited,
where the Difference of the Charge paid for the saving and preserving, and concerning which the Assured shall be
bound on the One; without our alleging any thing against it. And to the Assured are concerned, and
hard Characters and Goods profits and to come, removing all Care and Exception contrary to the Pro-
visions for the true Performance of the Premises, the Confession due unto us for this Assurance by the As-
signed, and after the Rate

of one half per cent
Reciprocity (binding) all Differences in two Parties, One to be chosen by the Assured and of Three to be chosen by the Assured; the other by the Assured or Affiant, out of Three to be named in the Assured, who shall have full Power to adjust the same, but in case they cannot agree, then (and two Parties shall choose a Third, and any Two of them agreeing, shall be obligatory to both Parties.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, We the Assured have subscribed our Names and Sums assured in

Hartford the 8th Day of February the Thousand Seven Hundred and

Ninety four

\$800 *Samuel V. Westworth* *Eight hundred Pounds*
for the Hartford Fire Insurance Company

yet discerned that Episcopalianism and toryism were not synonymous. In the earlier fashion of thought, the Hartford Bank was "Congregational"—orthodox—even though among its directors were pronounced Episcopalians; among the promoters of the new bank were Episcopalians like Sigourney, Congregationalists like Russell Bunce. Now in those days, and for long after, it was the custom that concerns getting charters could be obliged to provide a bonus for specified industrial or public institutions; it certainly helped oil the wheels of legislation and supposedly aided general advancement. (The walks and fence around the State House were paid for in that way on the granting of a charter to the Manufacturers Bank in 1834, and coincidentally liberal sums went to silk companies, a sort of subsidy, when the silk craze was on.) Episcopalians were thinking of starting a college and likewise of the needs of the Bishop's Fund; Congregationalists heard the cry of Yale for a medical institute, and the legislative lobby was to hear of a Litchfield bank plan.

The petition for the "Bank of Connecticut" with \$1,500,000 capital, was drawn by Charles Sigourney, and he, Samuel Tudor and Ward Woodbridge were the committee to get signatures. The petition argued that it was better to form a new bank than to enlarge one whose capital was overgrown and whose influence was accumulating! Hartford had other resources than foreign commerce, namely industry and inland trade, and commerce itself would revive. This was the prophetic view at the moment when the *Courant* was breaking its tradition by making a personal appeal to the effect that holders of notes should keep them in circulation with faith in the real property of the now moneyless promisors, and just before gold was to touch a 15 per cent premium. The state, financially worried, was laying a 2-cent tax; the city tax was 4 cents, on a list of \$100,000.

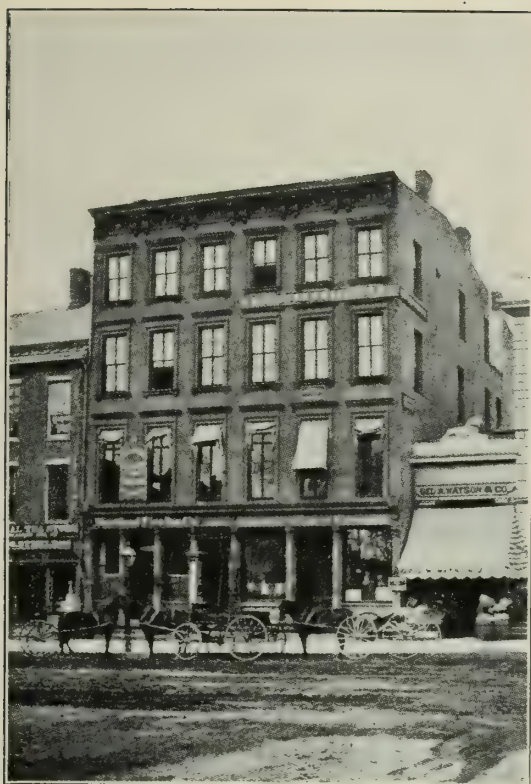
Sigourney's petition was fuel to the long-threatening religious "Toleration" flame. Before it would be considered by the upper house, it contained a provision for the branch in Litchfield whose two representatives became directors, and also a compromise bonus clause for unspecified sums for Yale and its institute and the Bishop's Fund, "or to be otherwise disposed of for the use of the state and for any purpose whatever which to your honors may seem best." So far as can be made out from the state records of those days of close figuring Yale eventually received

\$20,000 and the Hartford Bank a like amount in payment of old loans. Episcopal college or fund does not appear. However, the "Toleration Act" and the revised Constitution were not far off.

(It may be noted that when the Government allowed \$61,500 in partial reimbursement for the state's expenses in the war, the Legislature distributed part of it thus: Bishop's Fund, \$8,785; Baptists, \$7,687; Methodists, \$5,125; Yale, \$8,785; Congregationalists, \$20,500. As commutation on the Phoenix Bank bonus in 1825, the state granted \$7,064 for the Bishop's Fund.)

The total of the bank bonus was \$50,000 because the charter, in passage, provided for only \$1,000,000 capital. Also it came through the flames with the appropriate name of Phoenix. Clauses in the charter that were to fester—similar to the amendment to the Hartford's charter—gave special stock privileges to the state and to charitable, school and religious organizations. Stock was quickly subscribed. Directors elected were Normand Knox, Ward Woodbridge, Samuel Tudor, Charles Sigourney, Daniel Buck, Thomas K. Brace, Moses T. Ryon, Jr., Jonathan W. Edwards, John Russ, David Watkinson and James H. Wells, the two last named being immediately succeeded by Michael Olcott and Russell Bunce. Knox, who was cashier at the Hartford, was chosen president; George Beach, to be the fourth president, like President Knox prominent in Christ Church, and founder of the Widows' Home, was chosen cashier. Ancestral land of Mr. Olcott across the way from the State House was bought and the first marble building in town was erected on the site which ever since has been the home of the bank, thrice rebuilt to meet increasing needs and still surmounted by the significant phoenix bird.

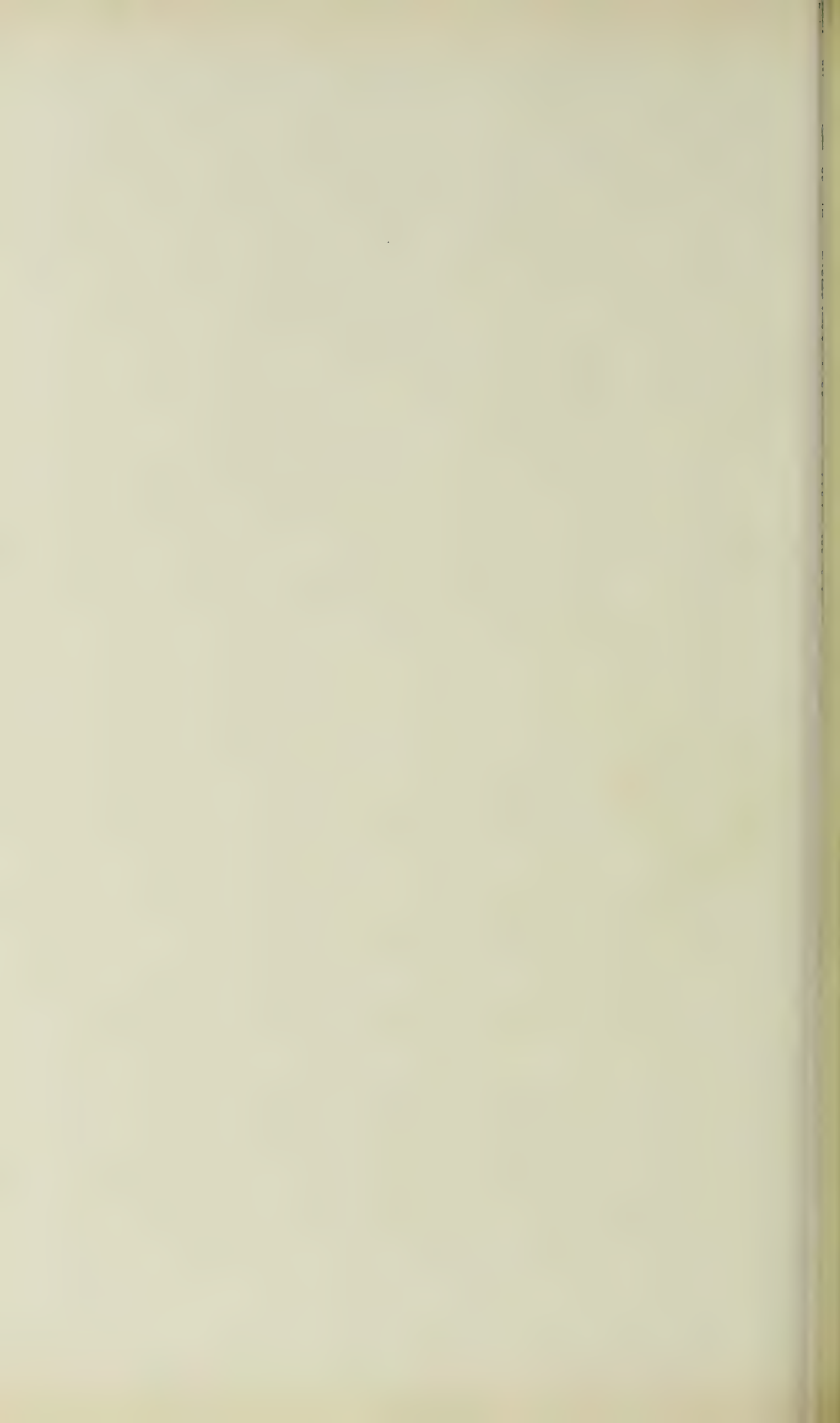
These same men, of the type which has been established in this story of the Constitution Towns, looked into the principles of mutual savings banks which were beginning to appear in England and this country where there were but four all told. Forthwith they incorporated the Society for Savings and on June 9, 1819, were organized with Daniel Wadsworth president, Elisha Colt treasurer, and James M. Goodwin secretary. Mr. Colt was state comptroller and his office in the State House was the bank's up to the expiration of his term of office, when he transferred it to his home at No. 10 Church Street, still doing business only Wednesday afternoons, for economy's sake. In 1834, after two



OFFICE OF THE HARTFORD FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY, HARTFORD
(1859-1870)



HARTFORD FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY, HARTFORD



other locations, a classic building was erected on Pratt Street after a design by Mr. Wadsworth. Increasing fast in popularity, it won the name of "Pratt Street Bank," by which it is still known to many, never having removed from that location but replacing one outgrown building by another till now the fourth, opened in 1927, is as classically beautiful in comparison with others as was the first one. Character of men and buildings has remained constant. The list of trustees and officers is like a roll of financial honor. The presidents since Wadsworth have been Ward Woodbridge, James B. Hosmer, Roland Mather, John Caldwell Parsons, Francis B. Cooley, Jonathan B. Bunce, Charles E. Gross and Charles P. Cooley.

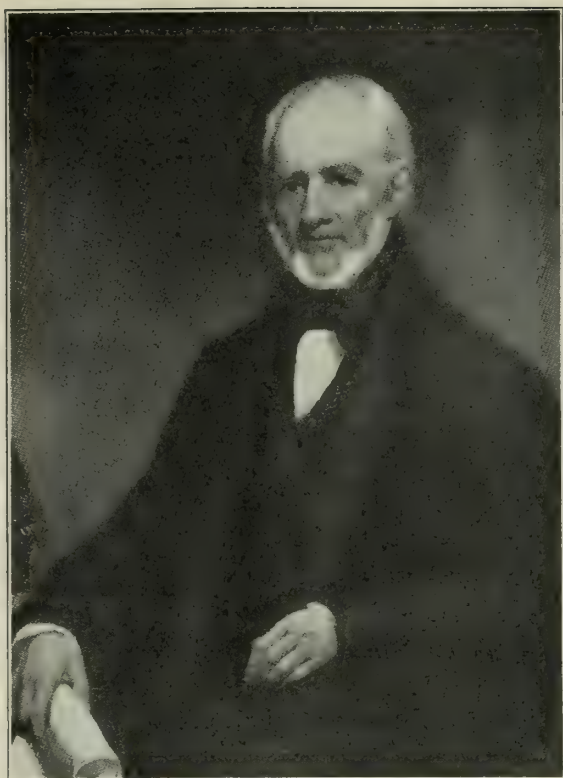
The second insurance company, the Aetna, which soon came to vie in size and strength with the best, dates from this same period. Its traditional origin has to do with the amount of time that Secretary Mitchell of the Hartford Fire spent at his home in Wethersfield or on the way there. Threats to form a new company were carried out. Yet the board of directors chosen June 15, 1819, is evidence that again it was men of forethought and conservatism who conceived the idea: Thomas K. Brace, Thomas Belden, Samuel Tudor, Jr., Henry Kilbourn, Eliphalet Averill, Henry Seymour, Griffin Stedman, Gaius Lyman, Judah Bliss, Caleb Pond, Nathaniel Bunce, Joseph Morgan, Jeremiah Brown, James M. Goodwin, Theodore Pease, Elisha Dodd and Charles Babcock—Mr. Brace the president and Isaac Perkins the secretary. Mr. Brace resigning because of financial embarrassment was succeeded for two years by Henry L. Ellsworth, twin brother of the governor, but was again elected after his own affairs had been arranged. Its first—and the country's first—reinsurance was that of the Middletown Fire the very first year. It was the first company to establish agencies in large centers and its experience in times of national stringency in the '20s and of serious fires around the country would have disheartened any but the bravest. The banks helped as they were to do on other occasions and with other companies.

It remained for Joseph Morgan, an original director, to make a survey twenty years after incorporation, and thereby to place his name high among those of insurance pioneers. Taking in Chicago and New Orleans he covered 6,104 miles in ten weeks, and his average daily expense, all items carefully kept, was \$3.29.

He was succeeded as director by his son, Junius S., and he by his son, J. Pierpont, and he by his son, J. Pierpont, Jr., making this one of their formal connecting links with Hartford after they had become leaders in the world of finance. It was the first company to issue a book of instructions to agents, the first to use a blank for proof of loss and the first to appreciate the value of outline charts.

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There was one question of local enterprise on which these men of the early part of the century did not agree, and that was the toll bridge over the Connecticut. The ferry, as previously said, was sometimes a cause of complaint but it was encouraged by the state and it yielded revenue for the town. In 1804 John Morgan and others petitioned for the right to build a bridge and the town engaged Major Caldwell and Major Terry to oppose them. Morgan was tenacious and in 1809 the bridge was built, at a cost of \$96,000. A New York syndicate held 250 of the 800 shares (forty of which Aaron Burr sold to Ward Woodbridge and Griffin Stedman in 1833 for \$100 a share). Each share was assessed \$135 for the construction but soon the bridge was paying a dividend of \$9. Windsor was especially distressed because, despite a rude draw, here was a check on navigation northward, and first and last many devices were resorted to for purpose of demonstrating that the bridge interfered with natural rights. The flood of 1818 swept away much of the bridge and, with the ferry competition, the company would not rebuild till the ferry was suppressed; then it expended \$125,000 on a six-arch bridge 974 feet long, the arches resting on stone piers. The suppression act was repealed by the Legislature in 1836 and the town provided a literal horse-power boat, but only to experience another suppression in 1841. The next year it was doing business again but only pending the decision of the courts, which was in favor of the bridge. The suit had been brought by East Hartford people who had set up the ferry and who had to pay \$12,363 after the United States Supreme Court had sustained the decision of the lower courts. The causeways were built at an expense of \$150,000. The beginning of the next volume of bridge history was in 1889.

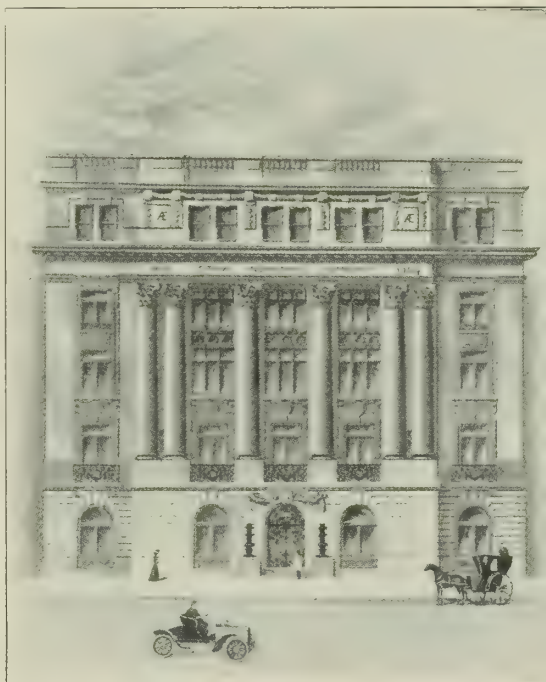


THOMAS K. BRACE

First president of the Aetna Insurance Company



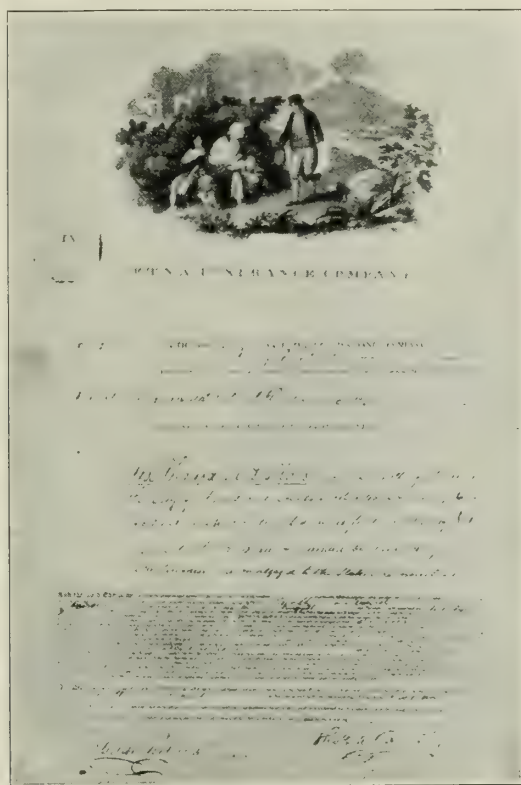
STATE STREET OFFICE OF THE
AETNA INSURANCE COMPANY,
HARTFORD (1837-1867)



AETNA INSURANCE COMPANY, HARTFORD



There was no bridge over Little River west of Main Street except a foot bridge at the foot of Pearl Street and three small bridges on the roads to West Division. In 1827 a vote was passed for a bridge at the foot of Pearl Street ten feet above the water, made of a mast supported on piers, with boards nailed on it and steps leading up to it at each end. A board walk ran from the bridge to Imlay's Mill. The Ford Street bridge was built in 1849 for \$15,000 and the Front Street bridge in 1853 for \$10,000.



FIRST POLICY ISSUED BY THE AETNA
INSURANCE COMPANY

XX

WAR OF 1812: NEW CONSTITUTION

INDUSTRY HURT BY EARLY EMBARGO—"HARTFORD" (BOSTON) CONVENTION—PARTIES BLEND IN "TOLERATION"—EARLY GOVERNMENT PRINCIPLES CONTINUED—SCHOOL FOR DEAF, RETREAT AND OTHER HUMANITARIANISM—CHURCH REVIVALS.

Altogether it is seen that Hartford's perseverance and genius were bringing it well through the difficulties of the times when in 1812 the second war with England came. No emphasis has been laid upon Hartford's loss through the depredations of Napoleon's ships upon American commerce in his war with England, but many a man who was beginning to recoup after the century of wars had had to exercise the utmost personal and often unaccustomed exertion to prevent being financially sunk by "French spoliations." United States was still more or less a jest in European eyes, a playground for Frenchmen like Genet, a disunited country, rioting. England, fighting Napoleon single-handed and distressed by desertions from her navy, thought to search American ships for seamen and then to impress English-tongued men who really were from America. Following the anti-federalist bent, President Jefferson, justly indignant, turned his wrath against England while the federalists, including New England, felt fully as much grievance toward the nation of Genet and his like. Jefferson's embargo seemed—but only seemed—to have affected New England much more than any other section; it was the last word in destruction for many enterprises. England's orders in council prohibiting transportation of goods in any but English bottoms was reminiscent of old days; but there were signs that England would quit her folly while Napoleon's France would not, when news came that war had been declared against England, the very day after England had repealed her orders. And this with Madison, of Virginia, in the presidential chair. Like most statesmen of the day, he was a pacifist and he

had been deceived by Napoleon. His administration had destroyed such signs of national defense as had been left. Col. William Hull of Derby, at Fort Detroit, was the first victim of such frightful inefficiency as that of Dearborn, in command of the Army of the North.

Madison, whose marine imbroglio had been worse than Jefferson's, called for the militia. Governor Griswold of Connecticut replied with a transcript from the Constitution Madison had helped frame, relative to the power of Congress "to *provide* for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions." It was a clause written out of experience with monarchical power. Moreover the troops were placed under the command of such officers as the Government should name, despite the Constitution and in face of such an example as Dearborn furnished. The Legislature backed Governor Griswold and his successor John Cotton Smith. Another item was that New England's coast most of all invited attack, but the Government could not find the troops or ships to send there. State troops were raised and were sent along the shore, chiefly to New London, to do duty that was obvious and to do it well enough to cause the British to retire; but Congress had made no provision and there was no one to protect Essex when the enemy pushed his raid in April, 1814. Under the President's call for troops to be held in readiness that year, Washington was notified that Connecticut's quota of 3,720 was filled and while "in readiness" kept the enemy at bay. And she had been generous with her money.

"Peter Parley" (S. G. Goodrich) gives this description of one of companies leaving for Fort Griswold, Groton, where Admiral Hardy had driven Commodore Decatur and his captured prizes to find place of refuge up the Thames, where this company was to serve six weeks and where detachments of various Connecticut companies were to relieve each other with short tours of duty:

"At 10 o'clock, we were mustered and began our march, all in our best trim: cocked hats, long-tailed blue coats with red facings, white pantaloons and shining cutlasses at our sides. Our glittering cannon moved along with the solemnity of elephants. It was, in fact, a fine company, all young men, and many from the best families in Hartford. Our captain, Johnson, was an eminent lawyer, of martial appearance and great taste for military affairs. He after-

ward rose to the rank of general. Moseley, the first lieutenant, was six feet four inches high—a young lawyer, nephew of Oliver Wolcott—and of high social and professional standing. Screamed the fife, rolled the drum—as we entered New London!”

Massachusetts sent out the call for a meeting of leading men at Hartford December 14, 1815, “to devise, if practicable, means of security and defence which may be consistent with the preservation of our resources from total ruin, and adapted to our local situation, mutual relations and habits, and not repugnant to our obligations as members of the Union.” The Legislature responded heartily. There were only seven delegates from Connecticut, all foremost men, and only one of them from Hartford, Chauncey Goodrich who, serving at the same time as mayor, had just ended his service in the United States Senate. The sessions in the State House were behind closed doors. Theodore Dwight was the secretary who later was to publish the details. There were to be recommendations to Congress but before the adjourned session could be held, peace had been declared. About a hundred men from the state had gone into the regular army. While the “Hartford Convention” was in session, a recruiting sergeant, with rattling drum, persisted in marching his detail around the State House calling for recruits. Materiel was placed in the Hartford Bank and the Governor’s Foot Guard was under orders to respond to call should rioting break out. The people had their idea of the proceeding but were peaceful.

These are facts from records and from outside writers of highest authority which have been omitted mistakenly from state and local histories. Massachusetts, with painful memory of old days of stolen rights, had teemed with bitter federalism. Just before he fell in the duel with Burr, Hamilton, leader of federalists, had been impelled to write Colonel Trumbull (in 1804): “You are going to Boston. You will see the principal men there. Tell them from me, as my request, for God’s sake, to cease these conversations and threatenings about a separation from the Union.” Public opinion in the South, before 1814, had been formed that New England might lose her temper. Exasperation had increased. When the Enforcement Act was passed in Jefferson’s last term and Gov. Jonathan Trumbull, 2nd, in the last days of his long governorship (1809) received a request to

send his militia officers to assist the Government in heading off every ship pointed toward the open sea and search it to learn whether it was trying to carry goods to any foreign port, the old war governor replied that, as he and the mass of the citizens of the state considered the Enforcement Act unconstitutional, he could not comply. And Senator John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, who had swung from federalism and had voted for the ruinous embargo, wrote Jefferson that New England was planning to nullify the embargo, perhaps secede and perhaps ally with England. It was then that Jefferson, who had conceived the embargo as an experimental alternative to war, put through the act which allowed commerce with all nations except England and France, and once more the shippers could take their chances on the high seas. Madison's subsequent course aroused even New York.

Following are sentences from Woodrow Wilson's history:

"France was doing much more to injure neutral trade than England was," (in 1812).

"It was a natural but tragical accident that the war should be against England, not against France."

"New England had contributed men and money to the war as the law required and her means permitted. Because she was wealthy and populous, she had, indeed, contributed more than the South and West, whose representatives in Congress had brought the war on despite her passionate protests."

"The Hartford Convention was the end of the federalist party. But it had none the less been a very sinister sign of the times."

As "Hartford Convention" it always must be known, but it was not Hartford's convention or Connecticut's, and it was not for secession; it was for that defence of New England which Madison deliberately had withdrawn, or for a proper portion of federal revenue if she must continue to provide her own defense.

The war did much to bring the nation together and win the respect of Europe. Among the heroes of the navy which it created was Commodore Macdonough of Middletown whose appearance here in 1817 was greeted with a great popular demonstration and the presentation by the citizens of a sword, now in the collection of the Connecticut Historical Society.

As for the federal and anti-federal or republican-democrat parties, their lines were being obliterated early in the century; the old order changeth. With it all, the attitude toward the charter's form of civil government was changing, by degrees. Connecticut, it will be recalled, unlike the other colonies, had not had to frame a constitution after separating from England; the principles of the original Constitution, embodied in the charter of 1662, had served well and had been used as a model elsewhere. Executive, legislative and judicial branches had not been recognized as distinct since the need for such recognition was to be demonstrated only in an absolutely independent nation. The early attempts to make party shibboleth out of the necessity to change old forms simply aroused animosities. When in 1804 Abraham Bishop of New Haven came to Hartford and declared from the platform that there was no constitution and there was need of one to destroy federalism, he was reminded that not long before he had said Connecticut's form of government was the best in the world; and when he worked up a convention in New Haven, assembling delegates from ninety-seven towns, with Maj. William Judd of Farmington presiding, Mr. Judd and four other justices of the peace were removed from office by the Legislature for taking part in a seditious proceeding. Many of Bishop's own following were outspoken against them.

In 1817, as has been seen in the bank case, sectarian complaint had added to the opposition against the existing order; also there had been painful illustration of the overriding of the judiciary by the Legislature, and the chief judge who had been overridden published a vindication that had a pronounced effect. The sects were getting more "toleration." Oliver Wolcott, an original federalist, back from his national duties, long a victim of "most flagitious devices of party malice," was an example of many former federalists who were working for obliteration of old party lines, who had disapproved of the Hartford (or Boston) Convention and who had supported the republican-democratic government in its home measures. Judge Jonathan Ingersoll of New Haven, senior trustee of the Bishop's Fund, was a federalist. On agreement that his church would give political support, he was named for lieutenant-governor on a ticket headed by Wolcott, called the "American and Toleration." Ingersoll was elected

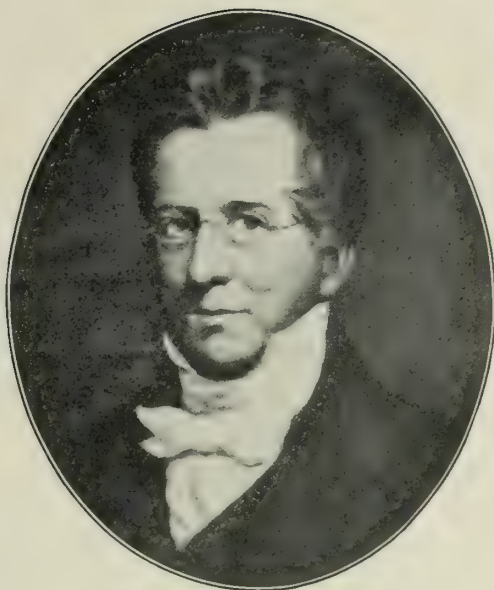
in 1816 but Wolcott fell short that year, only, however, to win the next year over the incumbent, John Cotton Smith, strict federalist, Ingersoll receiving votes from both parties. In 1818, the victory for the coalition and "toleration" party, back of Wolcott and Ingersoll, was complete, Legislature included.

It was mainly on the point of independence of the judiciary that the resolution for a constitutional convention prevailed. Time and circumstances were auspicious. Election of delegates was held on the Fourth of July, and for the most part was non-partisan, in political, sectarian or any other sense. Hartford County's delegates were: Hartford, Dr. Sylvester Wells, Maj. Nathaniel Terry; Berlin, Samuel Hart, Samuel Norton; Bristol, Bryan Hooker; Burlington, Bliss Hart; Canton, Solomon Everest; East Hartford, Richard Pitkin, Samuel Pitkin; East Windsor, Charles Jenks; Enfield, Henry Terry, William Dixon; Farmington, Timothy Pitkin, John Treadwell; Glastenbury (as then spelled), Samuel Wells, David E. Hubbard; Granby, Sadoc Wilcox, Reuben Barker; Hartland, Aaron Church, John Treat; Marlborough, Elisha Buell; Simsbury, Elisha Phelps, Jonathan Pettibone, Jr.; Southington, Roger Whittlesey, Chester Grannis; Suffield, Christopher Jones, Ashael Morse; Wethersfield, Stephen Mix Mitchell, Levi Lusk; Windsor, Eliakim Marshall, Josiah Phelps.

The veteran Jesse Root called the convention to order. Governor Wolcott was chairman. Members of Hartford County on the draft committee were Doctor Wells, Timothy Pitkin and Elisha Phelps. Major Terry of Hartford and Governor Treadwell of Farmington divided the leadership of the federalists. Gen. Levi Lusk of Wethersfield, Rev. Aaron Church of Hartland and Henry Terry of Enfield were federalist supporters of the old regime. Of the special exhorters on the other side was Rev. Ashael Morse (Baptist) of Suffield. Several standard bearers for constitution and reform through the three weeks were from the federal ranks; in the vote for ratification they were more earnest, like Major Terry, than their somewhat disappointed fellow members. The ratification vote was 13,918 to 12,364; Hartford County, 2,234 yeas, 2,843 nays. This Constitution, with few changes, is the Constitution today.

Not alone in politics and literature and in banking and insurance was Hartford drawing attention; an institution was about to be formed, through individual sacrifice and generosity, that was to make its name blessed throughout the country. Dr. Mason F. Coggsell, one of the Hartford writers, had a young daughter who became a deaf mute following a sickness. After his study here and abroad, others became interested. In 1815, at a meeting of men like Ward Woodbridge, Daniel Wadsworth, Daniel Buck, Joseph Battell (of Norfolk), Rev. Dr. Nathan Strong of the First Church, Henry Hudson, Major Terry, Major Caldwell and Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet, Yale 1805 and recently graduated at Andover Theological Seminary, Doctor Coggsell and Mr. Woodbridge were appointed a committee. Funds soon were raised with which Mr. Gallaudet went to Europe to learn all he could. In 1816 he returned from the Institution for Deaf Mutes in Paris, bringing with him Laurent Clerc, a teacher and one who could illustrate scientific methods. He found a school already incorporated, the sum of \$12,000 was raised and the state gave \$5,000. An institution was opened in 1817 in a building on Main Street near Gold and within a year there were sixty pupils, many from remote places, for the fame of it had gone far. Congress in 1819, after investigation, made a grant of 23,000 acres of land whereupon, to give widest scope, the name was made the American Asylum at Hartford for the Education and Instruction of Deaf and Dumb Persons, eventually the American School for the Deaf. William Ely was very helpful in arranging details. Spacious buildings were erected in 1821 on Asylum Avenue and pupils were received formally from other states, they making special appropriations. Liberality rendered it possible for thousands of pupils to gain their education while the school was on the avenue. After the Hartford Fire Insurance Company had bought the property for the buildings it opened in 1921, the school obtained still wider grounds in West Hartford and there erected probably the most complete institution of the kind in the land.

Mr. Gallaudet's health failing under the heavy strain, he was obliged to retire in 1830. With it all he had trained many good teachers, some of whom had gone out to other institutions and some remained here. A statue, representing him teaching Doctor Coggsell's daughter, was erected in his memory at Washington in 1888, by vote at a convention of grateful mutes. He

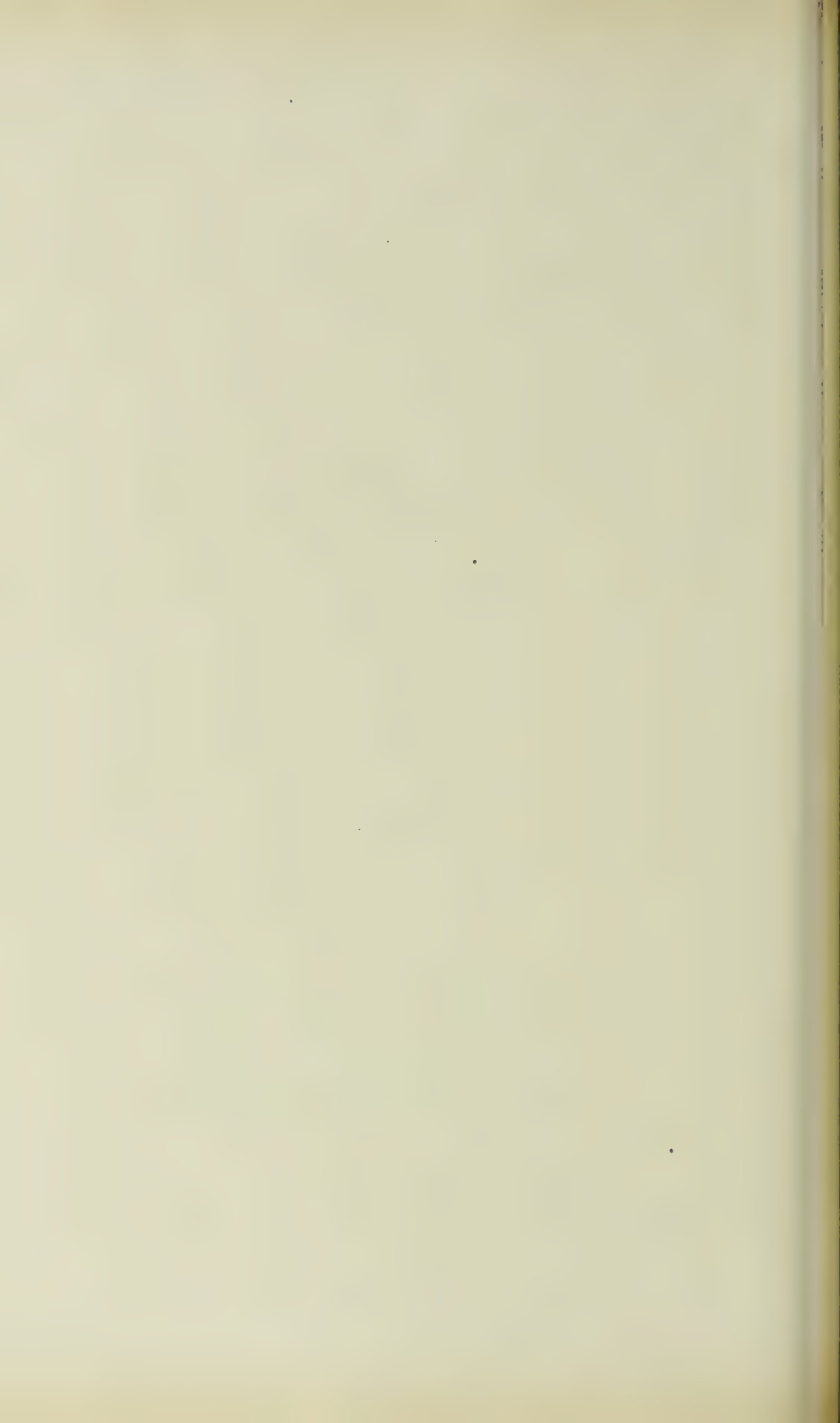


THOMAS H. GALLAUDET
(1787-1851)

Founder of School for the Deaf



AMERICAN SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF, WEST HARTFORD



married one of his own pupils, and two of his sons carried on the work here before being called to other fields. Rev. Thomas Gallaudet, the elder, after graduation at Trinity, became a teacher in the New York Institute for the Deaf and in 1845 married one of his pupils. In 1852 he established in New York St. Ann's Church for deaf mutes, of which he was made rector. He also founded the Church Mission for Deaf Mutes; the home for the aged and infirm which the mission established was named after him. The younger son, Edward M. Gallaudet, after leaving here, built up Gallaudet College which Congress established in Washington in 1864 with Mr. Gallaudet as president. The statue of the elder Gallaudet, after whom the college was named, stands on the lawn there. The British government consulted with Mr. Gallaudet and the French government gave him the cross of chevalier of the Legion of Honor. Trinity and Yale conferred upon him the degree of LL. D.. He helped form the Convention of American Instructors of the Deaf and was its president till his death in 1917. He also won recognition along lines of literature and science. In 1910 he returned to Hartford to spend his last days. Frank R. Wheeler is now the principal of the school, with an exceptional corps of instructors.

In another institution which has made national history and which was organized in this period, the Hartford Retreat, men of the highest position, businesswise, professionally and socially, have given freely of their time as officers and directors. To the Connecticut Medical Society is due the credit for this humanitarian work. One today can hardly believe the findings of the society in its investigation of conditions around the state in 1812 when paupers and criminals were crowded into such miserable quarters as could be provided in individual towns. There were only two institutions for the insane in the whole country and the problem of how to care for them as people suffering with a disease never had been taken up. The name of Dr. Eli Todd of Farmington and Hartford will always be associated with the beginning of the work of relief. Born in New Haven in 1769 and graduated at Yale in 1787, he rose to highest place among physicians of the state. In 1821 he presented facts concerning the insane so forcefully before the state medical convention that a committee was appointed consisting of himself, Thomas Miner and Samuel B. Woodward, funds were raised—the State Medi-

cal Society being the largest subscriber—a charter was obtained together with an appropriation of \$5,000, Bishop Brownell was chairman of the building committee, the Ira Todd farm in Hartford was bought, the central building of the present group was built, and the institution was opened in April, 1824. And Doctor Todd, the one practical expert in the United States, accepted the position of superintendent on a salary of \$1,000. His successor was Dr. Silas Fuller, who had studied the principles with pupils in his own home. The standards then established have been maintained by such distinguished scientists as Dr. Amariah Brigham, Dr. John S. Butler, Dr. E. K. Hunt, Dr. W. H. Rockwell, Dr. G. B. Hawley, Dr. William Porter, Dr. James Denny and Dr. C. W. Page, and now Dr. Whitefield N. Thompson. The main building has been enlarged from time to time, other buildings added, including the lodge given by Dr. Gurdon W. Russell, and the extensive grounds beautified.

Orphans first received attention in 1809 when the Hartford Female Beneficent Society was formed. Boys were neglected till 1831 when a fund was raised, Mrs. Joseph Trumbull was chosen president with nineteen other women and a charter was secured in 1833. A building on Washington Street was given for the boys with school facilities for the girls. The organizations combining under a new charter as the Hartford Orphan Asylum, a lot was bought on Putnam Street where a very complete and attractive building was erected and was occupied in 1878. This was the beginning of the present Children's Village, and along with it the Watkinson Juvenile Asylum and Farm School, founded and endowed by David Watkinson and chartered in 1858.

With the founding of so many of today's important financial, commercial and charitable institutions early in the century, the picture of the period cannot be complete without another word about Rev. Dr. Strong of the First Church. On the passing of the days of infidelity, when his church had a membership of only fifteen and there was the scandal of intemperance, he was a leader in the work of reformation begun in 1794, preaching, lecturing and writing articles. A fresh temperance revival was under way at his death in 1816, and in 1818 came Dr. Joel Hawes, of Medway birth, a graduate of Brown and recently of Andover, who was to inspire a series of revivals and to become one of the most noted of New England divines. On his arrival he wrote



THE HARTFORD RETREAT



that the church was superior in respect to number, character and elegance; that he felt disconcerted before "these judges, lawyers, doctors, merchants and people in the highest grades of society;" and again: "They are intelligent, dignified, devout and thoughtful—fine lawyers and fastidious folks." Back in 1810, the comment of S. G. Goodrich ("Peter Parley") was: "The town dealt in lumber and smelt of molasses and old Jamaica, for it still has some trade with the West Indies. It had a high tone of general respectability and intelligence. There were a few merchants and many shopkeepers. A few dainty patricians still held themselves aloof."

A relic of the war which was to do service for almost a hundred years was the state arsenal, of a kind of Swiss-Gothic architecture, built in 1812, on the east side of Windsor Avenue near the North Cemetery.

The Revolution, the embargoes and the latest war had given an impetus to industry and to invention. In 1811 Charles Reynolds of East Windsor had emulated Doctor Kingsley of 1797 and actually took out a patent on a steam-propelled vehicle. John L. Welles of Hartford in 1819 patented the first printing press with the long lever. E. Burt of Manchester invented the first American power loom for weaving checks and plaids.

XXI

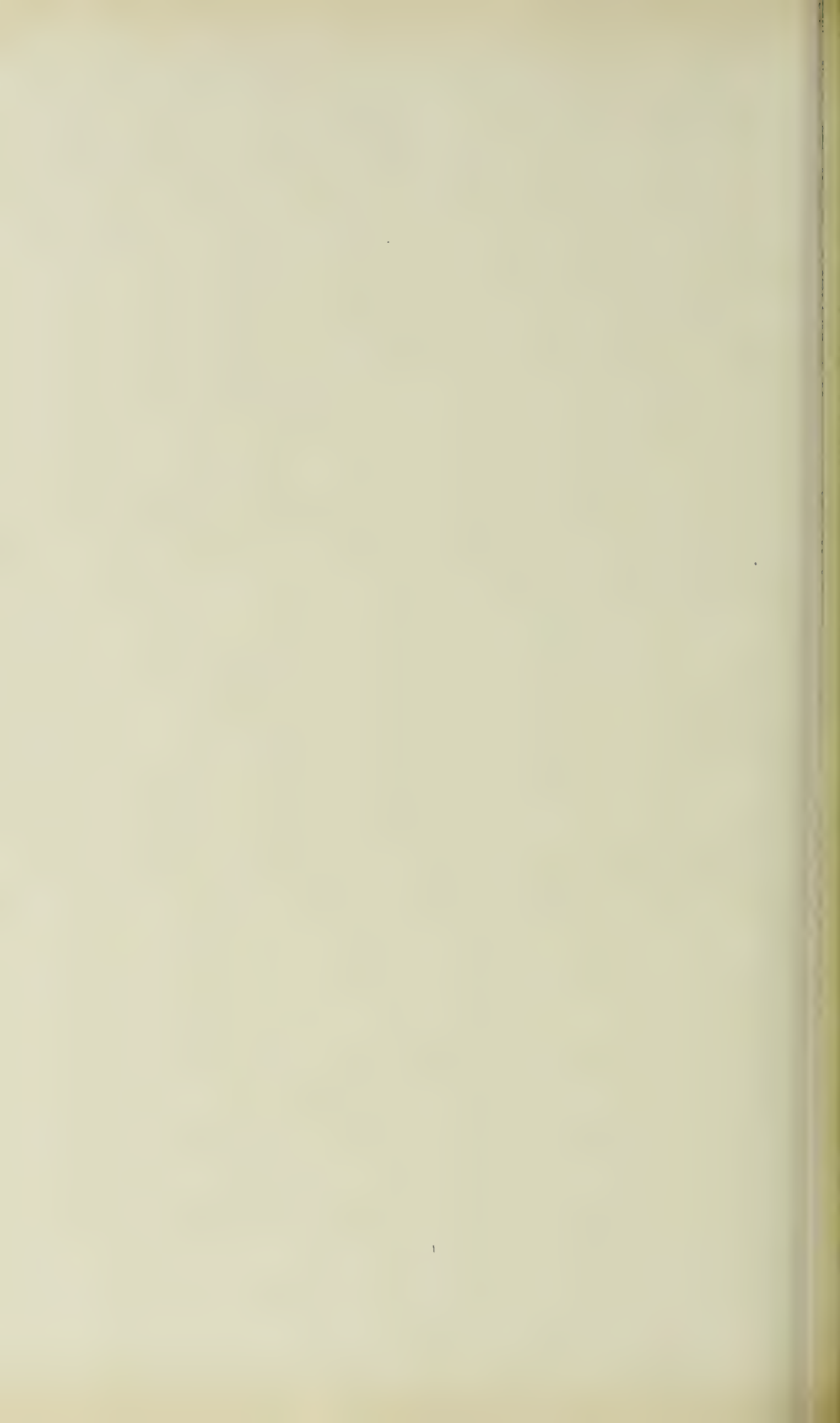
PRESS, BOOKS AND SOCIETY

BEGINNING OF THE "TIMES"—NATIONAL PUBLISHING CENTER—WHITTIER
AND "PETER PARLEY"—CITY HALL, HALLS OF RECORD—ELECTION-
DAY FESTIVITIES—NEW CHRIST CHURCH—LAFAYETTE'S VISIT.

The *Connecticut Courant* held supreme sway as a newspaper till 1817. Thomas Green's "experiment" is still succeeding. He himself felt encouraged to continue it regularly with his issue of October 29, 1764. The cause for which it was conceived—opposition to royal high-handedness—it did much to promote, suffering painfully with the people, as has been described, but encouraging them in their patriotism. Its regularity in sequence of ownership as well as its fidelity to its French name (which it so thoroughly Americanized in Hartford as to cause its readers to forget its true pronunciation and also that it meant a lively kind of dance as well as newspaper) make of its chronicle a simple matter. When Green went to New Haven in 1768 he passed on the publication to his partner, William Watson, who took George Goodwin into partnership in 1778 and on his death left the editorship in the hands of his widow, Hannah Bunce Watson, the first newspaper woman. During the first year of her experience in disseminating news she married Barzillai Hudson and in 1779 the firm name became Hudson & Goodwin, continuing as such till it was changed to George Goodwin & Sons in 1815. The next change was not till 1836 when John L. Boswell bought the property and the following year began a daily as well as a weekly edition, dropping the "Connecticut" from the title of the daily, without thereby limiting its field. William Faxon was in partnership from 1850 to 1855 when Mr. Boswell died. Then Thomas M. Day became sole owner, Faxon going with the *Evening Press* where he was to be joined by Joseph R. Hawley in 1857. Two years later A. N. Clark acquired an interest, and the paper continued under the management of A. N. Clark & Company through



HARTFORD COURANT BUILDING
From etching by Philip Kappel



the rise of the republican party and the period of the Civil war to the great but natural change to be recounted later, in 1867.

The *Courant* had seen other weeklies come and go, such as the *Freeman's Chronicle* and the *Hartford Gazette* (1794). Like the *American Mercury*, employed by the Hartford Wits, they were of a special character. The *Mercury* continued till absorbed in the *Independent Press* in 1833. Early in the century it became sharply anti-federal. As an offset, Charles Hosmer began publishing the *Connecticut Mirror* in 1809, strongly federal. Theodore Dwight was its editor during the war and until 1815. John G. C. Brainard came from Middletown to be editor in 1822 and some of his best poems appeared in the paper. He died in 1828. The paper was a failure. George D. Prentice's *New England Review*, started in 1828, gained wide fame, Prentice's own ability as a writer being supplemented by that of distinguished contributors. On his removal to Kentucky, where he established the *Louisville Journal*, he introduced as his successor John Greenleaf Whittier, some of whose poems he had been publishing. Whittier was anti-Jackson and was chosen the "national republican" delegate to the convention that nominated Henry Clay, but could not go. During the two years he was here, he greatly enjoyed the social life of the city and his walks into the surrounding country.

In 1833 the publishers of the *Review* came out with the first daily paper Hartford had had. William G. Comstock bought out Samuel Hanmer, Jr., his partner, in 1834, and after that it continued till 1844 as a political sheet. For a while later there was another publication under the same name. It was established by Wells & Willard as the *Columbian* in 1844, taking the name of the *Review* in 1846, the editor being Lucius F. Robinson, Yale '43, a brilliant young lawyer. He continued as editor when J. Gaylord Wells made it a daily under the name of the *Connecticut Whig*, as which it continued till absorbed by the *Courant* in 1849. Mr. Robinson was made editor of the *American Literary Magazine*, published in New York but prepared here. The *Courant* also took over the *Journal*, published daily and weekly from 1843 to 1845 by Elihu Geer (founder of the City Directory in 1839) as a Henry Clay and protection paper. A half dozen small literary magazines were published from time to time during these years.

Hartford was a publishing center. The *Churchman's Magazine* of 1821 was followed by the *Episcopal Watchman* in 1828 and the *Calendar* in 1845, till the *Churchman* was established in 1865, subsequently moving to New York. Elihu Geer published the *Congregationalist* in 1839, which later was removed to Boston. The *Congregational Religious Herald* was established by D. B. Moseley in 1841, one of the earliest of its sect, preceded by the *Connecticut Observer* (1821-1841), edited by Horace Hooker, and the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, from 1800 for several years. The *Christian Secretary* of the Baptist denomination began in 1822. The *Catholic Press* of 1835 was removed to Philadelphia. The *Connecticut Catholic*, predecessor of the present *Transcript*, did not come in till 1875. Thomas H. Seymour, later governor and United States minister to Russia, edited the weekly *Jeffersonian*, published for two years by Henry Bolles. In 1838 the *Connecticut School Manual*, one of the first educational journals in the country, was produced by Dr. Henry Barnard, state school commissioner, was published many years and then was revived by him on his return here in 1851 and continued till turned over by him to the State Teachers' Association while the doctor began the *American Journal of Education*, a national quarterly which incidentally developed treatises that constituted the largest issue of its kind in print.

When the cry of "Toleration" and "New Constitution" reached its height in 1817, a professional printer, Frank D. Bolles, thought there was room for another paper, and a young lawyer from Enfield was glad of opportunity to mould public opinion for the anti-federalists and the Connecticut liberals. They got together material to establish the weekly *Times*. This was the beginning of the career of John M. Niles. For a time in 1819 he was proprietor, Bolles the printer. The subsequent proprietors through the early days were: 1819, John Francis (Wethersfield) and Samuel Bowles who went together to found the *Springfield Republican*; 1824, Benjamin H. Norton, with John Russell in partnership in 1826 and Gideon Welles editor—a contributor till 1854; 1828-1837, John Russell; 1838, Charles H. Jones, editor and proprietor; 1838, Judge Henry Mitchell, and Alfred E. Burr who became editor and in 1841 sole proprietor; joined by his brother as partner and editor in 1855; 1861, Burr Brothers, and then on with the history of modern times.



FIRST OFFICE OF THE HARTFORD TIMES

At the Main Street head of what is now Gold Street. Established January 1, 1817



HARTFORD TIMES BUILDING

Columns and terra cotta from the Rev. Dr. Parkhurst's Madison Square Presbyterian Church, New York

Mr. Niles (1787-1856) was born in Windsor. He gave his editorial support to Jackson and was appointed postmaster. In 1835 he was sent to fill the unexpired term of Nathan Smith in the Senate. At the close of the term he was called to Van Buren's cabinet as postmaster-general. From 1843 to 1849 he was again senator. He found time for considerable outside writing, mostly of an historical nature, as will later appear. Always he was a generous supporter of charitable institutions. Mr. Burr, whose career is analyzed elsewhere, had been saving his money as foreman of the *Courant* when George Goodwin the elder offered him an interest in the paper provided he would carry on its whig principles. Loth to abandon his political faith, he asked Judge Mitchell for an interest in the *Times*, in 1839. This being allowed, in 1841 he bought the whole plant, giving his notes, and on March 2 issued the first daily edition with a subscription list of 300. Not only did he reveal editorial vigor, but he made it the perpetual cardinal principle to secure good management and to keep pace with mechanical improvements. In 1848 he was the first in the state to use a cylinder press. The office in those days was on the second floor of the Museum Building at the corner of Main Street and Central Row. For many years it had been in a building at the head of present Gold Street, and prior to its removal to its present location on Prospect Street it was at the corner of Main and Grove.

The book-publishing business, for so many years a feature of Hartford life, traces its first national importance to the house of Hudson & Goodwin. The millions of Webster's spelling books, the Gallaudet and Hooker spelling books, Peter Parley's writings, his histories under his own name of Samuel G. Goodrich, Olney's, Smith's and Woodbridge's geographies, Comstock's and Davies' treatises on science and mathematics and various other educational works were published here. Silas Andros was the first in the subscription-book line which became extensive. David F. Robinson in 1824 founded the house of D. F. Robinson & Company, later Robinson & Pratt, which put on the market many text books and the "Cottage Bible," edited by Dr. William Patton. After their publishing business had been transferred to New York, they continued a book store here and eventually sold to Daniel Burgess, from whose store sprang others to which Belknap & Warfield, G. F. Warfield & Company and Edward Valentine Mitchell's can trace back their history.

There were also the publishing houses of O. D. Cooke, H. & F. J. Huntington, Hamersley & Belknap, William J. Hamersley, Brown & Gross, the house of Bliss, Lucius A. Stebbins whose concern adopted the well known name of the American Publishing Company, though not organizing as such till 1865, and became the foremost of subscription-book houses, publishing many widely sold books, Mark Twain's earlier ones among them; Hurlburt & Kellogg, Hurlburt & Williams who cleared over \$80,000 in one year on the "Nurse and Spy" and established the Hartford Publishing Company; O. D. Case & Company, publishers of Greeley's "History of the Civil War;" S. S. Scranton & Company, J. D. Burr & Company, J. B. Bretts and E. Gately & Company. Case, Tiffany & Company, predecessors of the present Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company, were the first publishers of Webster's "Unabridged Dictionary." Engraving and lithography were developed to a high degree. The house of Kellogg, original of the present Kellogg & Bulkeley, was famous for its lithographs and in the war time was producing in color pictures now highly prized by collectors. In the experimental stage of this great discovery, a soldier in black and white appeared sometimes to be jumping out of his colored uniform of blue or brown. The whole industry of book binding, formerly so laborious, was revolutionized by the machinery devised and made by the Smyth Manufacturing Company of Hartford.

The writer of the Comstock textbooks referred to in a previous paragraph was Dr. John Lee Comstock of New London who began practicing here after having served as surgeon in the war. Among the most celebrated of all his many books, on every branch of science, was "System of Natural Philosophy."

William Watson in 1828 turned his store on Main Street into a repository of books and pamphlets in the cause of universal peace and in 1834 published the *American Advocate of Peace* which was taken by the national society as its organ. Some of the prominent citizens joined earnestly with him in this movement.

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If the abundant flow of printers' ink after the war was a sign of turning energy in new directions, so too was the increase in the number of taverns around the county. One cause for there



(Drawn by J. W. Barber. Engraved by A. Willard.)

HARTFORD, FROM EASTERN BANK OF THE CONNECTICUT RIVER, 1838



MAIN STREET, HARTFORD, EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY



being so many on the Albany pike between here and New Hartford was the development of trade inland. Doctor Russell in his "Up-Neck" enumerates twenty-one: Beginning near Asylum Street they were Joseph Pratt's, Joseph Pratt, Jr.'s, Dan St. John's, Daniel M. Cooley's, Samuel Moore's, James Goodwin's (west of Gully Brook), Lemuel Howlertt's, Elisha Wadsworth's (corner of Prospect Avenue), Barney Collins' (West Hartford four corners), Aaron Goodman's and Major Whiting's (the same), Erastus Phelps' (toll gate), Major Marshall's (at the foot of Avon Mountain), Francis Woodford's (Avon), Obed Higley's, Hosford's (Canton), Zenos Dyer's, Samuel Merrill's (Satan's Kingdom), Wilcox's (Pine Meadow), and General Cowles' (New Hartford, where breakfast was served for those leaving Hartford for Albany at 2 in the morning). The store of E. and R. Terry at the corner of Windsor Avenue was a transportation center, a constant procession of vehicles passing it night and day, including not a few wagons of Ohio-bound emigrants. It was a "filling station" in accord with the ideas of that day. But on Sundays no traffic or labor was permitted in the vicinity.

The increase in social festivities may have had something to do with the tavern increase. A favorite form of entertainment was a dinner at an inn a good sleigh-ride distant. The Philosophical Literary Society began a series of reading entertainments in 1826 in the old Circus Building on the east side of State House Square. This developed into "performances" which drew such crowds that the law interfered and the participants were punished. In 1852 the law was passed permitting local option in the matter of entertainment, and the next year theaters and circuses were licensed. "Election Day" had survived the troublous period as the one especially festive occasion. Perhaps not so much cooking of "'lection cake" was done weeks in advance, but the hospitality, to friend and stranger, was unlimited. All forms of musical instruments were requisitioned, both before and after the parade from the State House to Church to hear the sermon and then back to the State House to hear the announcement of everybody who had been elected. Aside from the bareheaded sheriff at the head of the parade, bearing a sword, and the military, there were in this period over 200 of the clergy. The last sermon was preached in 1830, for the expense of the dinner for the clergy, sometimes as high as \$100, had become more than the state treasurer could allow. With that the pomp

and splendor was gradually discontinued, even to the cockade in the chief executive's hat. By 1836 the Legislature had ceased to march and since 1852 the ceremonies have been much simpler, though the governor's ball, sponsored by the Foot Guard, is maintained and likewise the inauguration military parade.

The need of a larger market than that on the square caused Mayor Terry to suggest that in building a new one accommodation should be made for town meetings which were still being held in the State House. Accordingly when the city bought the Lee homestead on present Market Street and put up a building 60x110 feet, rooms were provided on the second floor for the Common Council and also for the four "night watch," together with cells. Then on the third floor was an auditorium. It was there that Daniel Webster spoke in 1837 and Lincoln in 1860.

Be it said in way of distinction that even thus early Hartford appreciated the need of security for its town records. The cry for it was heeded in 1839 when a one-story building was put up on Pearl Street on land bought of Robert Watkinson, and there was additional land in the rear for fire apparatus and watch-house. More room being needed, land was bought in 1853 of George W. Corning at the corner of Pearl and Trumbull streets and the Hall of Records was built at a cost of \$22,384, to serve admirably till the Municipal Building was erected. The Corning homestead adjoining has passed from the estate only in this present year.

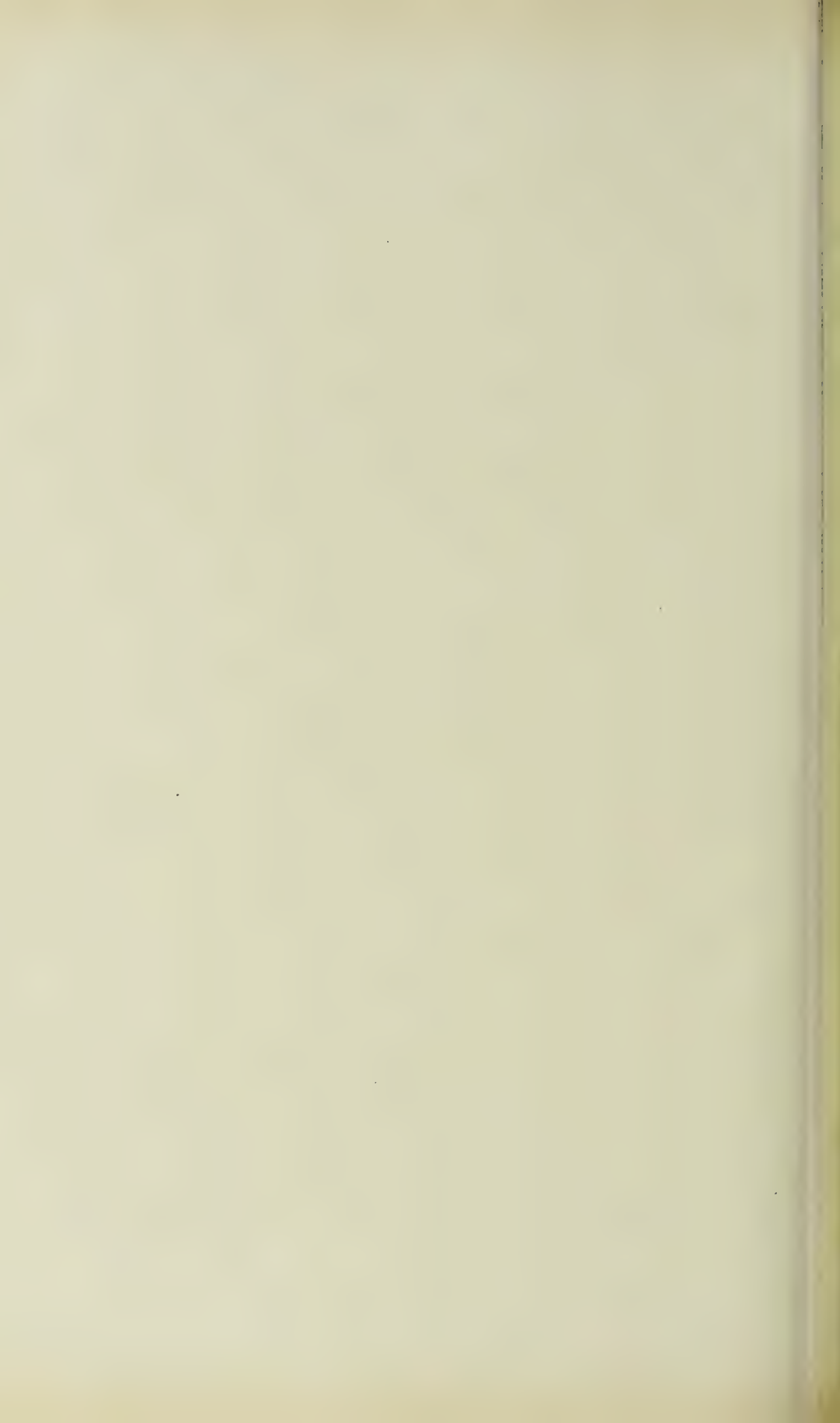
In 1829 the town voted to call what is now Asylum Hill section "Tower Hill District" and present Asylum Street to Thomas Chester's house, at the corner of Ann, Tower Hill Street. The location of any tower on former "Brick Hill" is not known.

The present stone edifice of Christ Church was dedicated in 1829, in the regretted absence of Bishop Thomas C. Brownell who had been rector from 1819 to 1821. Other rectors who became bishops were Philander Case (1811-1817), Jonathan M. Wainwright (1817-1819) provisional bishop of New York, George Burgus (1834-1847) bishop of Maine, and Thomas M. Clark (1851-1857) bishop of Rhode Island. Rector N. S. Wheaton (1821-1831) became president of Trinity College. The first expansion of the church was in 1841 when St. John's was organized with Rev. Arthur Cleveland Coxe as rector. Of this church, Rector W. C. Doane (1863-1867) became bishop.



THE REV. ARTHUR CLEVELAND
COXE, D.D.

First rector of St. John's Episcopal
Church. Installed in 1842



A number of prominent women in 1825 organized the Widows' Society, to distribute aid from a fund by selected almoners. At his death in 1856, Senator Niles left \$26,000 as a fund which, when it reached \$40,000, should furnish income for this society and the Charitable Society in Hartford which does such good work today.

Lafayette, when he came in 1824, beheld a very different Hartford from that he had known in the days of the Revolution. Nothing was spared in the way of decorations and plans for entertainment to make him appreciate the sincerity of the applause for him. He was expected on the evening of September 2 but ovations along the way delayed his arrival till the 3d. The throngs remained in the illuminated streets till after midnight despite a heavy rain. A large military escort, headed by the Governor's Horse Guards under command of Maj. J. E. Hart, went out to meet the general. The Foot Guard also were in the escort in the city. The general was accompanied by his son, George Washington Lafayette, and a few personal friends. Breakfast was furnished at Bennett's Hotel by the city corporation, including John Trumbull and John Caldwell who had attended when Lafayette was given the freedom of the city forty years before. Governor Wolcott welcomed him at the State House where about one hundred officers and soldiers of the Revolution attended the reception. Brig.-Gen. Nathan Johnson commanded the provisional brigade in the review under an arch in front of the State House, and the reporter said that "the guest discovered much satisfaction at the elegant appearance of the troops." School children with appropriate badges, followed. In their behalf, Dr. John Lee Comstock, the scientist and writer, presented a gold medal wrapped in a paper on which were written verses by Lydia Huntley Sigourney. At Daniel Wadsworth's he saw the sash and epaulettes he had worn as major-general, stained with blood at the time he was wounded at the battle of Brandywine. (In the corridor of the Capitol today is the general's camp cot.) He sailed for New York in the afternoon on the *Oliver Ellsworth*.

The city has had the pleasure of paying honor to many distinguished men, including Washington and Commodore Macdonough, as mentioned, to Generals Sherman and Sheridan and to Presidents Monroe, Jackson, Polk, Johnson, Grant, Roosevelt and Taft.

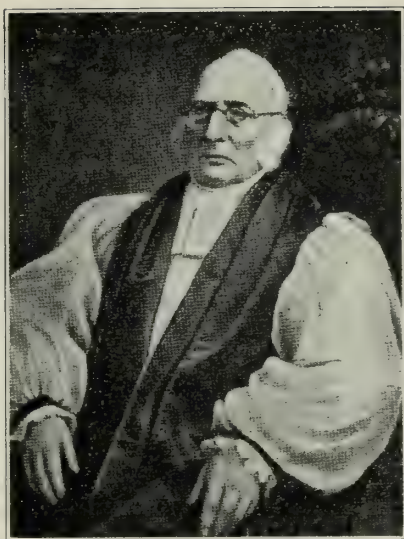
XXII

EDUCATION, CANAL, BANKING

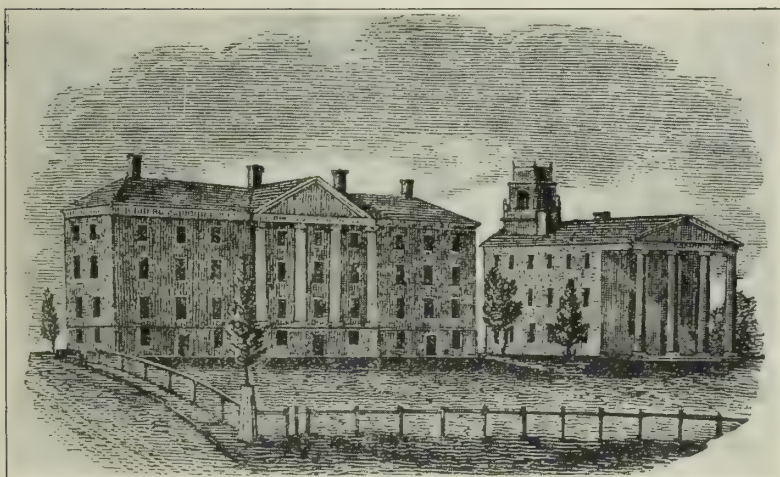
FOUNDING OF TRINITY—BARNARD'S WORK—HIGH SCHOOL AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS—CATHERINE BEECHER, LYDIA HUNTLEY—STEAM ON THE RIVER—BANKS AND THE NEEDS.

The birth of an Episcopal college in a typical Congregational community is, despite the pains attendant, a mere individual item to enliven history, for one who has not read consecutively the tale of the Three Constitution Towns. But for him who has marked the weaving and interweaving since the period of the Constitution and before, and has taken each incident in the light of others of its particular decade, the incident stands out as a notable part of that motif in nation-building which will run through indefinite periods. It must be remembered that whatever worth while had been gained, from the beginning back in England, had been at the cost of sacrifice and pain; the hand that had had to guide had been hard, firm. Joy in doing had been negated by the wilderness and by the absence of simplest facilities. It was duty that impelled and allegiance was essential not to the traditions of the ancestors but to God and to this new thing they had made on the remote river bank—this free government of theirs. The makers thereof and their descendants perforce had to instill reverence and protection or lose. Let sects murmur as they might, pressure was resisted till the form was set. Not till then could further human compatability be freely approved and the old Constitution be dressed up with the new.

The Episcopalians who had struggled to maintain their Cheshire Academy since 1792 found little difficulty in getting their charter for a college through the Legislature in May, 1823. It is notable that a third of the corporators were not churchmen; in Hartford in particular there was hearty coöperation, and all was done that could be done to give the college a good start. For one thing they removed the religious test which lat-



BISHOP T. C. BROWNELL, D. D.
First president of Trinity College.
Elected in 1824



EASTERN VIEW OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE, NOW TRINITY,
1840



terly had come to stir criticism for Yale. The effect was considerable since conservative Yale saw the light and removed that test—the day before the petition went to the Capitol. Hartford cannon and bonfires celebrated the passage of the legislative act. Of the \$50,000 subscribed for the college the first year, three-fourths was from Hartford. By town vote the selectmen raised \$5,000 by conveying to William H. Imlay, Charles Sigourney, Samuel Tudor and Cyprian Nichols, for the college, all of the town's lands then under lease on the banks of Little River, and two small lots in the Ancient Burying Ground. The town won in the competition for location. Seabury Hall, designed by S. F. B. Morse, and Jarvis Hall, designed by Samuel Willard of Boston, were ready for occupancy in 1825. Meanwhile Bishop Thomas C. Brownell, who had been a professor at Union College, his alma mater, had been elected president and studying had been begun in city rooms in September, 1824. The first seven students were increased to twenty-eight in number during the year. Special courses were provided for those who could not remain four years. Rev. Dr. S. F. Jarvis came to the college faculty in 1828 and when he gave the use of his library, the institution was unexcelled in this particular by any college except Harvard. This was an impetus which has been enjoyed to the present time.

The name chosen was to have been Seabury but out of respect for the number of non-church corporators and to disarm lingering prejudice it was made Washington. Bishop Brownell, whose statue, the gift of his son-in-law, will always adorn the campus, resigned in 1831 to give his time to his diocesan duties, and Dr. N. S. Wheaton succeeded him. In the administration of Dr. Silas Totten, after Brownell Hall had been built, the name was changed, in 1844, to Trinity; the Board of Fellows was formed and graduates outside the corporation were organized into the House of Convocation. Dr. John Williams' presidency began in 1848. In 1851 he created a theological department which in 1854 was chartered as the Berkeley Divinity School and located in Middletown where it remained till 1928 when it removed to New Haven. In 1853, two years after having been elected assistant bishop, Doctor Williams (who later succeeded Bishop Brownell) resigned the presidency which went in turn to Dr. Daniel R. Goodwin, in 1860 to Dr. Samuel Eliot, in 1864 to Dr. John B. Kerfoot who was elected to the bishopric of Pitts-

burgh, in 1867 to Dr. Abner Jackson (then president of Hobart), and in 1874 to Dr. Thomas R. Pynchon when the present era began on the new campus, as will be seen in following the course of the city's development.

One has to clear his mind thoroughly of the modern public school system to get a conception of the hiatus in public educational matters (the country over) between the 1770s and the 1830s. To pick up the thread where it was dropped in Chapter VIII, it is noted that interest in the higher-grade "grammar" school revived in 1798 when Judge John Trumbull secured the incorporation of the institution which seemingly could have done so much more for the community. But that school was for boys only and there continued unexplainable neglect of all the children of intermediate grades, on the part of people who in the beginning had been so strenuous. The district schools amounted to but little for elementary work. The result altogether was a crop of private schools chiefly for girls, for which it is said more money was paid by those who could afford it than was paid for the support of the classical school. Moreover, attention was drawn away from that school. Ebenezer Whiting was among the first to advertise for pupils.

Prof. Thomas A. Thacher who attended seven public and private schools here at his birthplace before starting in 1831 for a degree at Yale, where in due time he became one of the most widely known instructors of his generation, wrote a reminiscent letter in his later days. The teachers impressed him. He never forgot one woman who reveled in such punishments as preparing the paraphernalia to open a pupil's arm and let the bad blood run out and another who carefully strung a cord over a beam and adjusted the noose for hanging one of the boys. Noah Webster in 1794 was one of the first to try to introduce something or other in the way of elementary education. Struck by the daily evidence of the evil in grammar and rhetoric, he held classes in his rooms at the northeast corner of Main and Mulberry streets, whither he had come from his father's home still standing in West Hartford; but the shocking situation as to spelling soon drove him to making fortunes for various publishers (down even to 1900) with his world-famed spelling books. This was before



(Photo by Aerial Camera Corporation)

TRINITY COLLEGE, HARTFORD

Campus and Athletic Field. Entrance to Summit Park in foreground



laborious work in New Haven preparing his no less needed dictionary.

George Jeffrey Patten, son of Rev. William Patten of the First Church, had struggled along on the pittance of preceptorship of the grammar school for six years when in 1798 with his wife and sisters he opened a private school in the old State House which, as said, had been moved to a spot next west of Christ Church. His wife Ruth was the daughter of Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, the teacher of Indians at Lebanon who founded Dartmouth College. Later Mr. Patten established the Literary Institute on Main Street above Asylum, for boys only. Thacher attended the girls' school conducted by the ladies of the family, an exception being made in his case because of his Lebanon antecedents. He lingeringly describes the homelike atmosphere with the aged mother sitting by the fireplace and he quotes as from the advertisement: "The time was divided between study, painting, embroidery, and some needle work." (The daughters kept the school till 1825.) The most he could remember of the institute which he attended later was that Mr. Patten appeared very much bored.

Lydia Huntley, the poet, was called here from Norwich by Daniel Wadsworth in 1815 to conduct a girls' school. Her charm won Charles Sigourney, eminent man of affairs, and they were married in 1819, after which she was mistress of his new mansion near the present railroad station. Mrs. Kinneer in 1827 had a school at the corner of Arch Street for Episcopalians. She was succeeded in 1843 by the Misses Draper who continued till 1850. The Misses Watson in 1836 had a school on Main Street and in 1858 T. W. T. Curtis one at the Brinley House on Asylum Street.

A strong rival of the school of the Misses Patten was that of Mrs. Lydia Bull Royse, dating from about 1800 and, after her retirement, carried on by her daughter, Mrs. Eliza Lydia Sheldon, till 1818. Mrs. Royse, a native of Hartford, a descendant of Capt. Thomas Bull, had returned here after the death of her husband, John Royse. In this "finishing school" for girls barred from the grammar school and for many from out of town, including Emma Hart of Berlin (Mrs. Willard), one accomplishment in which pupils prided themselves was the embroidery of

groups of classical heroes with faces painted in—but no paint on the faces of the painters in those old days. The school was discontinued on the death of Mr. Sheldon who was a partner of “Peter Parley” in publishing. The school’s first location was at the corner of Main and Belden streets and the second in the Whitman house at the corner of Main and Capitol Avenue. Subsequently Mrs. Sheldon opened a school in association with Mrs. Grosevenor. In 1819 and for several years Dr. Lyman Strong had a school for girls.

Of all these schools the one of widest repute was the Hartford Female Seminary, incorporated by several prominent men in 1827, with Catherine E. Beecher, daughter of Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher of Litchfield, for the head of it. Previously Miss Beecher and her sister Mary (later Mrs. Thomas C. Perkins) had had a school on Asylum Street which in the four years since 1823 had increased in membership from seven to over a hundred. The corporation built near the corner of Main and Kinsley streets where the school remained till it removed to a new and still more suitable building on Pratt Street. Harriet Beecher was a pupil and remained as a teacher. So earnest were Catherine Beecher’s efforts in behalf of education for women that her health failed and she resigned in 1831, leaving her assistants to carry on her ideas in many parts of the country. John P. Brace, who afterward had a school in Litchfield, succeeded her. Subsequent teachers included Helen A. Swift, Mary M. Parker, Maria Jewell, Frances M. Strong, Anna Maria Parker, Miss N. S. Ranney, Mr. and Mrs. M. S. Crosby, William T. Gage and M. Louise Bacon. Miss Beecher, who had been unconscious of the similar work of Mrs. Willard (of Berlin) at Waterford and Troy, started another school in Cincinnati and, penetrating the Middle West with her methods, offered support and teachers for a number of towns where the seed she sowed yielded rich harvest. The trustees sold the local academy building to the Good Will Club in 1888.

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The times were more than ripe for a Henry Barnard. Special efforts were put forth in the '30s to improve conditions and to have a public high school, but it was almost a decade before the



LYDIA HUNTLEY
SIGOURNEY
(1791-1825)



SIGOURNEY MANSION, HARTFORD, 1820

Home of Lydia Huntley Sigourney, the poetess. Still used for special school purposes. Located west of present railroad tracks, south of Asylum Street. Was model for the Connecticut Building at the St. Louis Exposition



efforts were rewarded. The grammar school had improved but it was woefully wanting. Though a new building in 1828 had been a welcome sign, there still was lack of correlation. By 1838, however, Doctor Barnard's great work for schools in Connecticut and eventually in the United States had begun to bear fruit; he had brought about the opening of legislative eyes, and in 1838 his State Board of School Commissioners had evinced an interest in Hartford which was to culminate in 1847 in the opening of the Hartford English and Classical High School, the present Hartford Public High School.

The doctor had been a member of the local Board of School Visitors since 1840. He had advocated consolidation of the three districts into one; proper gradation; several schools for the youngest, with ample playgrounds; two or three secondary schools; two free high schools or two departments in one—one for the boys and one for the girls; admission on examination, and a preparatory classical course—the whole to be entrusted to an elective board, two-thirds to be elected annually, and to a superintendent who should devote all his time to overseeing and who should employ the teachers and “meet with them for instruction.” This plan had the hearty endorsement of Rev. George Burgess and Dr. Horace Bushnell, but when it went to the electorate politics and selfish considerations entered in, especially in the South District (according to Doctor Barnard), and that district's adverse vote was prohibitive.

In 1845 the agitation was resumed and two years later James M. Bunce, A. M. Collins and D. F. Robinson devoted most of their time to reorganizing in connection with the high school, the purpose being to bring about all the proposed changes most desired. Of these, consolidation was not one; there was a sentiment that the political evil in any one district might do the “leavening” for the whole three, and districts which were improving would be pulled down. It was a vigorous campaign the expense of which was borne by Mr. Bunce, and he gave \$1,000 toward the completion of the new building erected at the corner of Ann and Asylum streets. By arrangement the Hopkins Grammar School, as it was then known, became the classical department of the new school, limiting its pupils to thirty-five; Rector William Capron removed to the new building and continued till 1853 when he was

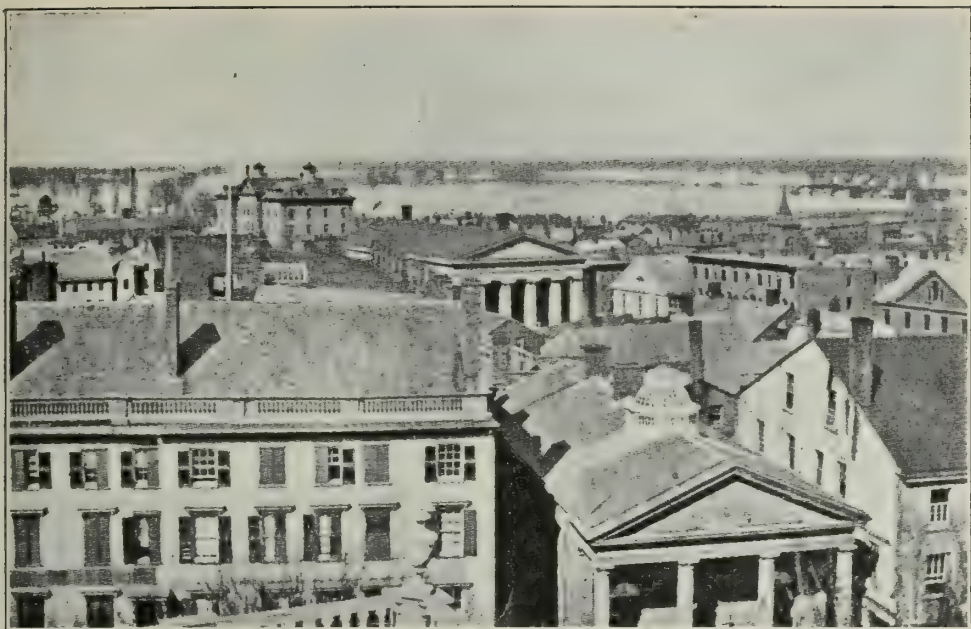
succeeded by his brother, S. M. Capron. Joshua D. Giddings served briefly as principal of the high school and was succeeded by Thomas K. Beecher, son of Dr. Lyman Beecher, who remained till 1850. His successor was H. A. Pratt, previously head of the Suffield Literary Institute. When S. M. Capron became principal in 1865, the trustees and the High School Committee arranged that he should have sole control of both schools—a principle which has been followed ever since. Joseph Hall succeeded Mr. Capron on the latter's death in 1874 and carried the history on till the era to be studied later. The second high school building, on the site of the present buildings on Hopkins Street, was built in 1869. This building was burned in 1882 and a new one was erected and ready for occupancy in 1884.

The districts were subdivided from time to time till they attained the present number of nine: First or Center, Brown School; South School; Henry Barnard School, Second North District; West Middle; Arsenal School; Washington Street; Southwest District; Northeast; Northwest.

Doctor Barnard, never ceasing in his work for education, meantime had brought about the establishing of the state's first normal school, at New Britain of which he had been superintendent from 1850 to 1854. He earlier had seen his Board of Commissioners abolished (in 1842) on recommendation of Governor Cleveland and revived thirteen years later with him once more as secretary, he having abandoned the profession of law; he had been in similar work in Rhode Island; he had gained new ideas in Europe and his influence was being felt throughout the country. His presidency of the University of Wisconsin in 1850-54 and of St. John's at Annapolis in 1867-70 and then his selection to serve from 1867 to 1870 as the first United States commissioner were to win him the title of the "Father of the Common School" while his vast amount of publications and his *Journal of Education* were to be recognized at Yale, Union and Harvard by their awarding the degree of LL. D. (His work is summarized in the period of 1900, the year of his death.)

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A literary club in the first quarter of the nineteenth century was reminiscent of the Hartford Wits. It had a few issues of its



LOOKING NORTHEAST, HARTFORD, ABOUT 1848

View from cupola of old statehouse. Buildings in foreground, reader's left to right: United States Hotel, Hartford Bank and Mitchell Building. At corner of Market and Kilbourn Streets behind is the old City Hall, where Police Department Building now stands. Beyond that the First District or Brown School Building. River was then at flood



(From sketch for English manufacturers of choice dinner plates)

HARTFORD ABOUT 1850

Taken from the east shore with little regard for perspective or proportions, but revealing warehouses long since past. Statehouse is conspicuous near the center. To the north of it: Old Fourth Congregational Church, Old First Baptist Church, Christ Church, New First Baptist Church and New Fourth Congregational Church. South of Statehouse: First Congregational Church, St. John's Church, Second Baptist Church and Second Congregational Church

Round Table, carrying productions of the members; it was not as brilliant as the vehicle of the Wits nor yet as sparkling as *Behind the Hedge* published from Woodland Street nearly a hundred years later, with a Beecherian and Perkinsian touch to it. Samuel G. Goodrich (1793-1860) during the years he was here, 1816-1822, the "Peter Parley" of the days when he was publishing in Boston, was the life of the club. His writings were many and varied, essays, stories, histories, poetry, and as a publisher he did no little in encouraging good literature. He served for a time as consul at Paris. The residence of his later days in Southbury and his grave in the cemetery nearby are visited by many who read his works on publication or whose interest in them has been revived. Other members of the club were Bishop J. M. Wainwright, Hon. Isaac Toucey, Judge S. H. Huntington, Jonathan Law and Col. William L. Stone who wrote history and biography.

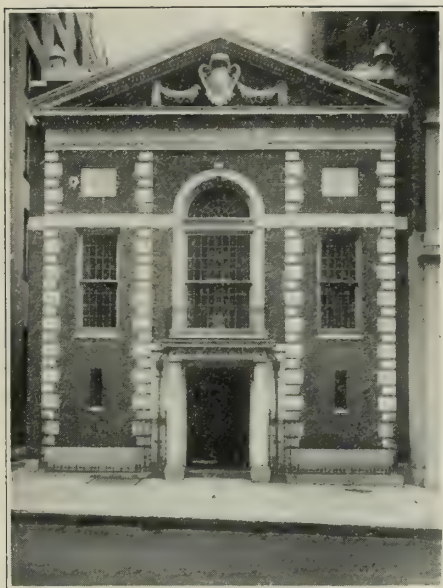
Lydia Huntley (Sigourney) (1791-1865) was the queen of America's "Annuals," "Memorials" and "Gifts" period, when college men wrote diaries of an intensely introspective character. One edition of her poems was published in England where she was referred to as another Hemans. Her "Past Meridian" is an example of more mature production. Percival and Mrs. Willard cannot be stolen from the Berlin section of this history. Brainard and Prentice have already appeared in the consecutive tale. The former found his best themes in nature along the Connecticut. John Greenleaf Whittier loved these scenes no less than he. Theodore Dwight the younger can be claimed by New York. The poems of Senator James Dixon (1814-1873) are the more remarkable in that they came from a man most active in professional and political life. Henry Howard Brownell (1820-1872), a native of Providence, a resident of East Hartford, has been mentioned but he must be included in this list for he was cut down before his impaired health would permit him to be classified with those of the '70s and '80s where he otherwise surely would have belonged.

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Value of interior navigation, emphasized by the embargoes, and astonishment at New Haven's and Farmington's plans to

filch Hartford's trade were occupying busy men's minds rather more than schools and colleges. The Wethersfield sandbars being mastered first by the Union Company in 1800, the thirty-foot Enfield falls had remained the only barrier to a sweep of the Connecticut up into Vermont. Massachusetts men were digging around the comparatively minor obstructions up-river. By poling the falls, trade had been good but it must be better. Plans had been started to overcome the handicap in Revolutionary days but they had not materialized. Enfield got the right to build a canal in 1798 and built a bridge instead. It required one man to every ton of freight to pole the falls, and the time required to make the round trip to Wells River was one month. In 1825 New York had opened the Erie canal and robbed Philadelphia of her chance to become the metropolis. New Haven, aided by Farmington, had a similar dream and its Farmington Canal Company, Inc., could easily tap the river trade at Northampton and after that go to the very northern boundaries with a waterway down through Farmington that would make New Haven the outlet for all central and western New England and eastern New York. The more men talked, the bigger the prospect.

Hartford, the "head of sloop navigation," could not be caught napping. Citizens assembled New Year's Day, 1824, at City Hotel, to discuss expediency. In May they held a charter for the Connecticut River Company to improve navigation from the city northwards—and to have steamboats, the latest thing in transportation, impossible on long canals since they would wash the banks away. The company held its meetings at Joseph Morgan's Coffee House, the hatchery of so many other great enterprises. David Porter, John Russ and Eliphalet Averill put out a circular descriptive of the virtue in "expeditious communication" from the Sound to Lake Memphremagog. All towns on the river sent delegates—Hartford's were Porter, William Ely, Alfred Smith and T. K. Brace—to a convention in Vermont; sites for factories the canal would make possible were checked up; the government was persuaded to send a "brigade" of engineers; 2,000,000 New Englanders, including Hartford's 7,000, were to be benefitted along the 219 miles of water in its descent of 420 feet. The cost of the improvements, including \$368,000 for the upper canals, would be \$1,500,000.



THE DIME SAVINGS BANK OF
HARTFORD



DIRECTORS' ROOM, DIME SAVINGS BANK, HARTFORD

Mural decorations copied from paintings of West Point and New York Bay in 1834,
by F. Zipelius and Eugene Ehrmann of Alsace

That implied financing. The Connecticut River Banking Company, being incorporated in 1825, at \$500,000, also began meeting at Morgan's, and at the same place had been associating since 1819 with the very successful men who in that year had organized the Aetna Insurance Company. There was coöperation. The insurance company remained there sixteen years and the bank four. Stress was laid on the employment of steamboats, for it was in the day when they were crowded into the list of the world's Seven Wonders. The first one in the state had been made here in 1818; Captain Pitkin, of notable ancestry, was making regular trips to Saybrook the next year, stopping anywhere to suit; the same year the Connecticut Steamboat Company had been chartered with Elisha Colt as clerk and was running a boat at six miles an hour "notwithstanding the wood was not seasoned"—tar gas making up for that. New York's monopoly of the waters in her vicinity was broken by the Supreme Court in 1824 and immediately the local company put into operation to and from that city a boat bearing the name of the former chief justice—*Oliver Ellsworth*.

In late November, 1826, the river company, with the seventy-five foot, stern-wheel *Barnet*, proved before the eyes of a good part of the 2,000,000 souls referred to that a boat could go from here to Bellows Falls, Vt., under its own steam, simply being boosted over Enfield Falls, on its initial voyage, by two scows lashed to it and poled. Newspapers of the day vied with each other in expressing their amazement. Everywhere the boat and President Alfred Smith were met with bands and salutes of bells and guns, and every day along the way "banquets" were waiting. After a few trips the boat was returned to New York. It was an historic demonstration, but steam had still other wonders in store.

The directors of the river company sent a commission in 1826 to England to investigate the portent of a railway train that had begun to run a few miles at the rate of six miles an hour. The commission found that so long as freight could be carried by the cheaper canal method four miles an hour there was no occasion to fear competition from the railroad. Immediately work was begun upon the canal which was opened in November, 1829, and the *Blanchard* and the *Vermont*, soon to be followed by a fleet of

good craft, made excellent time through the six miles of canal with its three locks at the lower end and one at the head. Prosperity reigned the length of the valley. Charles Dickens honored the enterprise in his "American Notes," whimsically describing his trip from Springfield in 1842 when he was feted in Hartford. But the six-miles-an-hour railroad enterprise was gaining in speed till in 1844 the New Haven line was extended to Springfield and the canal as a profit-making institution was doomed. Through succeeding generations, however, it has been of much use, while its water power attracted industries to Windsor Locks. In 1846 a large part of the town was much excited over a plan to continue the canal down to Hartford to furnish water for power, for fire purposes and for domestic use, and thereby make Hartford the great manufacturing city of New England. The cost would be \$965,000. The recommendation of the committee composed of Stephen Spencer, Leonard Kennedy and Denison Morgan, was not approved.

The Farmington Canal, begun in Granby in 1825, did not get to New Haven till 1829. The account of its rise and early fall is in the Farmington section of these volumes.

The River Banking Company became a wholly separate institution after the collapse of the canal business. Its original directors were Daniel Wadsworth, Thomas S. Williams, James H. Wells, William H. Imlay, Eliphalet Averill and Alfred Smith who was president of both companies and twice held the office for the bank. In 1829 the bank moved its offices to the east end of the block of buildings which Henry L. Ellsworth had erected along Central Row. In 1870 it went to the new building of the Charter Oak Life Insurance Company on Main Street; thence in 1887 to the southeast corner of Main and Pearl—during the presidency of Samuel E. Elmore who held office thirty-eight years—and thence in 1913 to its present quarters in the Travelers building, close by the Travelers Bank and Trust Company, its affiliated institution (1913) of which President L. Marsden Hubbard of the "River Bank" is also president. To the vice president, Henry W. Erving, the world is indebted for collecting the interesting items of the romantic canal history in his book on the bank.



INTERIOR SOCIETY FOR SAVINGS, PRATT STREET,
HARTFORD

We have seen that the first bank was associated with insurance, that the second was for developing inland trade and the third to promote river navigation. Those which followed may well be taken as index of the good that resulted—along with the savings bank—and of the obstacles that had to be overcome, political and otherwise. The Farmers and Mechanics, chartered in 1833, was expressly for the purpose of providing more capital for increasing business. The list of incorporators includes some names already prominent in public affairs and others of those which were to become so—men like James T. Pratt, Job Allyn, Horace Goodwin, 2d, Albert Day, A. H. Pomeroy, Solomon Porter, Nathan Johnson, Henry and Walter Keney, Julius Catlin, Roland Mather, George C. Collins, David Clark and Ellery Hills. Their capital was half a million and they were not asked to provide a bonus. The same year the secretary of the treasury removed from Middletown to Hartford the United States depository in lieu of a branch bank. James Dodd was the president of the new bank.

President Jackson was beginning those attacks upon the federal banking system which were to precipitate a great panic. The Government was inquiring to see how many state banks would receive Government deposits and render the service the United States Bank and its branches were now giving. The new bank was designated a branch bank. In another year, reviewing the "derangement of currency" and destruction of confidence which was producing industrial and commercial depression, the helpful petition for a charter for the Exchange Bank, with half a million capital, was accepted (on the furnishing of the bonus previously referred to for the encouragement of the silk industry and the Capitol fence). Of this bank Roderick Terry was president.

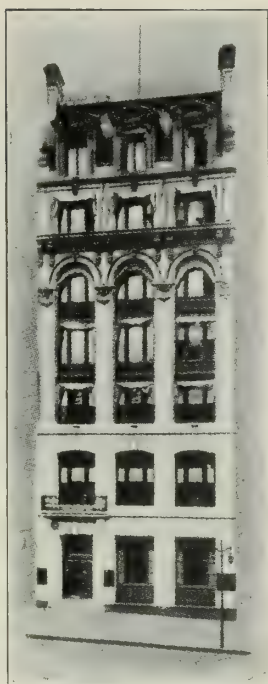
During the administration of Van Buren as well as of Jackson, financial interests continued much disturbed, reaching one climax May 10, 1837, when specie payment had to be suspended. In following suit, as they were obliged to, the Hartford banks, preeminently sound, agreed to recognize each other's bills; they had \$4 due them on every dollar outstanding. Although a year later, there was general resumption, the evil effects were felt for years. The State Bank (giving a bonus of \$10,000 for the

first normal school) and the City Bank were organized in 1849 and 1851. In 1852 the Legislature followed the example of New York with an act to make banking free to anybody, securities to be deposited with the state against the circulation of the banks and the treasurer to issue the currency to the banks thus organized. Three banks were established under this plan—the Bank of Hartford County (later the American National) in 1852, the Charter Oak in 1853 and the Mercantile in 1854. These banks were allowed to retain their charters under the old system by paying a 2 per cent bonus in 1855 when this unsatisfactory law was repealed.

Such was the demand for currency, especially for railroad building in the West, that the Connecticut banks passed through an experience exceedingly complimentary to them but a bit embarrassing for their home patrons. The great promoters of roads pledged their all for loans of currency in the East, negotiating most of the loans in Hartford. They marked the Connecticut bills for identification, locked them up for convenient periods and shipped reimbursement when hearing that the currency had come in for redemption. This was convenient for the banks and the large borrowers but not for the local people, so in 1855 the Legislature put a stop to “protected circulation” and allowed the banks to loan out of the state not to exceed one-quarter of their capital, deposits and notes issued. Following this, the Aetna and the Merchants and Manufacturers (today the First National) obtained charters in the summer of 1857 with utmost encouragement but what proved to be on the very eve of the collapse of the highly speculative market when railroad securities dropped with the rest, failures were many and in this state alone outstanding circulation fell from ten millions to six. New York banks suspended specie payment in October, the Hartford banks, except the Connecticut River, did the same the following day. At the critical moment the Bank Commissioners, by court direction, had brought the County, Charter Oak, Mercantile and Exchange Banks into the hands of receivers, and kept them there till wholly able to go on. With the resumption of specie payment in December, confidence returned and continued till the Civil war brought its terrors. Of the conduct of the Hartford banks in that tremendous emergency, Rowland Swift wrote: “To the extent of their utmost ability, they gave their coöperation at every issue upon



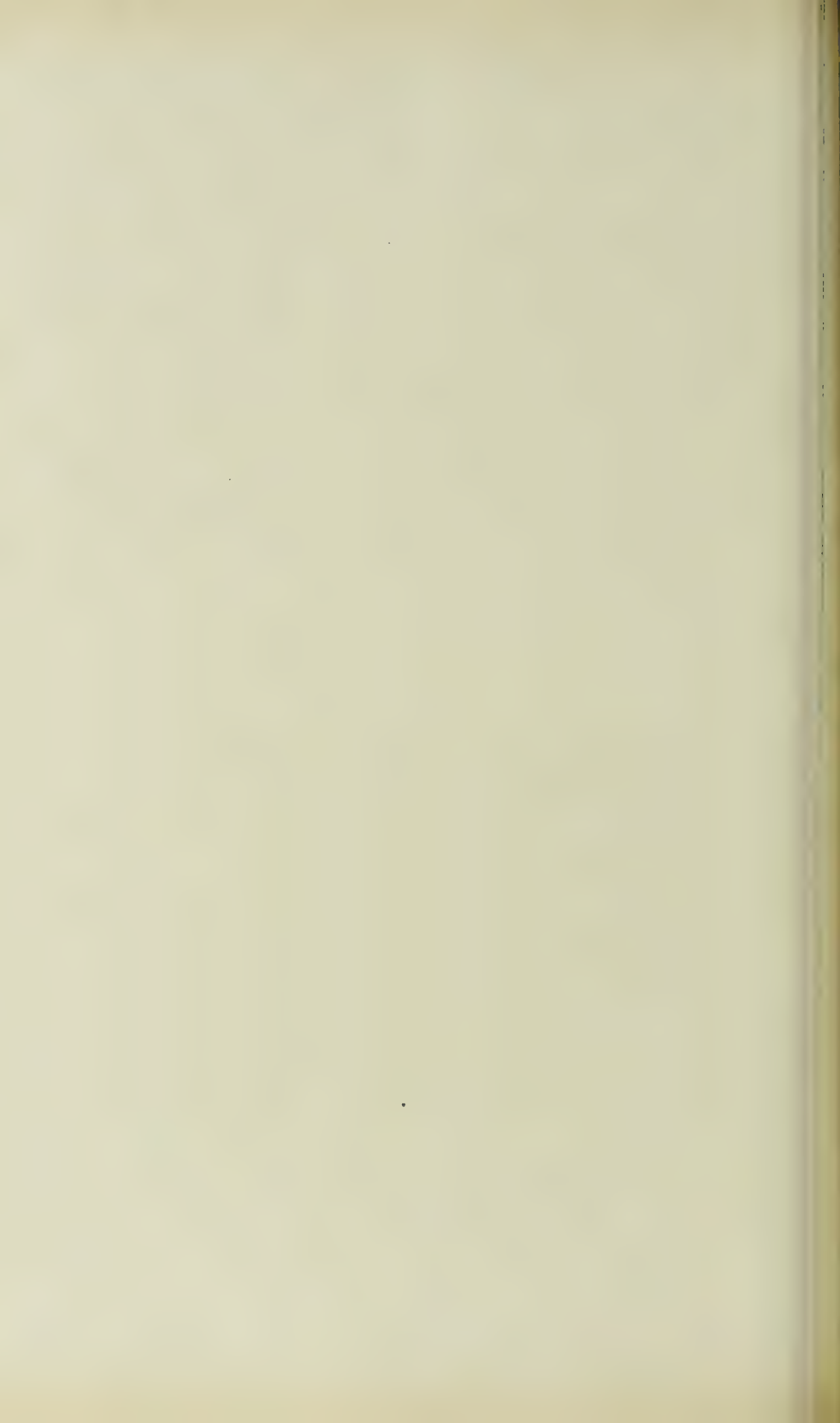
STATE SAVINGS BANK, HARTFORD



FIRST NATIONAL
BANK, HARTFORD



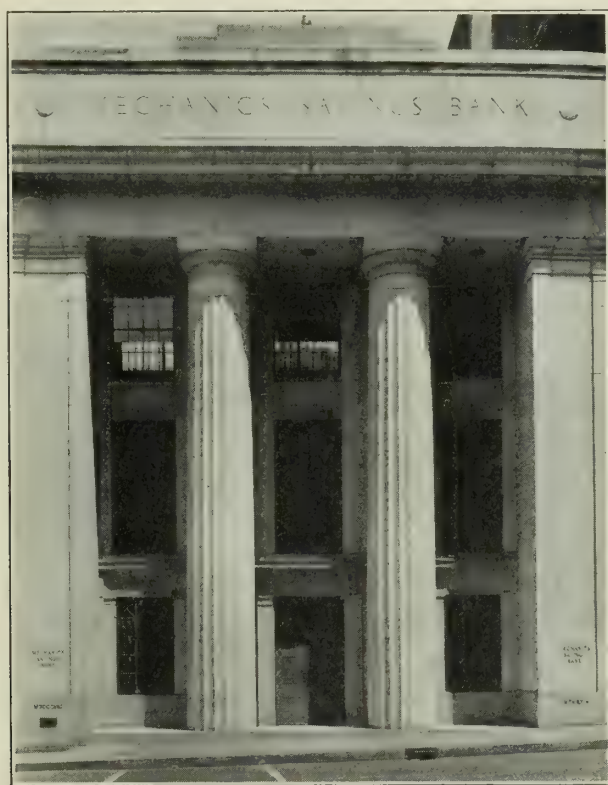
CONNECTICUT RIVER BANKING COMPANY (LEFT) AND
TRAVELERS BANK AND TRUST COMPANY (RIGHT),
HARTFORD



the national credit; and the same may be said of their ready help in every similar emergency of our own state."

A bank was added to the county list in New Britain in 1860 which reorganized as a national bank in 1865. The Merchants and Manufacturers became the First National under the national currency act of that year, and soon after all the banks were in line except the State and the Connecticut River which retained their state charters. The Bank of Hartford County changed its name to the American National. The Suffield National Bank had come into existence in 1864. Twenty years later all the banks renewed their charters for a like term except the City which went back to the old form.

The State Savings Bank was organized in 1858, the Mechanics in 1861, and the Dime in 1870, and all, as will be seen in these volumes, have buildings which, like the banks themselves, are a credit to the city.



MECHANICS SAVINGS BANK, PEARL STREET,
HARTFORD

XXIII

STEAM'S REVOLUTION

RAILROAD PIONEERS MORGAN, GOODWIN, PHELPS, DAY AND OTHERS—
COINCIDENT CHURCH DEVELOPMENT—HORACE BUSHNELL—CATH-
OLICS AND JEWS VIGOROUS.

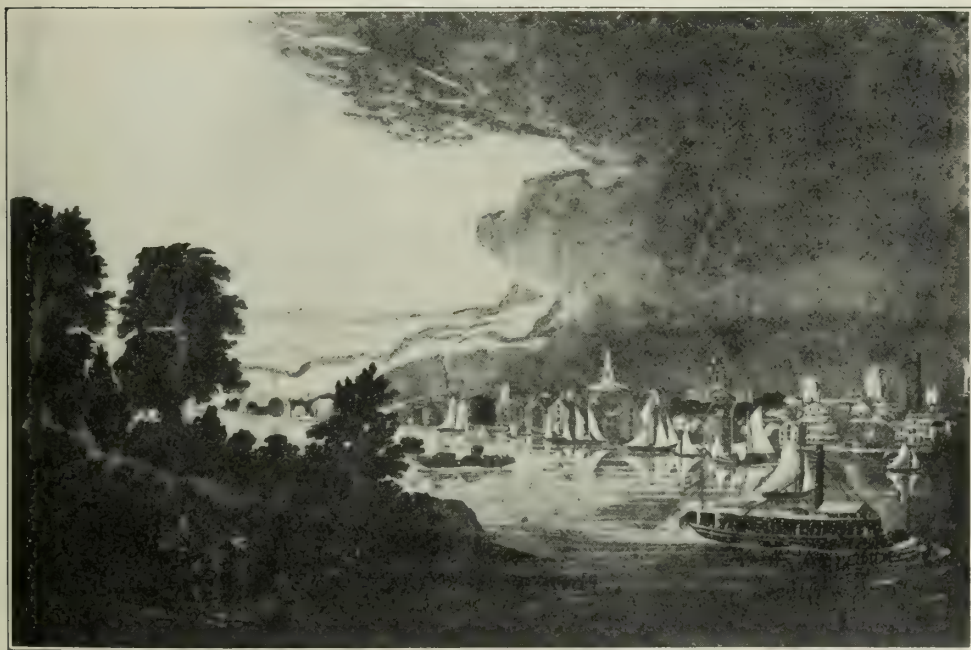
The revolution caused by steam was no less thrilling than that in the last days of the century caused by electricity and the automobiles. It aroused more combativeness. The first steamboat to New York, in 1824, has been mentioned. The Jacob and Cornelius Vanderbilt line entered into competition and fought for supremacy for four years. The lines of packets to the more distant ports held their trade for a considerable time. By 1839 when a railroad had been opened from Boston to Worcester, one could leave Hartford at 4 in the morning by coach to Worcester and be in Boston at 6 in the evening, "J. Goodwin Jr., & Company, agents." Another favorite line was by coach to Albany and thence by boat to New York. Edson Fessenden was agent for the line as far as New Hartford. That year saw the steam road from New Haven to Hartford completed. Much printer's ink and oratory had been wasted by the turnpike men to prevent the granting of the charter; the work had been opposed step by step. President Jackson himself had said that railroads would prove an evil because they would drive out horses.

The crude road was completed to Springfield in 1844. The local station was on Little River at the foot of Mulberry Street, the Springfield line forming the north arm of a letter Y. Till the line from New York to New Haven was completed in 1848, passage from New Haven was by boat. The first Asylum Street station was opened in 1849. The road from New Haven to Plainville was completed in 1848 and through Farmington to Turner's Falls in 1881; that to Fenwick in 1872, and there were branch roads to Middletown, New Britain, Suffield and Canaan. The



(Collection of Morgan B. Brainard)

HARTFORD, FROM THE DEAF AND DUMB ASYLUM, 1849



HARTFORD, FROM EAST SIDE OF THE CONNECTICUT RIVER, 1841

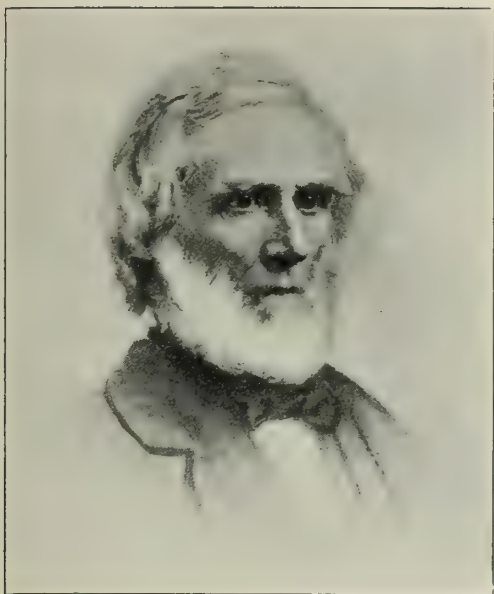
Manchester Railroad Company was incorporated in 1833 but this road east was not built till the Hartford & Providence secured the charter in 1847. A company for a New York line by way of Danbury merged with the Hartford & Providence (which was open to Willimantic in 1849), and carried the line through to Bristol in 1850; to Providence in 1854; to Waterbury in 1855, and was surrendered to trustees in 1858 who ran the line the following twenty years. The Boston, Hartford & Erie, incorporated in 1863, bought a majority of the stock of this Hartford, Providence & Fishkill, but did not cover the bonds. Three years later, with mortgage on the roads including the Hartford, Providence & Fishkill arranged by the trustees, the Boston, Hartford & Erie issued \$20,000,000 in bonds. These were subject to the first mortgage of the Hartford, Providence & Fishkill prior to the Boston, Hartford & Erie purchase. The trustees under the \$20,000,000 or Berdell mortgage in 1871 took over the Boston, Hartford & Providence together with the right to wipe out the mortgage of the Hartford, Providence & Fishkill. In 1872 the Erie had completed the road through to Boston. The following year the New York & New England was incorporated for the amount of the Berdell bonds and it bought all rights of redemption of the Providence line. By borrowing of individuals it liquidated the first mortgage bonds of the Providence line and acquired the property. The road was put through to the Hudson in 1881. The returns being insufficient, the road went into the hands of a receiver—C. P. Clark, recently second vice president of the New York, New Haven & Hartford—December 31, 1883, and in two years was able to pay all obligations. Step by step the "New Haven" came to acquire all the roads in Southern New England and the control of the Connecticut Western (1872) which runs from Hartford to Rhinecliff on the Hudson. This includes Hartford to Winsted by way of Plainville, New Britain to Berlin, Hartford to Westfield, Mass., Hartford to Broad Brook, and Hartford to Tariffville and Suffield, and also the Hartford & New York Transportation Company or the line of freight and passenger steamers and tugs. Trolley and bus lines are likewise included.

Such is the summary of many years of effort to keep pace with the rapidly increasing demands, of the competition for control

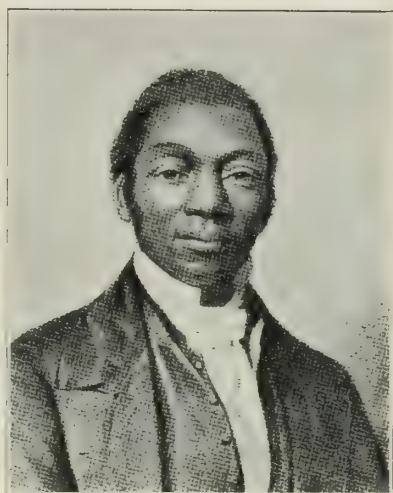
and, by the same token, of the enormous amounts required for construction through the rough territory, involving at times the ruin of many individuals but, thanks to patience and courage, bringing everything through well for transportation and industry and retaining the management within the state.

Many of the men foremost in banking, insurance and trade were intimately concerned in these enterprises. The "J. Goodwin, Jr." (1803-1878), descendant of the early settler Ozias, and son of James, began his career as clerk for Joseph Morgan whose daughter Lucy he married. At twenty-one he had been proprietor of the mail stages running east of Hartford, all of which and several others he disposed of when he entered into the railroad projects and became a director of the Hartford & New Haven. In insurance he was president of the Connecticut Mutual Life for many years and until his death and a director in the Hartford Fire, while at the same time associated with the leading industries of the county, promoter of the hospital, trustee of Trinity College and vestryman in Christ Church.

Joseph Morgan, in the line of the Springfield pioneer Miles Morgan and proprietor of the coffee house bearing his name, had been a promoter in banking and insurance. He married the daughter of Rev. John Pierpont of Boston whose name was hardly second to that of "Peter Parley" as a writer of books in general use in the schools but was to get still wider fame when given to descendants of Mr. Morgan of the third and fourth generations. Joseph's son, Junius Spencer Morgan (1813-1900), soon after his birth came to Hartford with his father. After banking experience in Boston and New York he returned here as junior partner in the drygoods house of Howe, Mather & Company and continued the business with J. M. Beebe and, in Boston also, as Morgan & Company. In 1854 he was made junior partner of the firm of George Peabody & Company of London which, on the retirement of Mr. Peabody, was J. S. Morgan & Company, the great financial house continued by his sons and grandson. The part played by all of the family through these and the later years of the railroads was conspicuous. The section of Farmington Avenue in the vicinity of the present cathedral was known as Morgan's farms. There in 1840 Junius built a residence for his son, John Pierpont, who had been born in a



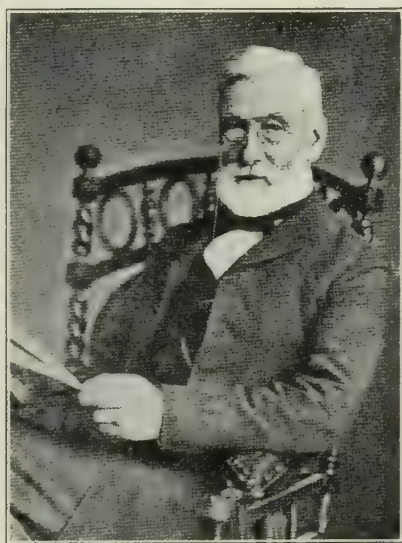
THE REV. DR. HORACE BUSHNELL
(1802-1876)



THE REV. J. W. PENNINGTON
Fugitive Slave Pastor Colored
Congregation, 1833



REV. JOHN BRADY
Pastor of the first Roman Catholic
Church in Connecticut, 1837



THE REV. WILLIAM W.
PATTON, D. D.
Installed pastor of the Fourth Con-
gregational Church in 1846

building recently replaced opposite the present Allyn House. It was in honor of his father that John Pierpont Morgan built the memorial here, described later on.

Anson G. Phelps (1781-1853), of the firm of Phelps, Dodge & Company of New York when he died, was a native of Simsbury, a descendant of Rev. Timothy Woodbridge. Since 1815 he had been associated with Elisha Peck, also of Hartford, in the New York management of large packet lines. He had much to do with the transportation development in an advisory capacity, always with Hartford's interests at heart. Amos R. Eno and John J. Phelps, other natives of Simsbury—men who had been clerks in Caleb Goodwin's drygoods store here before they went to New York—were greatly interested. William H. Imlay (1780-1858), son of the very wealthy William Imlay of the earlier generation, proprietor of Imlay's Mills and promoter of timber enterprises in Michigan, subscribed \$50,000 for the Hartford & Willimantic road, the largest of all the subscriptions. The tract of land known as Nook Farm he owned and sold in 1855 to Francis Gillette and John Hooker (as elsewhere told) to develop. Samuel Tudor (1770-1862), with Philo Hillyer in the importing business, was an earnest supporter.

Amos M. Collins (1788-1858), born in Litchfield and remembered best for his benefactions, of whom Doctor Bushnell said, "There is almost nothing here that has not felt somehow his power, nothing good which has not someway profited by his beneficence," was another who appreciated what the railroad must be to Hartford and worked for its development. His son, William L. Collins (1812-1865), his partner in the mercantile business which later was Collins Brothers & Company, gave substantial endorsement as also to the street railway later and to the park system. Another son, Erastus, who carried the firm along to Collins, Fenn & Company, was no less enthusiastic in this than he was in organizing the city's charities. Henry A. Perkins (1801-1874), son of Enoch Perkins and president of the Hartford Bank from 1853 till his death, was a wise counsellor.

Calvin Day (1803-1884) had helped make Hartford a great distributing center for drygoods, beginning when he arrived here in 1820. With his older brother Albert (lieutenant governor in 1856) the firm name was A. & C. Day and at the time of his re-

tirement in 1862, Day, Owen & Company. He was one of the prime movers in pursuing the very discouraging business of building the Providence road. In insurance and banking he also was prominent; he was for years president of the School for the Deaf and for forty-two years was successively secretary and president of the Atheneum. Charles H. Northam (1797-1881) is a name still well remembered in the steamboat lines. Colchester was the place of his birth. Part of his life was spent in the West India trade, at one time in partnership with M. W. Chapin. When he took the Norfolk and Richmond line, Mr. Chapin continued the Philadelphia packets. During his presidency, the Connecticut River Steamboat Company gained in popularity. He was president of the Mercantile Bank from 1862 till his death. It was the period when Charles M. Beach (1826-1910) of West Hartford, son of George Beach, was building a dyestuffs trade with his two brothers, George and J. Watson. He continued in the firm of Beach & Company till his death, meantime establishing what is still one of the largest dairy farms in the county. His interests in manufacturing and in finance led him to association with those building the roads. William R. Cone, president of the Atheneum, the Retreat and the Aetna Bank, was general counsel for the "New Haven."

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There necessarily is frequent reference in the history of this interesting period to Rev. Dr. Horace Bushnell (1802-1876). With all his preeminence as a theologian, he concerned himself about everything that was for the advancement of the community. His memory is preserved today by a grateful people in the name of its most central park and by his descendants in the name given the beautiful hall and auditorium now becoming a connecting link with the state group on Capitol Hill. He was born in New Preston. After graduating at Yale in 1827 he had experience in newspaper work and in teaching before returning to Yale as a tutor. His intention to study law was changed in 1831 when he began to prepare for the ministry. Young as he was, the North Congregational Church called him in 1833 and in his twenty-six years of service there he held the love and loyalty of a unanimous membership even in days when others would have

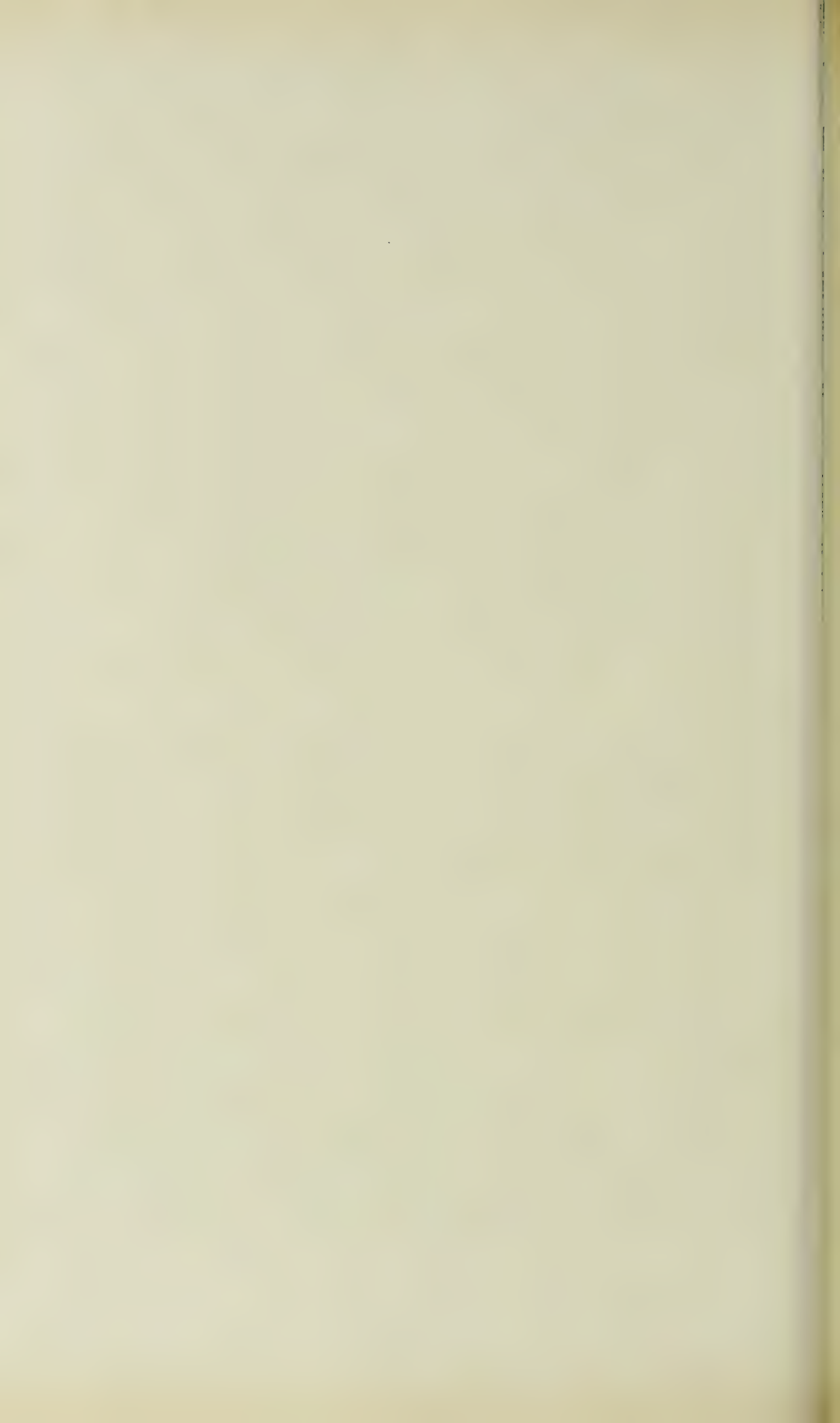


SOUTH CHURCH, MAIN STREET, HARTFORD



BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE SOUTH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,
HARTFORD, 1870

Rev. Dr. Edward Pond Parker speaking



had him put outside the pale. He was once tried for heresy but the council would not convict him. When his physical condition compelled him to retire from the ministry, his congregation signed a paper pledging to support him whether he was able to work or not. His remaining years he devoted to writing the books which have given him such high standing in the world at large, especially his "Christian Nature," "Nature and the Supernatural," "God in Christ" and "Christ in Theology." Rev. Dr. George L. Clark in his history of Connecticut says: "It is scarcely too much to say that this commonwealth has produced more theologians than all the rest of the country," and among them he ranks Jonathan Edwards and Doctor Bushnell the foremost. The North Church was organized in September, 1824, by members of the overcrowded First Church. (The third society from that church was the one that was formed in East Hartford.) The first house of worship for the North was at the corner of Main and Morgan streets whence it removed in 1866, during the pastorate of George B. Spalding, to a new edifice on Asylum Street at the corner of High, taking the name of Park Church. In 1899, as will be told, it combined with the Farmington Avenue Church, which had been the Pearl Street Church, and the name became Imanuel.

After the First Church had built its present impressive edifice nearly on the site of the old one, in 1807, the people of the Second Church began to talk of doing likewise, but it was not till after the North Church had struck out for itself that the idea materialized, during the pastorate of Rev. J. H. Lindley. The handsome new structure, on the corner of Main and Buckingham streets, was dedicated April 11, 1827, and though it has been visited with fires (serious ones in 1884 and 1922) it continues one of the most effective, architecturally and spiritually, in the state.

The Fourth Congregational was the outcome in the early '30s of a missionary spirit during the great revival, together with the interest of those who felt they could not afford to pay the prices for pews in the older churches. Their first formal meeting place was in the former Baptist Church on Dorr (Market) Street. It was opened for services in January, 1831, and the church soon was joined by certain members from the sister churches which appreciated the service being rendered. It was

called the Free Church. In 1838 it was necessary to begin renting pews as there was a prejudice against paying nothing. The name Fourth Congregational was then taken. It removed to Main Street, north of Pratt, to what later was known as the Melodeon Building. In 1850, in the pastorate of Rev. William W. Patton, a large church was built on Main Street near Trumbull, to continue till in 1914 the present structure was erected at the corner of Albany Avenue and Vine Street, of choicest colonial design. The Talcott Street Church was organized in 1833, but had no regular pastor, ministers of the First and Second officiating, till 1840 when Rev. J. W. C. Pennington was installed.

Suffield Baptists formed the first Baptist church at the home of John Bolles. Rev. Stephen Smith Nelson was the first pastor, in 1796, and the first church was built at the corner of Temple and Market streets. A new church was erected on Main Street later Tuoro Hall—in 1831. The next removal was to the large brownstone edifice at the corner of Main and Morgan streets which was adequate for the increasing membership till the Central Baptist Church was built on Main and Elm streets in 1927. Meantime the South Baptist had been organized in 1834 and during the pastorate of Rev. Dr. Gustavus F. Davis had been brought into high place in the community. Its first building was at the corner of Main and Sheldon streets; its second, with stately spire, north of the old site on Main Street. These two churches united to build the Central Church.

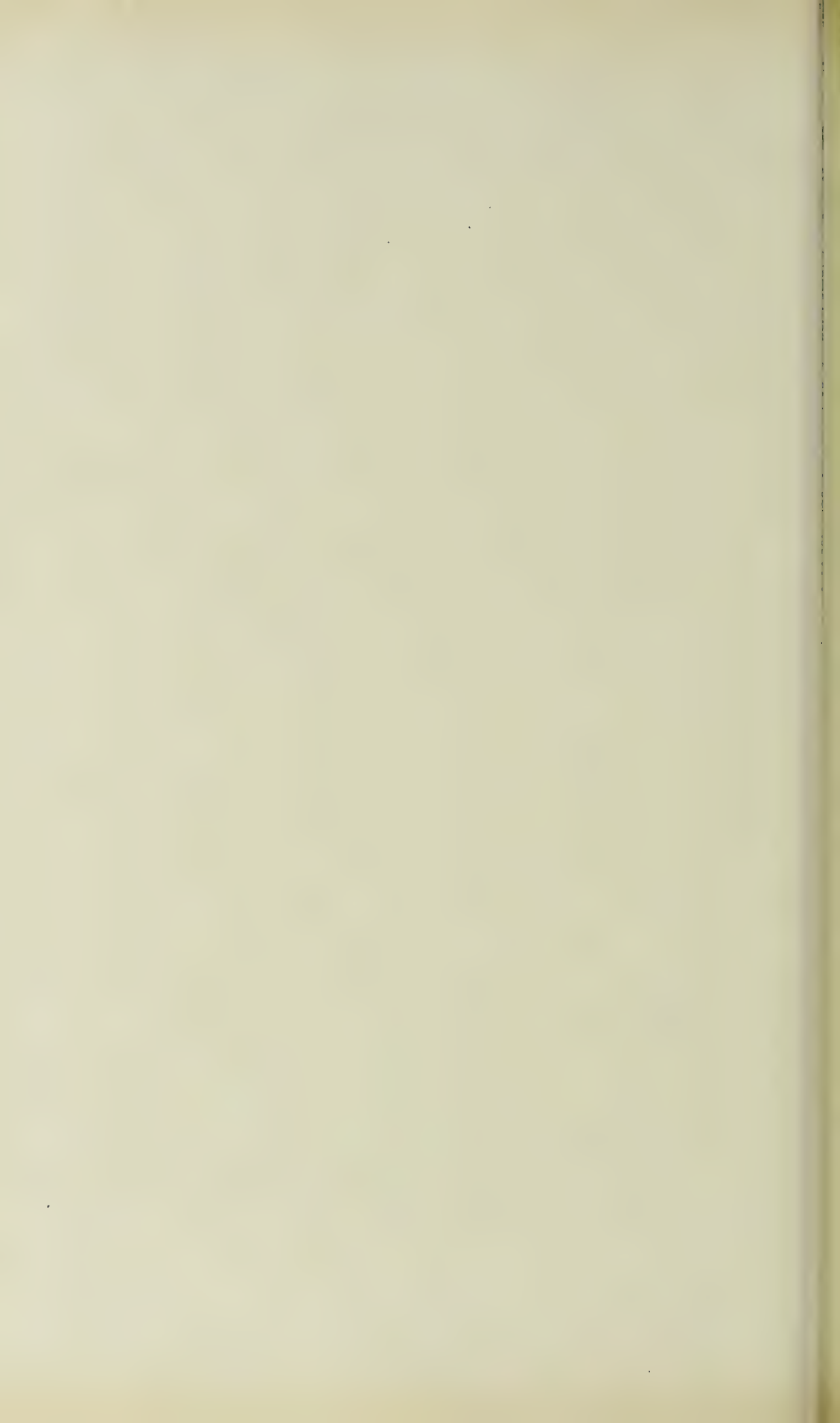
The new edifice for Christ Church in 1821 has been mentioned. St. John's Church was built in 1842; Bishop Williams was consecrated there in 1851. The church was torn down in 1907 to make way for the Civic Group and a new one built, far out on Farmington Avenue, which with its new addition is one of the most attractive in the county. St. Paul's Church was built in 1854 as a missionary enterprise—work which later was divided among all the Episcopal churches. Trinity parish was established in 1859 and for its use the Unitarian Church on Asylum Street was moved to Sigourney Street. The chancel was added in 1875 and the rectory in 1882. During the incumbency of Rev. Francis Goodwin, from 1865 to 1871, a chapel was built for the mission. An Episcopal Sunday School developed into the parish of the Church of the Good Shepherd to which Mrs. Samuel Colt



SOUTH PARK CHURCH, HARTFORD



CENTRAL BAPTIST CHURCH, HARTFORD



in 1867 gave the artistic edifice in the neighborhood of Colt's factory in memory of her husband, and afterward the parish house in memory of her son, Commodore Caldwell Colt. The church had the first chimes in the city. Rev. Prof. J. T. Huntington started a Sunday School in the cabinet of Trinity College which developed into a parish known as St. James' after 1878 with edifice at the corner of Park and Washington streets, dedicated in 1868. The mission in the north part of the city led to the building in 1872 of St. Thomas' Church on land given by Mrs. William Mather as a memorial to Bishop Brownell. General institutions were developed, all contributing to the advancement of the church and the community, like the Widows' Home on Market Street, gift of George Beach in 1860; the Church House, Bellevue Street, 1876; church schools; the Church City Mission Society, 1850, and the Church Guild of Hartford, 1867.

Methodism was introduced by Rev. Jesse Lee and others and in 1790 the first society was formed here. Interest waned till 1820 when Evangelist J. N. Maffit came, a chapel was built at the corner of Trumbull and Chapel streets and Benoni English was appointed pastor. A church was built on Asylum Street in 1860, predecessor of the structure on the corner of Farmington Avenue and South Whitney Street, dedicated in 1905. The North Methodist began with a chapel on Windsor Avenue in 1871; the cornerstone of its present building on the corner of Albany Avenue and Woodland Street was laid in December, 1919. The South Park Methodist Church was organized in 1869 as a mission and its church near Barnard Park was built in 1875. The African Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1836 and its church was built in 1857 on the Pearl Street site now occupied by the Fire Department's main building. While there had been meetings of Universalists, at the State House and elsewhere since the 1790s, the Rev. Richard Carrique in 1821 began with services there and sometimes in the Second Church, whose members voted that there should not be such preaching regularly. Thereupon sixty members of the church joined with the Universalists in erecting their building on Central Row in 1822. The dedication sermon was preached by Hosea Ballou. The edifice, the Church of the Redeemer, opposite the First Church, on

Main Street, was built in 1860, and the cruciform edifice on Asylum Hill in 1906.

In April, 1830, a Unitarian Association was formed by prominent men at the residence of James H. Wells. The First Unitarian Congregational Society was organized in July, 1844, and Rev. Joseph Harrington was the first minister. The church, which was built in 1845 at the northeast corner of Asylum and Trumbull streets, was the one which was removed, stone by stone, in 1860, for building Trinity Church. In 1879 the society was reorganized and Unity Church and Hall was built on Pratt Street. Now the house of worship is on Pearl Street.

Those of Presbyterian convictions in the Congregational churches held their first assemblage in Washington Temperance Hall in 1850. In 1852 the former South Baptist Church, at the corner of Main and Sheldon streets, was bought, during the pastorate of Rev. Thomas S. Childs. Ten years later, because musical instruments had been introduced, part of the congregation left to form the United Presbyterian Church, which, however, was continued only seven years, most of the members returning. Interest being revived under the pastorate of Rev. J. Aspinwall Hodge, a new stone church was built on the corner of College (now Capitol Avenue) and Clinton Street in 1870.

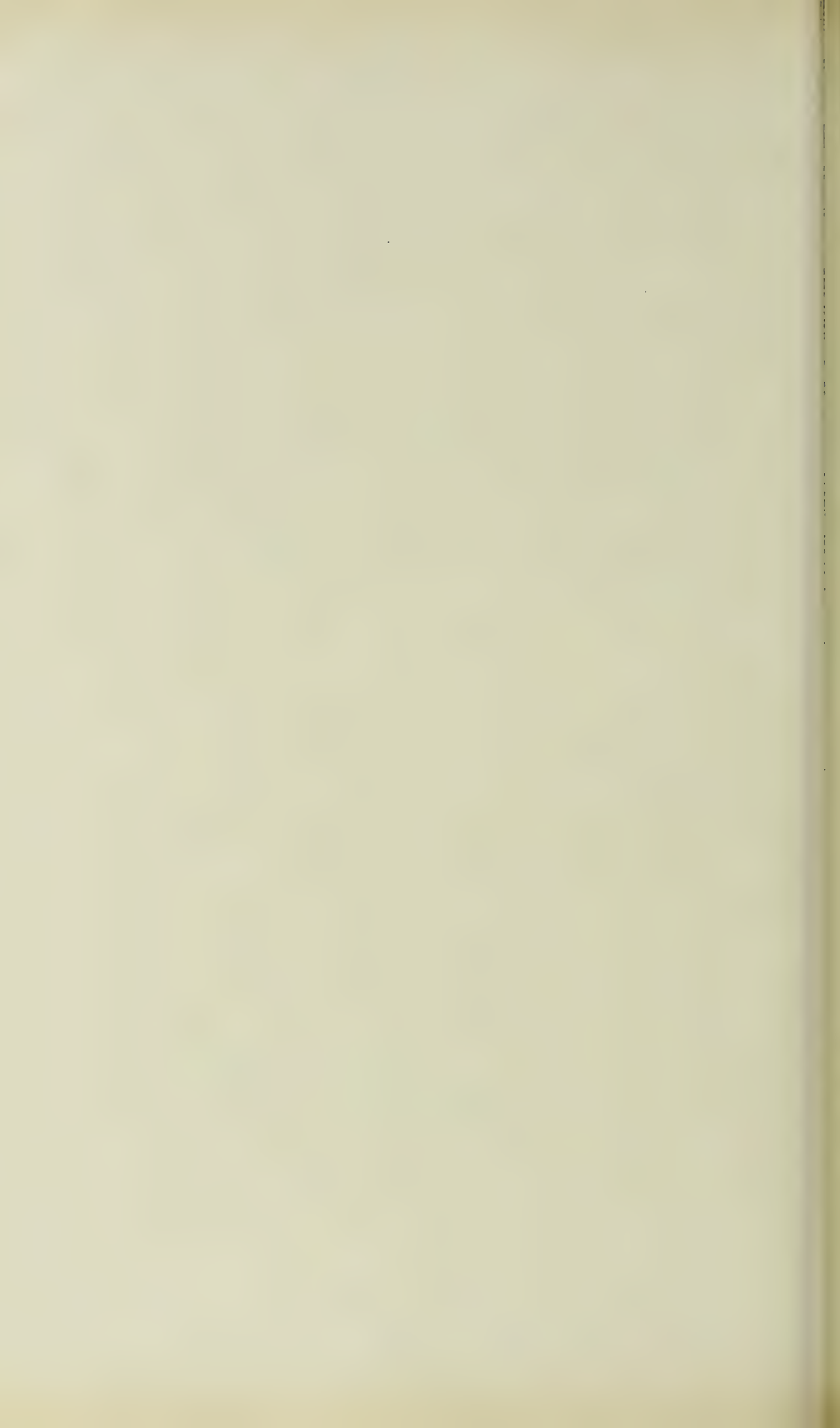
This summary denotes not only the increase and variety of interest in religious matters during the comparatively long period of peace but also the increase in numbers and wealth and the diversification in population. Very strong evidence of this is furnished in the firm, constant development of the Roman Catholic Church which, despite the loyalty and high standing of many of its members in the trying times of the Revolution, had been judged more or less in the light of colonial experiences with its French representatives in Canada. New England naturally inherited more of this criticism than the colonies further south. The first diocesan see in America was established in Baltimore in 1789. Boston was one of the four sees when in 1843 Connecticut and Rhode Island were made a new diocese. Hartford was designated the episcopal city and Bishop William Tyler came here in April, 1844, but in a few months obtained permission to remove the residence to the larger city of Providence. In Con-



OLIVET BAPTIST CHURCH, HARTFORD



ASYLUM AVENUE BAPTIST CHURCH, HARTFORD



necticut there were three priests, four church buildings and about 5,000 communicants, most of them Irish but a number of them, like Bishop Tyler, New England converts from Protestantism.

When Rochambeau's forces were halting in East Hartford, in 1781, Abbé Robin had celebrated mass in the Colt meadows, the first service of the kind in the county. In 1813, on invitation of Rev. Dr. Strong, Rev. Dr. Matignon, a refugee from France, then stationed at Boston and stopping over on a journey to New York, had preached at the First Church on a Sunday evening. When Bishop Chevrus came here in 1823, Col. James Ward and Samuel Tudor had obtained permission for him to hold services in the State House. Rev. R. D. Woodley who came as the first resident priest in Connecticut, in 1828, was a nephew of Bishop Fenwick of Boston. The parish jurisdiction extended into Vermont and New Hampshire. In 1830 Rev. James Fitton was the appointed pastor.

The building Christ Church was about to replace in 1828 was moved to the north side of Talcott Street and, under the title of the Most Holy Church of the Trinity, was made the first Catholic church in the state. A parochial school and a Catholic journal were instituted, the journal to go to Philadelphia as the *Catholic Herald* in 1832. There was unceasing activity. A residence was built for Father Brady, a cemetery was provided at the western end of North Cemetery and temperance and literary societies organized. St. Patrick's Church at the corner of Church and Ann streets was built in 1849. A convent was established near the present cathedral in 1855, with the Sisters of Mercy in charge. James Hughes as vicar-general came from Providence in 1854. Among his first works was the building of an orphan asylum near the church, another for boys, and a parochial school. Bishop Francis P. McFarland divided the city into north and south parishes in 1859 and, the old South Side schoolhouse having been bought, Rev. Peter Kelly who had been appointed at the same time, was immediately in charge of the new parish of St. Peter's. It was in the pastorate of Rev. John Lynch, in 1865, that a stone church was built around this wooden one, and the ample provisions for a constantly growing parish have been provided from time to time ever since. Bishop McFarland in 1872

removed his residence to Hartford when the new diocese of Providence was created, to embrace Rhode Island and part of Massachusetts, and made his home on the corner of Woodland and Collins streets. That summer he bought a site for the cathedral, a portion of the Morgan farm then owned by Maj. James Goodwin. The cornerstone was laid the next year and the chapel completed the following year, after which the parish of St. Joseph's was formed. All the other features of the great work which had been inaugurated were progressing rapidly when Bishop McFarland, now sainted in local memory, died. October 12, 1874. The following era falls within the later review in these volumes.

The Jews are first mentioned in the town records of 1661. The few of the faithful here in 1847 organized as the Congregation Beth Israel, established their first church at the corner of Main and Wells streets and later acquired the building from which the Baptists had removed in 1831. This was named Tuoro Hall. It was on the site of the present Brown, Thomson & Company building which was built in the '70s as the Cheney Building, the largest and finest structure of its kind in the city for many years. The synagogue on Charter Oak Street carries on the history to the later era.



ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, HARTFORD

XXIV

FIRST LIFE INSURANCE

PRINCIPLES INVOLVED—BEGINNING OF COLT'S AND JEWELL'S PLANTS—
SHARPS AND SPENCER RIFLES—WEED SEWING MACHINES—FIRST
WATER SUPPLY—FIRE AND POLICE DEPARTMENTS.

In these days of marvelous facilities for quick communication and rapid transportation by land, sea and air, one may not wonder that individual men can be concerned in many enterprises, and one is prone to visualize the mid-century founders of many of the institutions today as gentlemen of comparative leisure with mind and effort directed toward some one particular thing. It cannot be harmful—other than to this or that one's personal pride—to observe that the standard for multiplicity and variety of interests, and saying nothing of the great political and economic problems of government, was at least as high and remarkable as at any time since those '30s to '60s of the nineteenth century. The list of names was short compared with what was evolved. And of what was evolved, nothing since the Constitution has brought the city greater fame than insurance. It required no favor of climate or commercial location; it required genius, of course, for it was a new thing, but it required also financial courage, a strict abstention from plunging and the power and will to fulfill promise.

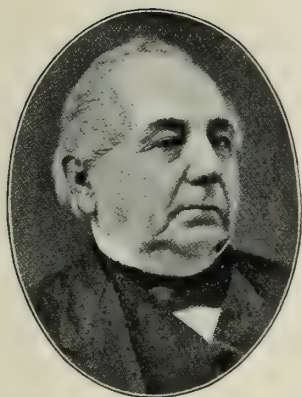
The history of each company today has been written voluminously and in technical detail, marking each its own triumphal progress; the object of town and county history is to mark the still greater wonder of the blending in. The '30s to '60s show it. They show also the learning of fundamental lessons so essential to today's successful science. These are the features, with some of the leading names, that should here be stressed, the story of the origin of fire insurance and the first two companies having already been told.

The Protection was incorporated in 1825. Like the other stock companies, only enough cash capital need be paid in to pro-

vide equipment and grease the wheels; the balance was paid in notes. Premiums could cover the losses, which were never heavy or bunched; little reserve was required, for staunch banks were under the same control as these companies; so the profits could go forth at once as dividends! The start was auspicious, among the directors being such men as Solomon Porter, W. W. Ellsworth, James B. Hosmer, Nathan Morgan and Roderick Terry, with Ellsworth as president. Lawyer Thomas C. Perkins was secretary. David F. Robinson and Eliphalet Averill were later presidents. Mark Howard worked out a plan for remote agencies. Heavy losses were met, but in 1854 there had to be surrender to wrong methods.

Mutual companies were being formed around the country. The idea was satisfactory till members had to be assessed; then the company mortality was excessive. The Hartford County Mutual was organized in 1831, David Grant president and Charles Shepard secretary. In cases of necessity they did not assess, they found the money—and they were cautious in their risks. The company continues today, more popular than ever and one of the few mutuals to survive. D. D. Erving was successively secretary and president from 1863 till his death in 1925, a record unexcelled in the country. The City Fire took a charter as a mutual company but changed to stock and organized in 1853, Ralph Gillett accepting the presidency. Leverett Brainard came here to be secretary, resigning in 1858 to enter the partnership of Case, Lockwood & Company, publishers. The company kept in good condition but the Chicago fire was its undoing.

The dangers of the hand-to-mouth methods caused a reorganization of the Hartford Fire in 1835. Eliphalet Terry, cousin of Nathaniel, was made president. That same year came the New York fire. Many companies announced their inability to pay. With the thermometer below zero, Terry drove to New York in an open sleigh during the night following the fire and proclaimed that his company would pay every claim in cash. The money taken in for new premiums was equal to the amount paid out. There was the same fortitude when the company lost nearly \$2,000,000 in the Chicago fire, once again in the Boston fire the next year (1872), and finally in the San Francisco horror when the loss was \$350,000,000. Hezekiah Huntington and Timothy



JAMES GOODWIN

First president of the
Connecticut Mutual Life
Insurance Company



GUY R. PHELPS

President of the Connecti-
cut Mutual Life Insurance
Company 1866-69, and
conspicuous in life insur-
ance in early days



THE CONNECTICUT MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, HARTFORD



C. Allyn were the presidents of this company preceding the coming of George L. Chase of the later period. The Aetna was paying an 18 per cent dividend when the New York fire occurred. Staking his own fortune, President Thomas K. Brace encouraged his associates till the last claim was paid, as was to be the case in the subsequent disasters, for the stock-note system had been ended forever in 1849, and in the early 1900s the capital was to be \$5,000,000, the largest in the world at that time. The company was true to that thoroughness which was mentioned in the account of its earlier days. Edwin G. Ripley who succeeded Mr. Brace in the presidency of 1857 was among the leaders in establishing the city reservoir idea. T. A. Alexander, L. J. Hendee and Jotham Goodnow followed till William B. Clark was promoted to the office in 1892.

Of the fire insurance companies that survived the old stock-note days, the Connecticut Fire was third in order, organized in 1850 with Benjamin W. Greene as president and resolved to take only select risks. Again, in the list of directors, are names associated with those of various companies, industries, banks, philanthropies and public affairs—James B. Hosmer, Julius Catlin, David F. Robinson, Joseph Trumbull (governor in 1849), Harvey Seymour, Edwin D. Morgan, James Dixon (senator in 1857-1869), Edmund G. Howe, Tertius Wadsworth, Timothy M. Allyn, John L. Bunce and Edson Fessenden. Martin Bennett's name was added to this notable list when he became secretary in 1860.

The Phoenix (fire) joined the group in 1854, through the efforts of Henry Kellogg of East Hartford who had been a bookkeeper in the Connecticut Mutual and would accept only the secretaryship in the new company, of which Nathaniel H. Morgan, head of the Hartford Trust Company, was chosen presiding officer till Simeon L. Loomis could be called from New York where he had gone to help establish the Home. Much of the business of the defunct Protection came to the Phoenix. At the time of the Chicago fire Governor Marshall Jewell, a director, went to that city and, mounting a packing box, declared that the company would pay every claim; the announcement, heralded through the press, restored confidence. There was similar evidence of dependability at Boston and at San Francisco.

The Merchants, chartered in 1857, had the backing of such

men as Samuel Woodruff, James Bolter, Ebenezer Roberts, Guy R. Phelps, W. H. D. Callender, Charles T. Hillyer, Richard D. Hubbard and William L. Collins, and Mark Howard was its president. The loss at Chicago was five times the capital. President Howard and Secretary James Nichols, formerly judge of probate, thereupon formed the National with an unutilized charter granted in 1869. From this developed the powerful company of today.

The North American, 1857, carried on till the Chicago fire. The New England in 1858 and the Union in 1859 were crushed by the adverse conditions of the war period. The Charter Oak Fire and Marine, 1856, ended with the Chicago fire; the endeavor to revive it as the Atlas was futile. The Putnam, 1864, was born in a period of speculation and folly and did not long survive.

§

To a life insurance world like this of today, the conditions so late as the time we are considering are incredible. The primitive idea of taking no thought of the morrow had been so misinterpreted in the religious confusions of the middle ages that it had become sanctified in the minds of the devout, and to insure one's life was sacrilegious. How in half a century insurance was elevated to a position next to that of the church itself is a story with but few equals in the history of civilization. In Hartford, Dr. Pinckney W. Ellsworth and James L. Howard were missionaries of the Prince of Darkness rather than ministers for the good of the race. Howard had secured a policy in a New Jersey company when he set up an office and began his preachings. Dr. Guy R. Phelps, who had come from Simsbury to open a drug store, and Elisha A. Pratt gave encouraging attention, and soon other men who were accepting fire insurance as a matter of course were studying possibilities. Under Phelps' leadership these men, with President Brace of the Aetna, Judge Eliphalet A. Bulkeley, Dr. David S. Dodge, Edson Fessenden, Nathan M. Waterman and others, secured in 1846 a charter for the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company. Bulkeley was chosen president and Phelps secretary.

Judge Bulkeley, born in Colchester in 1824, one of the dis-



INSURANCE APPEAL IN THE '60s

Is apparently on village green in front of the church. The high-hatted insurance man hands a bag of gold to a widow and her little ones who are absorbed in watching the bird in the foreground burn. This illustration is taken from cover of Phoenix Mutual pamphlet as example of "Publicity" of the times



THE PHOENIX MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, HARTFORD



tinguished Gershom Bulkeley family and starting as lawyer and banker in East Haddam, had come to Hartford in 1847. He served successively as first judge of the police court, school fund commissioner and speaker of the House. There is significance in the fact that this first company was mutual; it meant appreciation of the popular repugnance to be overcome and of the necessity of avoiding the appearance of money-making. The whole town was watching and when the doors were opened December 11, 1846, there were applications for \$100,000 insurance. The rest of the story of Hartford life insurance is the story of lessons learned in handling vast sums and fixing premiums on a scientific basis, of constant remembrance of the high purpose of insurance and of enlisting the genius of men whose type already had given Hartford its high position. Among his other positions, Judge Bulkeley held that of counsel for the Aetna. After two years of the presidency he made way for Maj. James Goodwin whose career has been sketched in the preceding chapter. Returns to faithful policyholders were found possible each year on an arbitrary schedule of "dividends" till 1869 when actuarial science had developed the distribution plan of Shepard Homans. Thenceforth premiums and returns were based upon carefully analyzed mortality experiences in insurance and upon proportionate sharing in investment earnings. Major Goodwin was succeeded by Doctor Phelps in 1866 but was recalled on the doctor's death in 1869. It was a wild period of speculation through which he piloted the company with great ability till his death in 1878 when Col. Jacob L. Greene came to succeed him.

Hartford would not have been true to Yankee-land had there not been in this formative period exploration for new fields for insurance. In 1848, following a conception in the office of the Connecticut Mutual, a company was formed for health insurance, only to find, however, that that uncharted sea was altogether too dangerous. By 1852 the company had changed to regular insurance, under the name of the Hartford Life, and tried, fatally, a plan to insure shiploads of slaves and coolies. A better venture was one in 1865 when Doctor Phelps of the Connecticut Mutual secured action on his belief that something could be done for those who did not come up to the medical requirements for regular insurance, and the Connecticut General Life was launched with \$500,000 capital and such strong men as John M.

Niles, Edward W. Parsons and Thomas W. Russell to conduct it. The directorate included E. K. Kellogg, G. D. Jewett, James G. Batterson, Charles M. Pond, Leverett Brainard, William G. Allen, Francis B. Cooley, Charles T. Webster and Henry J. Johnson. It soon was proved that there were not enough sub-standard risks willing to be classified as such, so another idea that has been well worked out in modern times had to be relegated. In 1867 the company began to confine itself to first-class risks and developed into the great corporation it is today—as will appear. Mr. Russell's is one of the foremost names in insurance.

Another fascinating experiment was that undertaken by the American Temperance Life in 1851. The most systematic of all the national temperance waves was then at its height. The *Fountain*, published on Pearl Street under the editorship of Benjamin E. Hale of Glastonbury, was one of the conspicuous organs in the land. Statistics were obtained to show that "teetotalers" lived longest; hence they should have a lower insurance rating. Former Chief Justice Thomas S. Williams, Barzillai Hudson of *Courant* prestige, Francis Parsons, leader in law and public service, James B. Hosmer, philanthropist, Tertius Wadsworth of the Connecticut Fire, Albert Day, John H. Goodwin and the ubiquitous Edson Fessenden (who, with his other functions, was now proprietor of the Eagle Hotel, clubhouse for men of affairs) entered earnestly into the plan, with Hudson as president—later Fessenden. In determining losses, trouble developed in ascertaining whether a policyholder had kept his pledge. An encouragingly large business was done by near-and-far apostles of temperance and on what was then considered a mutual basis. With the subsidence of the wave and the approach of the war, however, wisdom dictated a change in name to the Phoenix Mutual Life so well known in the field of insurance today. President Archibald A. Welch and his associates discriminate against "drinking men" but with a scientific criterion in this as in all other features of the modern carefully built-up and universally accepted standard.

The result of later experiments in three other directions—accident, assessment and explosion—will be taken up in chronological order; the seething period of the '50s is not yet covered.

When the Aetna was chartered in 1819, there was a gambling



PHOENIX FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY, HARTFORD



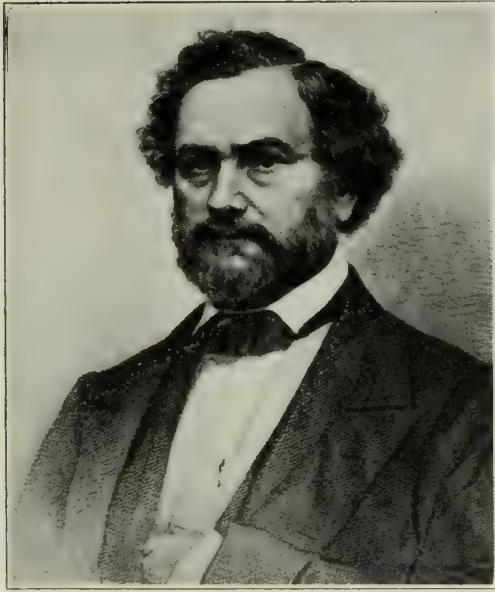
CONNECTICUT GENERAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, HARTFORD

form of life insurance in England—the Lloyds, not for protection for dependents—and also another for annuities. By marvelous prescience, the incorporators of the Aetna provided in their charter not only for annuities but for the then taboo life insurance. Judge Bulkeley on returning to the company after his favorable experience in the Connecticut Mutual looked up this forgotten provision and on June 6, 1850, the foundations were laid for the great Aetna Life Insurance Company of the years to come. It first was an appendage of the Aetna (fire), but the wise principle of keeping fire and life separate caused the individual incorporation under present name in 1853, with the judge entering upon his long career as president. The conspicuous names of promoters were Austin Dunham, Mark Howard, John Warburton, Roland Mather, Simeon L. Loomis, John W. Seymour and W. H. D. Callender, and, as in the case of the other companies, many as they were, there was no dearth of subscriptions. All of the company stocks were much over-subscribed. Within six years the company had to seek quarters of its own, and located at the corner of Main Street and Central Row, and the principle of mutuality was added to that of stock-company insurance.

In life insurance, the Charter Oak and the Continental were established in 1850 and 1862 respectively. There could have been no more enthusiasm than that aroused for the former of these ill-fated concerns. Gideon Welles was the first president, and his board included Calvin Day, Tertius Wadsworth, Thomas Belknap, James G. Bolles, John A. Butler and Lucius F. Robinson, 1st. Mr. Welles was succeeded by James C. Walkley. Thomas W. Russell was at one time vice president. The company did a large and high-class business but bad management developed and the end was as described later on. The Continental started with an equally good opportunity but at an unfortunate time. John S. Rice of Farmington was the first president and Samuel E. Elmore secretary. Mr. Elmore became president in 1870, following which time internal wrangling increased and methods were resorted to which brought the downfall later described.

No less impressive than in insurance was the world name being made through industries. The romance of the evolution of Colt's revolvers, and again of the Gatling's and the Brown-ing's, has been translated into many languages, for all of the battling world is concerned. Samuel Colt, son of Christopher Colt, a manufacturer in Ware, Mass., and grandson of Maj. John Caldwell, was born in Hartford in 1814 and could have been a gentleman of leisure. The sea attracted him as a boy. He sailed to distant ports and employed his spare time making a wooden model of a repeater pistol. On his return he gave laughing-gas exhibitions to secure independently the money to push his device. Our Government not interested, he went to Europe to secure a patent and encouragement, after which, in 1835, a patent was secured at Washington, a factory was set up at Paterson, N. J., and he was seeking a market. The Government still indifferent, the factory had to close in 1842, but not till it had turned out enough weapons to attract attention in the Seminole war. To quiet his uneasy mind, he laid the first submarine telegraph cable to Coney Island. At the outbreak of the Mexican war, the Government ventured an order for a thousand revolvers at \$24 each. To make these he rented rooms of the Whitney Arms Company in New Haven but soon removed to quarters on Pearl Street in Hartford. His faith confirmed by the news from the battlefields, he exercised his natural foresight and, incorporating, bought a site of 250 acres near where the old Dutch fort had stood, diked it, built large buildings, devised much of his own machinery for making tools, assembled skilled mechanics—importing many from Switzerland and building a street of Swiss cottages for them near his grove of willow trees where, out of mill hours, they could fashion very marketable baskets—and was well prepared when the Civil war made its demand. His own services he offered as colonel of "Colt's Rifles" but fortunately, perhaps, nature had given him a dictatorial nature, the plan fell through and he returned to the place where he was most needed. He died in the moment of greatest success, in 1862. He had been welcomed and honored in all the capitals of Europe and had had the unprecedented distinction of addressing the English House of Commons.

Building for the future in more ways than one he had gathered around him men who could carry on, like Elisha K. Root,



SAMUEL COLT
(1814-1862)



one of the most accomplished mechanics of the time, who succeeded him in the presidency, and when the fire of 1864 was wiping out \$1,200,000 worth of the great plant, President Root was designing the replacement. Another permanent principle Colonel Colt had instilled and Mr. Root had cultivated was that only first-class men should be engaged and that they should be inspired to keep on learning. General Franklin, as told elsewhere, assisted in carrying on the famous institution after his war service. Among other prominent men who have helped make it what it is today was John H. Hall (1849-1902) who had made his name in enterprises by building up the Pickering Governor Company and then the Shaler & Hall Quarry Company in his native town of Portland when called to take charge of Colt's in 1888 and later to become president, as which he continued till his death. By his remarkable insight and ability he reorganized the concern on the permanent basis it ever since has enjoyed.

As in the World war, Hartford genius was in demand by the Government when the war came. Christian Sharps in 1848 had invented the breach-loading rifle and in 1851 had incorporated and then had built on Capitol Avenue a factory which had to run day and night to meet the requirements for guns each of which was worth ten men. Christopher M. Spencer of Manchester and Hartford, driver of a self-made steam vehicle, inventor of a screw-making machine which revolutionized that industry, and at one time the junior partner in Billings & Spencer, drop forgers, had invented his repeating rifle, the first of which were carried by a Massachusetts company in 1861. Pratt & Whitney were meeting new requirements for tools of marvelous accuracy. The Gardner machine guns were to be made there in the '80s and the company was to contract to furnish equipment for arsenals in the Orient and elsewhere. Colt's was doing the first drop forging. The Phoenix Iron Works, predecessor of the present Taylor & Fenn, was furnishing Colt's with special machinery and tools. Woodruff boilers for naval vessels were made by the Beach concern.

A. F. Cushman in 1830 was turning out the Cushman chuck, indispensable to good workmanship. The same year the first hooks and eyes were made here by Levi Lincoln. D. W. Kellogg was the first commercial lithographer, in 1832. Austin Dunham, in 1854, had organized the Willimantic Linen Company to sup-

ply the humble but important item of cotton thread—a concern which by 1876 was to lead all others in the country. Ebenezer N. Kellogg had been the one to introduce the scouring of wool in 1841, and with Austin Dunham, D. P. Crosby and Ezra White had built a great industry with a plant in Windsor Locks. The first electro-plating had been done by Asa H. Williams and Simeon S. Rogers in a Hartford cellar in 1856. Nearly all the clocks in the country were made in this county. Steam heat with gravity return was being employed. The first galvanized water pipes were in use. Henry and J. F. Pitkin of East Hartford were making the first American watches in 1834 and Alonzo D. Phillips was the first to get a patent on friction matches. In 1837, George and John Abbe Burnham of East Hartford, in a shop near old South Green, made the first oilcloth.

Pliny Jewell in 1845 removed his primitive leather-belting business from New Hampshire and began a plant on Trumbull Street near Little River which was to develop into the largest in the world by the time of the war. His four sons were associated with him—Pliny, Marshall, Lyman B. and Charles A., all of whom, as will be seen, were to be prominent in city and state affairs. And a little later, in 1863, the then most popular sewing machine was being made at the rate of 2,000 a day by G. F. Weed's company at present Capitol Avenue and Broad Street.

Some of the most important of the things these men of intense activity did are yet to be considered, but it must not be lost sight of that they were not too absorbed in their banking, insurance, railroading, manufacturing and commercial affairs to give heed to the town's requirements. To mention some of the requirements might give the impression that the men had been heedless previously, but to this it can be said that in the reforms they were now inaugurating they were ahead of most communities of their size.

Amusingly primitive conditions as to water and fires have been referred to. Horace Bushnell first voiced and then in 1847 preached public sentiment from his pulpit, taking "Prosperity Our Duty" for his subject. These underground cisterns, of which there were then twenty-one, had been reinforced for a time by a piping (or logging) system, of distressing incompleteness. Logs with two-inch holes bored through them lengthwise brought



HON. MORGAN GARDNER BULKELEY

President of the Aetna Life Insurance Company, Hartford. Mayor, 1880-1888; Governor, 1889-1893; United States Senator, 1895-1911



AETNA LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, HARTFORD
Wadsworth Atheneum on the right

the water from Cedar Hill and vicinity down under Park River and along Pearl and Main streets with side branches for those whose well water was unsatisfactory. This system was abandoned before 1850. Somehow talk of a water supply never had been popular since the Hartford Aqueduct Company was organized in 1797—and stopped. How the wonderful Enfield canal and reservoir proposition had died has been told. In 1851 Joseph Trumbull was among those who felt something must be done at once. He was grandson of Jonathan Trumbull, had served as president of the Hartford Bank and had just finished his term as governor. He with Calvin Day, E. K. Root, Thomas Belknap and others incorporated as a private company and began arranging for a pumping station. The people, feeling that this was too great a trust for a private concern or for management by the Common Council, secured in place of this charter an enactment giving custody and power to a board of commissioners, subject in certain particulars to the council. (Later, when the board was doing a large business and some tried to have the power vested in the council, there was protest by the “best and most intelligent citizens”—to quote R. D. Hubbard—and the proposition was laughed out of court.) The first board consisted of Ezra Clark, Jr., E. K. Root, E. M. Reed, Daniel Phillips and Hiram Bissell. The preparations made by the private company were approved and pushed. The board’s first report to the council was so caustic that the council refused to accept it—but 500 copies were published the next year; for, after seven years Doctor Bushnell’s adjurations had had effect. Water in 1855 was pumped from the Connecticut to an artificial reservoir on the top of Lord’s Hill where now are the tennis courts of the Hartford Fire Insurance Company.

The intervening years had been full of trouble, if not grafting. There was great waste, much expense, and at best only a week’s supply could be stored. The wranglings continued monotonously after 1860 and courts were resorted to, to culminate, however, in the purchase of eighty acres in West Hartford and the damming of Trout Brook for the first of the present remarkable chain of reservoirs. There were still more battles, in Legislature and Common Council, so it was not till July, 1865, that the water began to flow cityward. The reservoir was five miles

from the city's center, 260 feet above low water, covering thirty-two acres and holding 145,000,000 gallons. Fortunately the pumping station was not dismantled; it had to be resorted to several times before 1900. In less than a year after the first dam was built and before the second was completed, a heavy rain carried both of them away. Other reservoirs were added in 1869, 1875, 1879 and 1884, which brings the subject down to the modern well supported, well regulated and highly meritorious progress. Meters began to be introduced in the early '80s.

The night patrol early in the century, previously referred to, was supported in large part by the insurance men, and the Hartford Fire provided a salvage service. In 1820 when the "watch" was increased to five men to walk nightly, at \$1 a night, this company paid so much of the bill that no tax was called for, till 1822. One of the statements of loss approved by the company about this time reveals how particular the claimants had to be. It is the statement of Joseph Wheeler of Hartford:

32 squares glass broke paid for setting and mending frames	\$ 4.50
1 Bed Stead sides and end pieces gone and rope	2.00
1 silk umbrella (new) lost	5.00
1 sett castors cost 12 dolls. damage done, say	4.00
1 salt cellar broke, 1.50, 2 or 3 Tumblers broke	2.00
Damage done paint on house, Barn etc.	18.00
	<hr/>
	35.50
Deduct Umbrella	5.00
	<hr/>
	30.50
Clock key lost	.50
	<hr/>
	31.00

Policy 794. Paid in full, Dec. 7, 1819.

A more serious memorandum, and one giving a glimpse of the reading of the day, is as follows:

1,000 President's Tour at \$1.25	\$1,250
500 Memoirs of Jackson	625
800 Labourne's Campaigns at \$2.25	1,800
5 Setts Scott's Bible	160
500 Uncle Sam in Search after His Lost honor at 50c	250



"JUMBO"
One of the first and largest of the steam fire engines



NATIONAL FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY, HARTFORD



The first tax for fire apparatus and cisterns was £300 in 1789, when Miles Beach was made chief of the watch. Later, by authority of the Legislature thirty men were chosen out of the militia to serve in two companies. By 1835 the number had been increased to 400—population 10,000. Chief Beach was succeeded by James Ward in 1805 and during his term a hook and ladder was added to the equipment of buckets. This was followed by a double-deck engine, worked by forty men, in 1815, by a sack and bucket company furnished by the insurance company in 1816 and a hose company in 1821 with Nathan Ruggles as foreman. The first parade was a gala occasion in 1827; water was pumped by hand-pumps through the hose. Every man must attend a fire and remain till it was extinguished. The insurance company contributed \$30 toward a hand engine in 1834 at which time there was a reorganization and a chief engineer was appointed to have control both of the volunteers and of the men designated to respond to alarms. Mayor Thomas S. Williams had given an engine so that in all there were six for Chief Engineer William Hayden to command. From 1836 till recent times balls were given and aid otherwise solicited to maintain the Firemen's Benevolent Society. Fire escapes were introduced in 1840. In 1848 designated firemen were allowed \$5 a year.

The first steam engine was procured in 1861, against the advice of Chief Edward Norton. Four years later the hand engines had become antiquities. The fire board on practically its present basis was resolved upon in 1864, but it was not till 1871 that the appointive power was given to the mayor, subject to aldermanic approval. The first self-propelled engine—and one of the first in the country as well as the largest—was "Jumbo," bought in 1876, and it was all that the famous Chief Henry J. Eaton (appointed in 1868) could do to keep his no less famous white horse ahead of it. The latest and most important addition to the department's many buildings is the recently completed headquarters on Pearl Street. For many years alarms were sounded on a great bell in a tower in the rear of headquarters on Pearl near Main Street, but latterly electric sirens have been used, merely as a warning to traffic. The signal system is of the most approved type.

The "watch" of the early days were also the police, wearing long coats and carrying lanterns and staffs. Citizens exempted from twelve nights' duty a year paid \$12, from which total amount the "regulars" were paid; thus till 1822 when a tax of one mill was laid. Jeremy Hoadley was captain of the force in 1820 and the first lock-up was in the rear of his hat shop. Prisoners were haled before a justice of the peace. What with no hold-ups, bootlegging or "cracking," the chief offense was being on the street in the night time without reasonable excuse. In 1824 a riot in the negro quarter necessitated the assembling of the Foot Guard for a day and a night. The City Hall of 1830, on Market Street, furnished cells. The first board of police commissioners was appointed July 6, 1860, after strenuous endeavor of Mayor Henry C. Deming to secure unanimity of purpose. Walter P. Chamberlain was made chief of the first and uniformed force thus created, Charles D. Nott captain, and Charles Brewster, lieutenant. The board met in the old Union Hall at the corner of Main and Pearl streets. A station house was provided on Kinsley Street in 1867. The present police building, on the site of the old City Hall, was completed in 1898 and is now inadequate.

If there is need of further reminder that for seventy years after the city was incorporated it still was rural in character, it lies in the fact that the first sewers were laid in 1835. The city limits were extended a second time in 1859, four years after West Hartford had been set off.



(Collection of Martin Welles)

HARTFORD DURING THE GREAT CONNECTICUT RIVER FLOOD OF 1854
Looking down State Street from the old State House

XXV

THREE GREAT INSTITUTIONS

ATHENEUM, SEMINARY FOUNDATION, HARTFORD HOSPITAL—MADE AND MAINTAINED BY CITIZENS—SIGNIFICANT RECOGNITION OF CHARACTER OF ANCIENT COMMUNITY.

The worth-while study of the towns should not be in the abstract. To get the true measure of sequences after the framing of the Constitution, the object has been, and should be, to observe phases simultaneously and in conjunction with each other. That a constitution was made is one thing, but how, why and by what kind of persons is as much worth knowing; the individual facts of remarkable insurance companies and of original, ingenious industries and of the home work of the first master of the national school system are in the series of world-known, abstract incidents, but the conception formed cannot be reasonably accurate, fair or satisfying without the blending of other and all phases. In towns standing forth from the beginning as the Constitution Towns, the world would expect evidence of something still higher than the product of toil, genius and brains.

Up to the '40s there had been the continual struggle for existence, in manner typical of the colonies and young states, but this story has revealed glimpses of social features along with the economic, of the art and of the literature. In this particular period there was to be a gathering-up of scraps of the past in a way which, unconsciously to the beginners thereat, was to provide the worthiest evidence of the soul of the towns of Hooker and his General Court—the evidence in the Atheneum and its affiliated institutions and in the Hartford Hospital which followed the founding of the country's first school for the deaf, in the first institution for the insane, and also in the Hartford Theological Seminary, Trinity College and Berkeley Divinity School.

And it always must be considered as the "towns," for there

were the two besides Hooker's, and their territory covered nearly all the present-proposed Municipal District of which Hartford, historically, has been the center. The force of the fellowship has continued as potent as it was in 1639. What those towns contributed, after the beginning, is properly reviewed in their individual sections of this study.

The foundation stone of this particular development was spontaneous appreciation of history and books, the development of what is now the Connecticut Historical Society, today again outgrowing its confines. The organizers were the men of multifarious activities whose names the preceding story has made familiar. A word or two from the press and letters of the time furnish the background. Millhands who had worked from sunrise to sunset were of an especially skilled type who had just naturally formed their circles not for social pleasure only, but for readings and the exchange of ideas. The store clerks worked through the evenings. In 1847 they were heard inquiring in the press why they should not be given two evenings a week; they said the objection raised had been that it would lead to dissipation, but it seemed not to have done so in New Haven, and there were many who wanted time to read and to enjoy music. Incidentally there were biting sarcasms on the rule of women's fashions for very light clothing in winter and fur decorations in summer.

The Wadsworth Atheneum corporation came to be the aggregation of the Connecticut Historical Society, the Hartford Public Library, the Watkinson Library and the art galleries now mostly accommodated in the Morgan Memorial. Taken individually:

Interest in historical matters culminated in the incorporation of the society in 1825 "for the purpose of discovering, procuring and preserving whatever may relate to the civil, ecclesiastical and natural history of the United States and especially of the state of Connecticut." Judge Trumbull was president, Rev. Dr. Thomas Robbins corresponding secretary and Bishop George W. Doane (then a professor at Washington College) secretary of the standing committee. Bishop Brownell, Timothy Pitkin and John S. Peters were other incorporators.

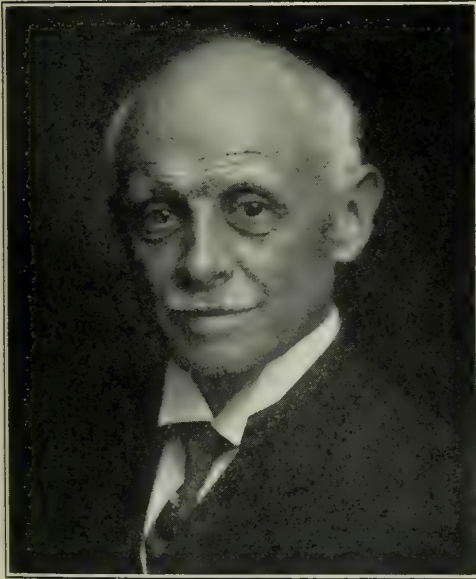
The inception of the library was on the eve of the Revolution. In February, 1774, the call was issued for "the subscribers for a



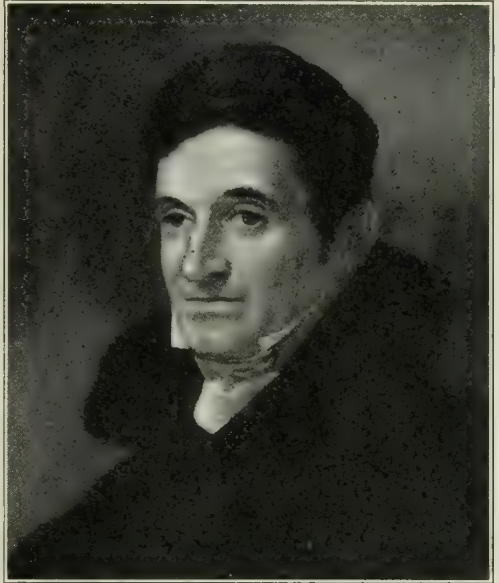
MRS. FLORENCE PAULL BERGER
General Curator of Morgan Memorial



CHARLES A. GOODWIN
President of the Atheneum, as Doge of
Venice in the Venetian Fete in 1928



FRANK B. GAY
Curator-Emeritus of Wadsworth
Atheneum



DANIEL WADSWORTH
First President of Society for Savings, the
oldest and largest savings bank in Connec-
ticut. Founder of Hartford Orphan Asylum

public library" to assemble for organization, and the *Courant* extolled books for "their smiling aspect on the interests of society, virtue and religion." This, the Librarian Company, in 1799 was incorporated as the Hartford Library Company by Jeremiah Wadsworth, Rev. Dr. Nathan Strong and others.

In 1838, Dr. Barnard and others organized the Young Men's Institute for literary culture and to avail themselves of the lectures then being delivered before lyceums the country round. To this organization, the Library Company delivered its 3,000 volumes, making a total of 5,620 in the institute's first catalogue. Leaders in the institute included George G. Spencer, Gustavus F. Davis, William N. Matson, Erastus Collins, Junius S. Morgan, James D. Willard, Amariah Storrs, Edward W. Coleman and Alfred Gill.

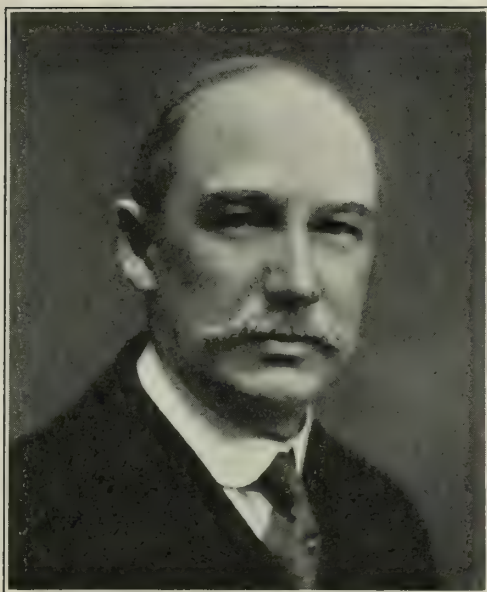
In 1839, interest in the historical society revived and the charter was renewed with Thomas Day as president till his death in 1855; subsequently Henry Barnard till 1860; J. B. Hosmer to 1863, J. Hammond Trumbull to 1889 and since then Robbins Battell, George J. Hoadly, Rev. Samuel Hart, Morgan B. Brainard and Dr. George C. F. Williams. The original incorporators included William W. Ellsworth, Isaac Toucey, Roger M. Sherman, Thomas S. Williams, T. H. Gallaudet, Samuel H. Huntington, Benjamin Trumbull and Walter Mitchell. Those in 1839 included Charles Hosmer, Erastus Smith, Noah Porter, Leonard Bacon, Nathaniel Goodwin, R. R. Hinman and Henry Barnard. In 1840 the society arranged the bicentenary celebration of the adoption of the Constitution and entertained delegates from similar societies in other states. Noah Webster delivered the address.

December 1, 1841, Daniel Wadsworth formally announced that he would give the property of his father Jeremiah Wadsworth from Main Street east to his own premises on Prospect Street as a site for a building for an art gallery and, in the two other separate and fireproof divisions, the institute and the historical society. The subscribers to the fund for the building and gallery formed an association, incorporated in 1842 as the Wadsworth Atheneum, every subscriber of \$25 or more to be a member—shares for \$25 to expire on the death of the holder; shares for \$100 or more to be assignable and transmissible. A total of \$31,730 was given by 133 subscribers, headed by Mr. Wadsworth

with \$6,500. The building which was completed in 1844 was of castellated design, after plans by Ithiel Town of New Haven and was made of cream-colored granite from a quarry in Glastonbury, now exhausted. The cost was \$3,600 more than the subscriptions; the society contributed \$1,605 toward the deficit. An additional \$3,000 was raised to engage George Platt, a London and New York decorator, to finish the interior in kalsomine, a process "known only to the discoverer and to Mr. Platt." A total of nearly \$40,000 was paid in. The estimated value of the land and old buildings was \$16,200. Mr. Wadsworth's gifts in money amounted to \$25,276, exclusive of his donations to the gallery. The old Wadsworth mansion, so long the center of social and public life, built by Jeremiah Wadsworth's father, Rev. Daniel Wadsworth, in 1730, was removed to Buckingham Street where it stood till 1887.

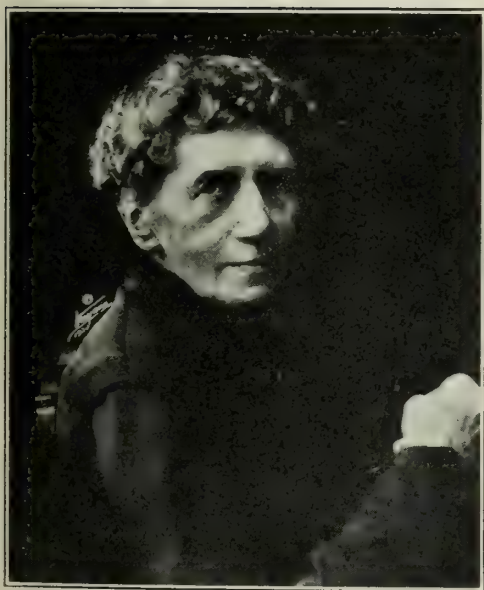
The historical society took the Connecticut Society of Natural History's collection which had been a part of the Hartford Museum, the successor to Steward's previously mentioned. The natural history society had been organized in 1835, with Rev. Dr. Samuel F. Jarvis of Washington College the president and Erastus Smith secretary. This collection was removed to Trinity College and the Hartford Hospital in 1873. The art gallery opened with an exhibition of Colonel Trumbull's five large paintings of Revolutionary subjects and paintings bought of the defunct New York Academy of Fine Arts by David Watkinson, Mr. Wadsworth, J. B. Hosmer and other subscribers to a fund. The basis of the statuary collection was bought of the estate of Edward S. Bartholomew, James G. Batterson going to Rome for it after the sculptor's death.

The historical society (whose first book, bought in 1839, was "Farmer's Genealogical Register") was the fortunate recipient in 1844 of Rev. Dr. Thomas Robbins' library, one of the finest in New England, rich in early folio editions of the Bible, the classics and pamphlets relating to local history. In 1893 the antiquarian and genealogical library of D. Williams Patterson was added. In addition to its wealth of books, periodicals and pamphlets, it has the only complete file of the *Courant* since it began in 1764, the *Connecticut Gazette* (1760-1838) and the *Middlesex Gazette* (1785-1834). Among the manuscripts are the letters of several



ALBERT C. BATES

Librarian of the Connecticut Historical
Library



MISS CAROLINE M. HEWINS
(1846-1926)

Librarian of Hartford Public Library



TRUMAN R. TEMPLE

Librarian of Hartford Public Library

colonial governors and agents in England, rosters of the early wars, letters and diaries of soldiers, minutes of the Council of Safety and the like. The Trumbull papers by themselves are a treasury, and with them is the correspondence of Colonel Wadsworth. The diary of Nathan Hale carries up to a few weeks before his execution. In the Deane collection is the agreement signed by Lafayette when he came to America. An item of the collection is the original of Morse's first telegraph message, May 24, 1844: "What hath God wrought." Its pictures, furniture and relics of the great men in Connecticut history in particular are invaluable. A considerable part of the belongings, now in the care of Librarian Albert C. Bates, is unavailable for the general public because of the present lack of space.

To see these relics, the general public was willing to pay a small admission fee, but the art gallery languished. An association of women interested themselves in it in 1877 and when it seemed imperative that the gallery be closed, they organized as the Hartford Art Society in 1884. Mary D. Ely was the president and Mary Collins the secretary. The gallery then was opened free for two days each week. The list of incorporators in 1884 bore the names of Miss Ely, Elizabeth H. Colt, Eliza T. Robinson, Sarah J. Cowan, Mary Collins, Alice Taintor, Harriet G. Jones, Gen. Joseph R. Hawley, Francis Goodwin, J. G. Batterson, Rev. Dr. E. P. Parker, F. L. Burr, Charles Dudley Warner and Henry C. Robinson. After several years in the art gallery section, the society moved to a large room in the Prospect Street Annex, thence to a building of its own across that street and eventually to its present quarters on Collins Street.

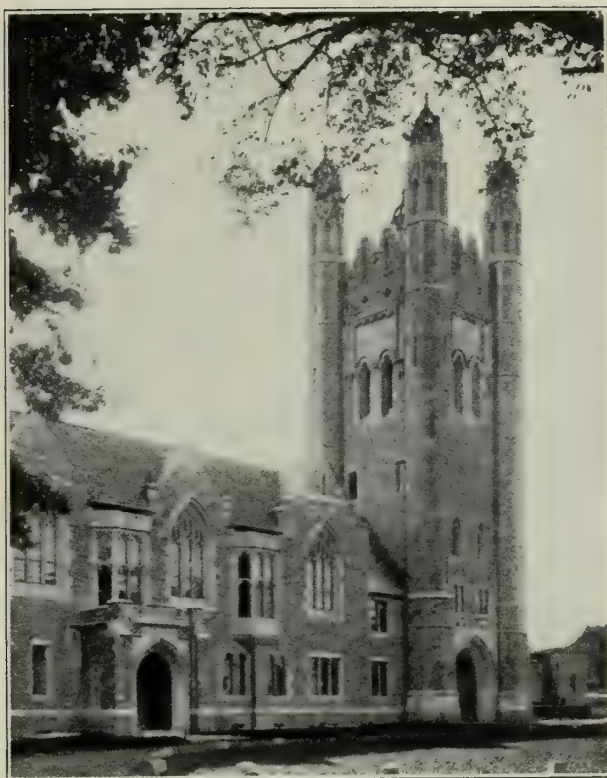
David Watkinson, who had been one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the Atheneum, died in December, 1857, and by his will left \$100,000 to establish a reference library in connection with the historical society. Mr. Watkinson (1778-1857) and his brothers Edward and Robert had been proprietors of the cotton factory in South Manchester and of the Union Manufacturing Company of Marlborough and Manchester, with Watkinson & Arnold their agents in this city. Also he had been partner with Ezra Clark and Ezra Clark, Jr., in the hardware business, retiring in 1841 to give his attention to his private business and public affairs. He was a leader in many of the most important

undertakings from 1800 on. He left \$40,000 to the hospital and a fund which made the Watkinson Farm School possible in 1862. Of the bequest to the historical society, \$5,000 was for the enlargement of the society's quarters to make room for the reference library. To that end the land and Daniel Wadsworth residence east of the Atheneum were bought, an addition to the Atheneum was built in 1864 and the Wadsworth home was rented to the Hartford Theological School which had moved from East Windsor Hill; on the school's removal to Broad Street, the old home was rented to the Hartford Club. When the rearrangement was made in 1890, the reference library took the second floor of the addition and the public library the first floor. It was the intention of the donor that the reference library should supplement the other libraries in general literature, and sixteen other trustees were incorporated, the governor and the presidents of the historical society, Atheneum and the institute to be trustees ex-officio. By this means there was provided for the city a library of greatest value, largely added to by Director Frank B. Gay of these later years. The first president was Alfred Smith who served till 1868 and was succeeded by George Brinley, who gave valuable books, and he by William R. Cone. J. Hammond Trumbull was librarian till 1891 when he was succeeded by Mr. Gay.

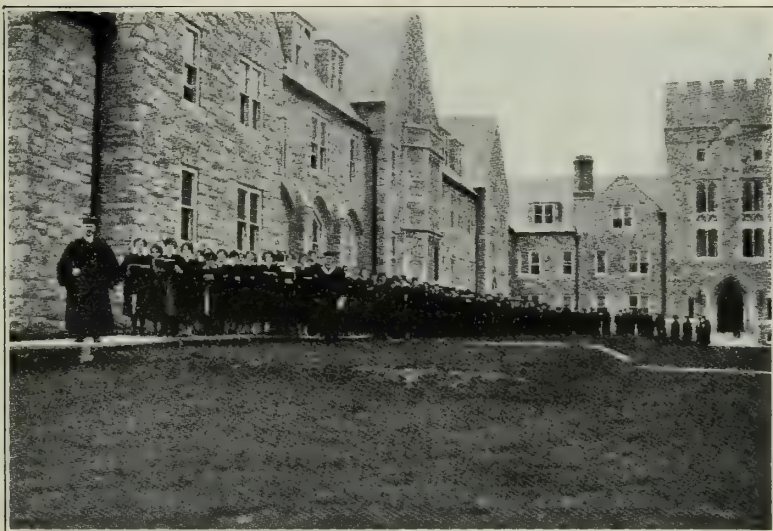
The development of the public library and the making free are a part of the history belonging to a future period. More than ever and more than could have been dreamed of in this period of getting established, the whole is the "people's university."

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An international and interdenominational university of religion, the Hartford Seminary Foundation, is universally known as one of Hartford's noblest ideas and ennobling assets, training men and women for all forms of Christian service. The seed from which it grew was the Theological Institute of Connecticut, established at East Windsor Hill nearby, and not far removed from the birthplace of Jonathan Edwards, with a brick building pretentious for its day but latterly the unkempt hovel of those from other lands seeking America's opportunities. The purpose of thirty-six Congregational ministers assembled in convention



AVERY HALL—CASE MEMORIAL LIBRARY
 Temporary Home of School of Missions, Hartford
 Seminary Foundation



ACADEMIC PROCESSION AND HOSMER HALL, HARTFORD
 SEMINARY FOUNDATION

September 10, 1833, was to counteract the recrudescence, in certain quarters, of dangerous views on depravity and regeneration. The Calvinistic creed was made the basis of the Pastoral Union formed at the same time, the trustees of the institute to be accountable thereto and to guard the consecrated funds. Dr. Bennett Tyler was the first president and Dr. Jonathan Coggs well and Prof. William Thompson were associated with him. When Miss Rebecca Waldo of Worcester, Mass., gave \$11,000 there was hope that in time subscriptions would not have to be depended upon, a hope that was to be better fulfilled than they could have imagined. A classical school under Professor Thompson was made an adjunct in 1851.

For betterment of location and finances, overtures for amalgamation were made to Yale in 1856; Yale replied that because of "very obvious personal relations and sympathies" she felt compelled to wait "till Providence should seem to dictate." The possible dictation of the Almighty came in 1864 but by that time the sturdy trustees had decided on Hartford and in 1865 opened in the former Daniel Wadsworth residence on Prospect Street, where the school remained till handsome subscriptions, including that of President James B. Hosmer of the Society for Savings and trustee of the school from 1841 to 1878, made possible the fitting structures on Broad Street and the removal thither in 1879. Invitations were received later from other institutions but the school was wedded to Hartford.

Hosmer Hall completed and filled, and the name changed to the Hartford Theological Seminary, two men came into the history at a time suggestive of the Providence Yale had relied upon—Newton Case and Chester D. Hartranft, brother of the great Pennsylvania soldier and governor. Mr. Case (1807-1890), a farmer's boy, had come here at the age of twenty-one to work at copper-plate printing. In 1830, he set up for himself and reaped the benefit of the flood-tide of publishing. Six years of success in the Mitchell Building and he, with E. D. Tiffany, had bought out J. Hubbard Wells, the firm of Case, Tiffany & Company was formed, L. C. Burnham was taken into partnership, the old jail was bought for a building and the publishing house which for years has been known as Case, Lockwood & Brainard (James Lockwood coming in on the death of Mr. Burnham in 1853) was

launched. Leverett Brainard was invited into partnership on the retirement of Albert G. Cooley and Mr. Tiffany. Mr. Case retired in 1875. In his intimate association with Doctor Hartranft, he recognized the needs of the seminary, gave the splendid Case Library, spent "untold thousands"—to quote Doctor MacKenzie—for most valuable collections of books from Europe, some of them unique in America, and in his will "left an estate which so largely underlies the secure structure of the seminary financially."

Doctor Hartranft came in 1878 and was chosen president in 1888 in which office he remained till 1903 when as president emeritus he went to Wolfenbüttel to continue his researches into the works of Kaspar Schwenkfeld, the 1520 reformer for a democratic system of church government. He died there in 1914. The doctor was born in 1839 and was pastor of the Second Dutch Reformed Church of Brunswick, N. J., when called here. He conceived the idea of having a group of religious schools without regard to denomination.

In the progressive year of 1902 a school for workers which had been started in Springfield in 1885 came here and is now known as the Hartford School of Religious Education. In 1911 the Kennedy School of Missions was added, after the seminary with the coöperation of Trinity had worked up a course of missions, after a fund had been subscribed by friends and had been named in honor of Rev. Dr. Charles M. Lamson of the First Church and former president of the American Board, and after Mrs. John S. Kennedy of New York had generously endowed it. To secure unity of body while preserving independence of function, the Hartford Seminary Foundation was incorporated in 1913. The original Pastoral Union continues as a voluntary association and elects nine of the thirty-six trustees; the alumni elect three and the trustees themselves elect the others. Women were admitted to the seminary in 1889 on equal terms, and there is a women's board.

Melancthon W. Jacobus, who had been professor here since 1891, was offered the presidency after Doctor Hartranft's retirement but accepted instead the deanship. He was born in Allegheny City, Pa., in 1855, son of Rev. Dr. Melancthon W. Jacobus, was graduated at both the academic and theological departments

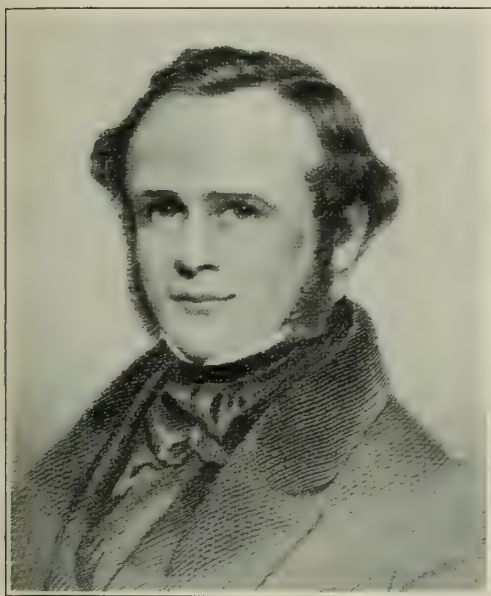
of Princeton, was honored by degrees at Lafayette and Yale, has been a trustee of Princeton since 1890, and is the author of a number of theological treatises. At the time of coming here he was pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Oxford, Pa. He married Clara M. Cooley, daughter of Francis B. Cooley of this city.

William Douglas Mackenzie, born in Orange River Colony, South Africa, in 1859, of a distinguished Scotch family, graduate of the Universities of Edinburgh and Göttingen, and now with honorary degrees from many universities, was ordained a Congregational minister in 1882 and was professor in the Chicago Theological Seminary when called to the presidency of the theological seminary in 1903. He continues to hold that distinction.

On obtaining the charter of 1913 thirty acres of land at the corner of Elizabeth Street and Girard Avenue for a suitable home for the foundation were purchased. It was not till 1921 that the trustees could see their way clear to begin the great work. Mackenzie Hall, the residence hall for women, was begun that year with only a small part of the necessary funds in hand. Before completion the whole \$200,000 had been subscribed by citizens of Hartford and vicinity. Then came a splendid gift and legacy from the late Samuel P. Avery (whose life and beneficences are elsewhere noted) and Avery Hall for the Case Memorial Library was erected. Knight Hall for the School of Religious Education was built by the dean of the school, Edward Hooker Knight, his family and a few of his friends. The old Hosmer Hall and Case Library were sold and the new residence for men was named Hosmer Hall, while the building erected from the Case fund for the academic building was named Hartranft Hall, after "the friend who had inspired him for these great acts of wisdom and Christian philosophy." Then in 1924 came an unconditioned gift of \$250,000 from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., with commendation for the interdenominational university and the spirit of the students, faculty and trustees, the president of which board is Charles Welles Gross. The buildings, of Glastonbury granite, were designed by Charles Collins, of a Hartford family. The physical evidence of the continuity of Hartford's interest is complete, but back of that is the development of the "Hartford idea." At the dedication dinner in May, 1927, Doctor

Mackenzie dwelt upon the work of graduates in many fields and recalled the names of many other benefactors—John S. Welles, Jonathan Morris, Jeremiah M. Allen, Lyman B. Brainard, Charles M. Joslyn, the family of F. B. Cooley, Rowland Swift and Atwood Collins. "It is not the kind of institution that seems to have attracted enthusiasm, confidence, devotion, self-sacrifice, in the same way at other places. But here Hartford, long ago, somehow learned to do this."

Since the dedication there has been a bequest of \$51,000 to the School of Religious Education, by the will of Rev. Henry S. Chapman of Glen Ridge, N. J. Doctor Knight retired from the deanship of that school in 1927 and was succeeded by Karl R. Stolz, a Methodist, a graduate of Northwestern University in 1909 and member of the American Association of University Professors. He was born in Traverse City, Mich., in 1884. This year (1928), after a long and most notable term of service, Dean Jacobus retired. The duties of the office were discharged by Prof. Curtis M. Geer for a few months, till the appointment of Rev. Dr. Rockwell Harmon Potter who thereupon terminated his long pastorate at the First Church. Professor Geer has been a member of the faculty since 1901 and previously was a Congregational minister in East Windsor and in Danvers, Mass., and a professor at Bates College,—an eminent authority on social service. He was born in Hadlyme and was graduated at Williams in 1887; after a course at the seminary, he studied abroad. Rev. Dr. Arthur L. Gillett, a native of Westfield, Mass. (and brother of United States Senator Frederick H. Gillett), a graduate of Amherst and of the seminary and a member of the faculty for many years in addition to other distinction that has been his in the field of philosophy, has resigned, as also has Prof. Charles S. Lane, another graduate of the seminary and likewise of Amherst, and vice president of the school and secretary of the foundation faculty and of the Board of Trustees. A portrait of Dean Knight has been given for Knight Hall and a tablet in memory of President Hartranft, unveiled by his only son, Frederick B. Hartranft of this city, has been placed in Hartranft Hall. Death has claimed Rev. Dr. Alexander R. Merriam, professor emeritus in the theological school—a graduate of Yale and of Andover, at one time a teacher in the high school and always



(From the engraving by H. B. Hall)

HORACE WELLS
(1815-1848)
Discoverer of Anesthesia



BRONZE MEMORIAL NEAR
THE CORNER OF MAIN AND
ASYLUM STREETS, HART-
FORD, MARKING THE BUILD-
ING WHERE DR. HORACE
WELLS DISCOVERED ANES-
THESIA IN 1844



active in city interests. Edwin Knox Mitchell, professor since 1892, helpful also in the city's affairs, is made professor emeritus. These are men of the type Doctor Mackenzie referred to who have attracted enthusiasm, confidence, devotion, self-sacrifice. To them and their like from the beginning Hartford is deeply indebted.

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By the middle of the nineteenth century the list of Hartford County physicians who had made a national reputation included, as has been told, Mason F. Coggs, Eli Todd, Lemuel Hopkins, John L. Comstock, Samuel B. Woodward of Wethersfield and Samuel B. Beresford, and recently had been added to it the names of Horace Wells and John N. Riggs. Wells was the discoverer of anesthesia. After seeing laughing-gas used at one of the frequent public performances of the day, he went to his office on Main Street (the location now marked by a tablet), administered the nitrous-oxide gas to himself, and his assistant, Doctor Riggs, extracted a tooth. That was December 11, 1844. Later he administered the gas for operations by local physicians. State and city erected the monument in the doctor's honor on Bushnell Park. The doctor was born in Hartford, Vt., in 1815 and died in New York in 1848. Doctor Riggs was the discoverer of the cause of Riggs disease of teeth and gums.

The County Medical Society had been established in 1792 with Dr. Eliakim Fish and Dr. Elihu H. Smith as the officers. The Hartford Medical Society was formed August 27, 1846, two years after the Hopkins Medical Society had ceased to exist, and, as will appear in connection with the Hunt Memorial, has ever since been an important factor in the community.

One of the society's first grateful duties, while at the same time advancing the important cause of sanitation, was to crystallize public sentiment for a hospital. Evidence of the need had accumulated when the Society for Providing a Home for the Sick had been formed and a house rented at the junction of Maple and Retreat avenues. Then in March, 1854, came the explosion at the car shops of Fales & Gray near Dutch Point in which nineteen were killed and forty wounded, and there was no suitable

place for caring for the injured. The mayor presided at a public meeting inspired by the medical society and immediately thereafter the Hartford Hospital was incorporated—Francis Parsons (1st), president; William T. Lee, vice president; F. A. Brown, secretary and treasurer, and Chester Adams, G. B. Hawley and L. F. Robinson (1st), Executive Committee. Subscriptions yielded \$31,000 and the state gave \$10,000. Daniel Wadsworth made it known that he would bequeath \$40,000. The Cogswell lot of nine acres, with buildings, near South (Barnard) Park was bought for \$16,000 and the cornerstone of the administration building and north wing was laid by Governor Buckingham in 1837. Meanwhile the Home for the Sick had given its property where patients could be accommodated in limited number at \$3 a week, which price debarred two-thirds of the applicants.

The first doctors were S. B. Beresford, G. W. Russell, G. B. Hawley, E. K. Hunt, M. W. Wilson and A. W. Barrows. The library and instruments of the late Dr. George Sumner (widely known as a botanist as well as a physician and a professor in that science at Trinity) were bought and given, as also, later, was a library of worth, bought with a fund raised by Rev. Prof. J. J. McCook. In 1865, when there were seventy patients, wards for only forty-four and but ten attendants, a popular appeal provided another wing. Four years later, the need increasing, the state allowed \$20,000 on condition the people subscribed an equal amount; the subscriptions totaled \$86,200, and the south and east wings were completed. The memorial tablet giving the names of donors of \$5,000 or more was placed in 1870 and portraits of benefactors and veterans of the staff were hung in the picture gallery. Ward 5 for men's surgical attendance and an isolation ward were added in 1876.

The growth has been marked by the purchase of much additional land and the erection of new buildings, indicative of the community's pride and of the benevolence of individuals. Among the more prominent buildings are the pavilion for contagious diseases, Wildwood Sanitarium for the tuberculous (on the farm given by David Clark in memory of his son Lester), the Robinson Children's wards (given by Mrs. Louis R. Cheney in memory of her sister, Miss Elizabeth Trumbull Robinson), the nurses'



OLD PEOPLE'S HOME—HARTFORD HOSPITAL



HARTFORD HOSPITAL

Showing part of buildings on South Hudson Street. From right to left: Women's Building, X-Ray Building and wing and Administration Building. Cheney Library is being built the other side of the Administration Building.



residence, the nurses' memorial home (given by Mr. and Mrs. G. F. Heublein), the women's building, the Capewell X-ray building (given by the family of George F. Capewell, inventor of the horse-nail and founder of the Capewell Horse-Nail Company), the Hall-Wilson laboratory (given by Mrs. John C. Wilson in memory of her father, President John H. Hall of Colt's Patent Fire Arms Manufacturing Company, and of her husband), the superintendent's residence (given by Mrs. Mabel Perkins Clark), and the Mary Robinson Cheney Memorial Library (given by Col. and President Louis R. Cheney and his daughter, Mrs. John T. Roberts, in memory of the colonel's wife, the first president of the women's auxiliary). The value of the buildings now is nearly \$800,000.

A very notable gift in November, 1928, is that of Edward B. Peck, who was born in Galveston, Texas, in 1840, came here with the Connecticut General Life Insurance Company in 1868 and was assistant secretary at the time of his death in 1928. He left \$800,000 to the Hospital, \$25,000 to the Atheneum, \$20,000 to the Hartford Orphan Asylum, \$20,000 to the Charity Organization Society, \$10,000 to the Newington Home for Crippled Children and \$10,000 to the Young Women's Christian Association.

There are forty-five free beds, caring for about 350 patients annually. In addition to the large gifts for these there is a memorial fund of over \$200,000, contributed by individuals, and a number of other funds, the larger of which include the following bequests and memorials: Citizens endowment, \$25,000; Isaac B. and Marian Davis, \$310,000; Lyman B. Jewell, \$30,000; Keney fund, \$50,000; Roland Mather, \$30,000; William B. McCray, \$43,000; Junius S. Morgan, \$20,000; Mary I. B. Russell, in memory of Dr. G. W. Russell, Mary S. Beresford and Francis Beresford Marsh, \$40,000; Oliver Grant Terry and Amelia Smith Terry (from Miss May Terry), \$220,000; Josephine Williams estate in memory of Lyman B. Jewell, \$100,000; Josephine Williams, \$654,000. The annual admissions are over 12,000, representing forty-four nationalities, of which about 10,000 are United States—Russia, Sweden, Canada, England, and Austria ranking next, and in this order. By occupation, housewives stand first, followed in order by "none," school, and laborers.

The Training School for Nurses was organized in 1877, of

which Mrs. F. A. Tuttle was superintendent for fifteen years. In 1898 Mrs. Charles Dudley Warner published a call for funds for a nurses' home; the result was a completed building in 1900, in which is a tablet to the memory of Mary Sweeney, a veteran nurse who died in South Manchester intestate and whose property, through the instrumentality of Col. Frank W. Cheney of South Manchester, was turned over by the state for this home. A social service department was organized in 1913.

The Old People's Home on Jefferson Street, in connection with the hospital, dates from 1873 by charter amendment, and the present building was erected on Jefferson Street in 1884. Charles H. Northam, late president of the hospital, left \$50,000 for it. Subsequent gifts were from Henry and Walter Keney, Timothy M. Allyn, Mrs. Lucius H. Goodwin, Thomas Smith, and Mrs. Lois Sargent of Hartford, Charles Boswell of Wethersfield and Hartford, and Mrs. David Gallop of Plainfield.

The incorporators were David Watkinson, Samuel Colt, S. S. Ward, Amos M. Collins, Albert Day, James G. Bolles and A. W. Butler. The presidents after Francis Parsons, 1st, have been C. H. Northam, Edson Fessenden, G. W. Russell, Harmon G. Howe, A. C. Dunham and Louis R. Cheney; the superintendents, Leander Hall, Benjamin S. Gilbert, J. M. Teniston, Winthrop H. Smith, A. W. Smith and Dr. Lewis A. Sexton. The history would not be complete without the name of Dr. William D. Morgan who for many years has been chairman of the Executive Committee. Under the superintendency of Doctor Sexton, who was appointed in 1917, the hospital has ranked among the highest in the country, official attest of which was given at the time of the national survey by the Smithsonian Institution in 1926.

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Of origin in this period also was another of Hartford's proudest assets—its parks, about which much will be said later. Rev. Dr. Horace Bushnell is here once more conspicuous, for it was he who looked upon the sordid conditions along Little River from the old Imlay Mills site to the Main Street bridge and said this should be a park and not a heap of wreckage from the early railroad days, of tanneries and of miserable cottages. Once more,

as in the case of the water supply, his persistency proved effectual. William Law Olmsted, in the beginning of his career as landscape architect, gave freely of his advice, and Judge Sherman W. Adams, another who devoted himself to public interests and to history, was superintendent. Under his direction the rough and swampy ground was filled in and graded, and a great variety of native trees was set out. In all there were twenty-five acres, to which half as much again was added when the new Capitol took the place of Trinity College on the hill. So appreciative was the city as the work progressed that the Common Council on February 14, 1876, the eve of the doctor's death, gave it his name. As will be seen, the present park system was not inaugurated till 1895. The chairman of the Board of Trustees having supervision of this first park work was George Beach, a descendant of Governor Bradford of Plymouth colony and of William Whiting, second treasurer of Connecticut, himself president of the Phoenix Bank and for over thirty years a member of Hungerford, Phelps & Beach, later Beach & Company, importers of dyes.

Philanthropy in the most peculiar form in the history of the county established what today is the Larabee Fund. Charles Larabee, born in Windham in 1782, was a captain in the Regular Army in 1812 and was breveted major for bravery at Brownstone, where he lost his left arm. For four years from 1831 he was surveyor of revenue in Cincinnati. He came to Hartford to spend his last days. In 1847 he willed his property to the city and town, the income to be used for the needy and lame or deformed women. In 1859 he included West Hartford and said, in his will, that he considered about \$500 to each beneficiary would be enough. Subsequent codicils to the unique document, which he wished to have printed and the one pamphlet copy of which is in the city treasurer's office, directed that ladies from each church should handle the fund, which he had "increased twenty-fold," and that Stiles D. Sperry be executor. The sum received by city and town in 1864 was \$6,342. This has been increased by gifts and bequests till now the fund which is held by the treasurer with interest disbursements by the ladies is over \$83,000.

A revered asset of the city which was lost in this period was the historic Charter Oak which was blown down August 24,

1856. A dirge was played over the tree by Colt's Armory Band, and Lydia Huntley Sigourney and others wrote poems on it. Every inch of the tree was saved for relics and memorials.

An asset which was to disappear when the Government Building came was the State House Green. It was further beautified in 1856 by turning on the new fountain. An editor wrote: "All improvements of this kind soften the ruggedness of our Puritan character with something of artistic fineness," and a poet prophesied, in a faith totally blind, that the fountain would play for centuries to come. In 1928 there is renewed faith in a recurrence to a softening effect, as the vacated site is once more to become the city's.



BEGINNING OF BUSHNELL PARK, HARTFORD

From Wells Street, 1865. Trinity College, where Capitol now stands

XXVI

THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD

CONNECTION WITH MEXICAN WAR—HARTFORD SLAVE TRIAL—POLITICAL
AND MILITARY CONFUSION—PUTNAM PHALANX—WIDEAWAKES—
SECRETARY WELLES—COUNTY'S RESPONSE TO THE CALLS.

The courage, self-sacrifice and horrors of the Civil war in the field have been memorialized in cemeteries and in public places throughout the country, and the home cost of the conflict has been counted not only in written records but in the handicaps that fell to soldiers' families and descendants for two generations—indeed, in many instances, still have to be endured. But, as in the long-approaching Revolution, though not as in the swift World war, there can be small appreciation of the tense atmosphere, especially in a community like this Constitution County, without a review of circumstances preceding. Especially true is this of the Mexican war. In the instance of the Civil war, history no longer can tolerate the dismissal on the ground that it was fratricidal and that, therefore, local divergence of views had best be forgotten. From standpoint of military science that war takes precedence over all others, but it is the thrilling story and not the underlying features and their more remote causes, in the various towns, that has crowded the printed page. In the progressive study of a county with its Constitution history, at least a guide to these features will be looked for by present and future readers, even though space be limited.

The Mexican war of 1846 was not popular in Connecticut. In a resolution adopted by the Legislature, it was considered unconstitutional, because of President Polk's sending troops into Mexican territory. Since the Government called for volunteers at large, the question of the militia and the federal service was not raised as in 1812. A total of some 700 enlisted in Connecticut chiefly for intermittent state duty along the shores; her

officers already in the army won distinction. Thomas H. Seymour, of notable Hartford family and one who had been captain of the Hartford Light Guard—counted among the few earnest companies in a militia that was overgrown and seedy—was major in the Connecticut portion of the one formal New England regiment, the Ninth, for service at the front. It was said Texas had been annexed merely to establish a new empire of slavery and this country should not have concerned itself about Mexico's treatment of it.

Hence, for the action of the President in sending troops for protection of the new state before war had been declared, one must go back to the story of the annexation of Texas as President Tyler was leaving office in March, 1845, after its troubles as an independent Mexican state since in 1835. Two of Hartford's foremost sons wrote much upon that subject, John M. Niles (senator 1835-1839 and 1843-1849, former editor of the *Times* and writer of an authoritative book on Mexico) and Prof. William G. Sumner of Yale, who was born in Hartford in 1840. The former detailed the perpetual brutal conduct and machinations of the Mexican government (not the people); Sumner, at later date, believed that pro-slavery had been at the bottom of it all. A vigorous review of the contentions, with decision that the pro-slavery theory was due to utter misapprehension, was published in 1908 by Maj. Charles H. Owen, able Hartford lawyer and veteran of the Civil war. Incidentally and not significantly, President Polk was received in Hartford in 1847, during the war, with all the honors that should be accorded a chief magistrate. And the democratic Congress meantime was cutting down the protective tariff, on which New England industries depended. Incidentally also, Seymour was to be elected governor in 1850 and to be reelected twice; his subsequent changeful career, as it will be outlined, is intensely significant of change in popular sentiment.

Coming to the slavery phase, of which the Texas-Mexico affair was in reality such an important adjunct, everyone is on more familiar grounds. From 1808, when the South had joined with the North in congressional prohibition of importation of slaves, until 1836, slavery had publicly ceased to be an issue; Washington's and Jefferson's hopes had been fulfilled. But underneath fire was smoldering; it was known privately that



MAIN AND PEARL STREETS, HARTFORD, IN THE '60s
Showing site of the present Hartford National Bank and Trust Company



slaves were being imported. The fact was forced into public notice at Hartford in 1839, the bicentennial year of the Constitution. Fifty-three slaves were brought to the jail.* They had been seized in Africa and on the Spanish ship *L'Amistad* were being taken from Havana to Puerto Principe, with America their probable final destination, when they killed all the crew but two whom they ordered to return them to Africa. Finding they were being deceived, they forced a landing at the end of Long Island where they were taken in charge by a Government vessel. President Buchanan yielded to Spain's demand for delivery of ship and cargo. Protest being made, the slaves were brought here for a trial of the issue, there being no treaty provision. Seth B. Staples, Theodore Sedgwick, Jr., of New York and Roger Sherman Baldwin of New Haven defended and won. The Government appealing, the Circuit Court in New Haven upheld the decision as also did the Supreme Court in 1841, on the ground that the men had been kidnapped and were not bound by treaties. Most of them were taken to Farmington where they were well cared for and given a rudimentary education till returned to Africa.

In 1833, the breach between North and South had been opened not on the slave question but on the question of protective tariff, when South Carolina attempted nullification of the tariff law and Webster's immortal speech on the Union was delivered. About the same time, William Lloyd Garrison of Boston and others had taken the field for liberation of slaves; the breach then was wide open. Locally, the *Christian Freeman* of William H. Burleigh took up the cry of abolition and, despite the conservatism of traders and manufacturers who valued their southern patronage, the cry increased in intensity. Governor Baldwin in 1844 voiced it before the Legislature (which would not vote to give colored men suffrage), and the following year the abolition or liberty party had a full ticket in the field. The Missouri Compromise and its subsequent negation swept many of the conservatives into line.

* This jail had been built in 1837 on lower Pearl Street to replace the one near the corner of Trumbull Street, used since 1793, and was to continue to be the jail till the present one on Seyms Street was built in 1874 at an initial cost of \$211,481 for land and building.

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 created a diverting craze. Whereas the question of slavery and southern wrath had monopolized conversation everywhere, men now marveled over the reports from the Pacific coast. A demand sprang up for ships to transport seekers for wealth; for a time business in general felt the impetus. The names of some of the "Fortyniners" who sailed around Cape Horn indicates the worthy kind of men who were eager to join with the adventurers—Capt. Orrin Sellew of East Hartford (commander of a ship), Reuben Kellogg, Dr. M. D. Coe, Henry Dean, J. P. Smith, W. O. Sexton, John Grow, Jr., G. H. Sexton, A. S. Whittemore, L. G. Chaffee, B. B. Hastings, H. R. Sage, H. P. Sweetzer, Hezekiah Chaffee, Edward Pratt, E. J. Bolles, Merrick Moore, L. G. Hale, William A. Goodwin, W. R. Freeman, H. M. Butler, Charles E. Mitchell, James Spencer, N. L. Turner. From Bloomfield—C. H. Humason, Henry Hubbard, Powell Green. From Canton—T. B. Higley. From Windsor—Stiles Edgerton, E. E. Fox, D. G. Hathaway, H. H. Phelps, Johnson Clark. From Newington—J. S. Kirham, George Shepard, N. E. Judd, Lafayette Gladding, R. R. Rockwell. From Granby—J. R. Hill, C. C. Culver, Donald Grimes. From Wethersfield—Walter Griswold, Henry Rhodes. From Suffield—Horace Rising. From Glastonbury—William and Anson Dean, Thomas Goodale, D. B. Curtis, G. B. Curtis, William Welles. From Farmington—Jonathan Cowles. From East Windsor—C. L. Waters, William Johnson, Francis Reid, George Watson, Luke Watson, Jr., C. F. Osborn.

During these days of political heat, Isaac Toucey (1791-1869) succeeded Governor Baldwin in 1846. He was a native of Newtown. Admitted to the bar in Hartford in 1811, he became state's attorney in 1822. From 1835 to 1839 he was representative. His election to be governor was by the Legislature, there not having been a majority for either candidate. In 1848 he was United States attorney-general, after which he served in both houses of the General Assembly and followed Baldwin to the Senate. His appointment by Buchanan to be secretary of the navy called forth a local editorial comment which expressed a growing northern sentiment: "What he is wanted for—knowing nothing about ships—is to dispense patronage to the southerners." He had to share with Jefferson Davis, secretary of



PRESENT SHOPPING DISTRICT OF HARTFORD IN CIVIL WAR TIMES

Looking south from corner of Main and Church Streets. Christ Church on the right, Roberts Opera House the third building beyond, Melodeon Building (old Fourth Congregational Church) with square tower, Pearl Street Church spire to the right of it, First Church and South Baptist Church spires beyond. On east side of street: Corner of New First Baptist Church, Touro Hall with square tower (old First Baptist, then Advent, then Beth Israel), and in the distance spires of Second Baptist Church (left), and St. John's Church (right)



(Photograph by The Ingrahams. From collection of W. J. Hickmott)

UNION HALL AND MAIN STREET, HARTFORD, IN CIVIL WAR TIMES



war, the criticism of so distributing men and equipment as to give the South the advantage. The criticism was denounced by his old associates here. Thomas H. Seymour was governor from 1850 to 1853.

Francis Gillette, stanch abolitionist, was appointed to fill out the term of Truman Smith of Litchfield. James Dixon (1814-1873) served as senator from 1857 to 1869. He had been congressman from 1845 to 1849. He came from Enfield, where he was born, to Hartford in 1838, to be nearer his large clientele as a lawyer, and acquired the large estate at the corner of Farmington Avenue and Sigourney Street where the Aetna Life Insurance Company is about to build. Reference has been made to his literary productions. Also, in the lower house, were James T. Pratt, 1853-1855, and Ezra Clark, Jr., 1855-1859.

The "free soil" party originated with democrats who believed in no slavery in new states; but it drew more from the whigs than from the democrats, whose candidate, Cass, however, was defeated by General Taylor in 1848, and it held the balance of power in the lower house, leaving the Senate alone democratic. Four years later the whigs were disorganized by the defeat of their General Scott by the democratic compromise candidate Pierce of New Hampshire. The Order of United Americans, a mysterious band known as "know nothings" and bringing in professedly the Roman Catholic question, won surprising state victories in 1854-5 so that Congress was made up of a variety of men representing a variety of sentiments. At this moment of the obliteration of the whig party, or 1852, Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" appeared.

Meantime the fugitive slave law of 1850 was being enforced by southerners, with attendant riots; a less sensational body than the original abolitionists was forming in the North—to be still stronger when the Supreme Court was to say, in 1857, that the fugitive slave law was constitutional inasmuch as the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional and slaves were mere property—and the republican party was born in 1856. This party was drawn from the old whigs, from the small parties that had succeeded them and also from the anti-slavery democrats. Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska bill and "squatter sovereignty" had furnished the heat for the welding. The party with Fremont as a candidate was not strong enough to defeat the democrats with Bu-

chanan, but events were continuing to shape for it. Among these other things was the great period of financial depression, due in chief measure to over-expansion and speculation following railroad development and industrial rush. John Brown, native of Torrington, had begun his work. He had been a not unfamiliar figure in Hartford, where he made an address in 1857. While sympathy of some was with him in his Kansas settlement plan, he was considered somewhat "flighty" and he did not secure the Collins Company of Canton to make many spears for him.

It is only with this background that one gets what it meant when such men as Gideon Wells of the *Times*, Hon. John M. Niles, D. F. Robinson, James M. Bunce, Calvin Day, Thomas T. Fisher, Jonathan F. Morris, Mark Howard and ninety others subscribed \$100 each to establish a republican organ with Faxon & Pierce as printers. William Faxon retiring, Joseph R. Hawley took his interests and was an editor of the *Evening Press* which resulted from this union of interests. The *Press* merged with the *Courant* in 1867, which paper had been federal, whig and republican but latterly had lacked "ginger." As told elsewhere, the *Times* continued democratic, using every effort to prevent the impending war.

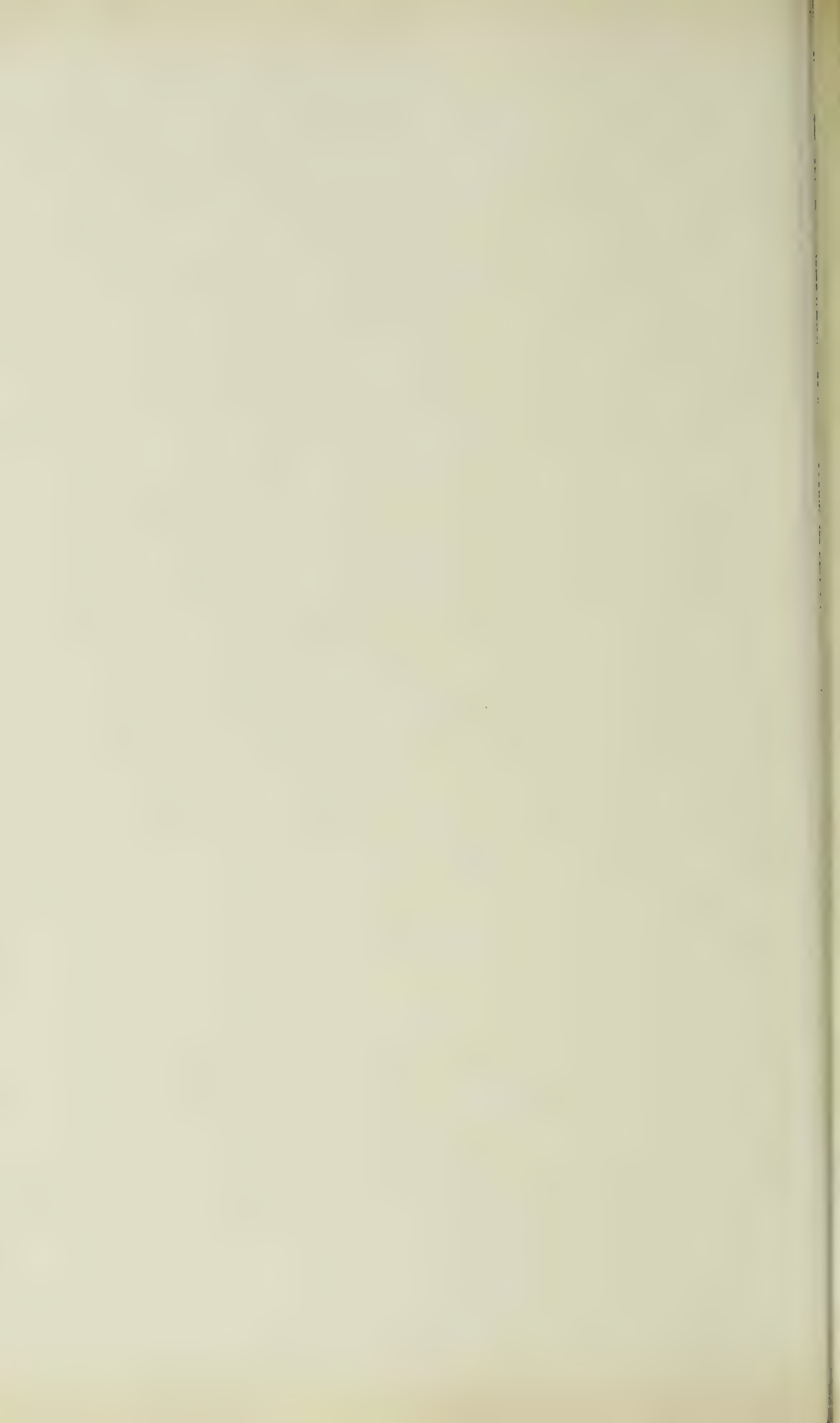
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Another item of vital importance in history could be given in the one word "Unpreparedness." Till 1848 the law of 1639 had been in force—that every citizen, with age limit changed to ages between 18 and 45, must be inspected each year as to his supply of equipment and be subject to drill. The state latterly, in the period of Adj.-Gen. Charles T. Hillyer of Granby, Adj.-Gen. Joseph D. Williams (1855-1863) and Maj-Gen. James T. Pratt of Hartford and Rocky Hill, whose names are prominent in other parts of this history, had furnished a few flint-lock guns and the Federal Government yearly had allowed \$200,000 towards guns for all states, an amount fixed in 1808 and not changed till 1860. In 1848 the militia numbered 53,191, infantry, artillery and heavy artillery, in six brigades of a total of 960 companies. The law was just coming in for distinction between active and inactive militia, those not enrolled as active or above age 35 to pay poll tax, and from this fund the actives would be paid \$1.50 a day



PUTNAM PHALANX IN PARADE IN PARIS, 1926

Major Clifford D. Perkins at the head; Staff Adjutant, Captain E. C. Bigelow; Chief of Staff, Lieutenant Frank E. Soule; First Company, Captain George Webb, commanding; Second Company, Captain Ernest Walker



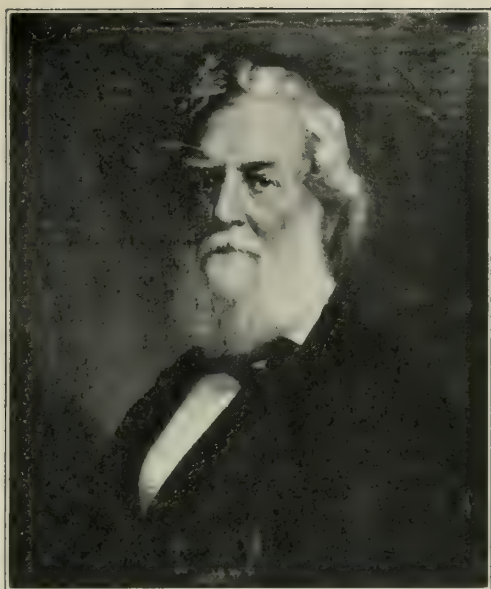
for three days' field service each year. The divisions were cut down to one, two brigades. The three days' tour of duty was marked by much display on the part of higher officers, the companies dressed in uniforms of their own selection for the most part and where there were uniforms. Headquarters usually were at some tavern and the drill field was nearby. Interest waned rapidly. At the outbreak of the war there were not enough organized and equipped companies in the whole state to form one effective regiment, and that, too, though Governor Buckingham several weeks in advance of the President's call had issued a warning to be ready. The consequent expense in men and treasure was tremendous.

To keep in mind the men of the Revolution, to form a social club and to do honor to Hon. William H. Seymour on his return from Russia where he had been United States minister, 150 well known citizens met on August 9, 1858, and formed a military organization to bear the name of the Putnam Phalanx in honor of the hero of several wars in the previous century. Among those on the first roster were Alfred E. Burr of the *Times*, Pliny Jewell, Jr., Gen. C. T. Hillyer and Gen. J. T. Pratt, and the first commandant was Maj. Horace Goodwin (aged 71) with a staff composed of J. D. Williams, Asher Moore, E. B. Strong, Henry C. Deming, A. S. Stillman, J. B. Crosby, Otis Smith, A. M. Gordon, D. P. Francis, Thomas Miner, W. J. Shany, Bruning Mance, C. T. Martin, and I. William Stuart. The uniform selected was patterned after that of General Washington, the guns were the old-time flint-locks and the tactics those of Baron Von Steuben. The greeting parade for Governor Seymour was a success, and since that time there have been parades on patriotic occasions here and in many states and cities where the "Puts" are highly honored. The organization was incorporated in 1877. In 1891 it went into an armory built for it at the corner of Pearl and Haynes streets, whence it moved in 1927 to its present armory on Washington Street. Especially good work has it done in collecting historical relics; those of General Putnam include his famous plow and saddle. Its roster of officers and men always has included the names of prominent citizens of this and neighboring towns, usually of middle age. During the wars since 1858 the

phalanx has done escort duty and has given aid in every way it could.

The political campaign of 1860 was fiercely fought. An incident of it was the first appearance of torches in night parades. The local company of which James S. Chalker was captain was large and especially well drilled. During a halt one evening in front of a store on Main Street one of the men went in and bought a piece of glazed cloth to put over his shoulders to protect his coat from the drippings of his torch. At the next parade the whole battalion was arrayed in brilliant capes of that material, and thus the famous Hartford Wide Awakes originated the costume so popular in campaigns for thirty years thereafter. Lincoln appeared here and spoke at the City Hall. He was a surprise to the people as he had been in New York, but he was the approved leader and it was the cause more than the man that the republicans had in mind.

Sumter was fired on Friday, April 12, 1861. "Battle Sunday," when Sumter was abandoned, was a day of deep solemnity. There were street meetings as well as stirring services in the churches. Political distinctions were forgotten. Editor Burr still held out against coercion but in the manly tone of one much respected. Gideon Welles was in Washington as Lincoln's secretary of war and William Faxon was his chief clerk. William W. Eaton alone declared that no soldier should pass through this state southward except over his dead body, and in that hour of his excitement he was called a "fire-eater." Liberty poles were springing up on every village green throughout the county and state. Had Lincoln's first call (April 15) been for twice 75,000 men, those who could not get in under the quota by the actual call would have filled it. The governor's call was issued April 16. In his editorial room, Hawley drafted a paper, signed it, passed it to Albert W. Drake of Windsor and to Joseph Perkins of Hartford who signed it and before night the list for Rifle Company A was complete. George S. Burnham, who had been captain of the Hartford Light Guard, was chosen captain, Hawley first lieutenant, Drake second. The first of these was to become colonel (of the Twenty-second); the second, major-general by brevet and the third, colonel (of the Tenth) before his death in 1862. The formal enlistment papers were not made out till April 18. Mean-



GIDEON WELLES

(1802-1878)

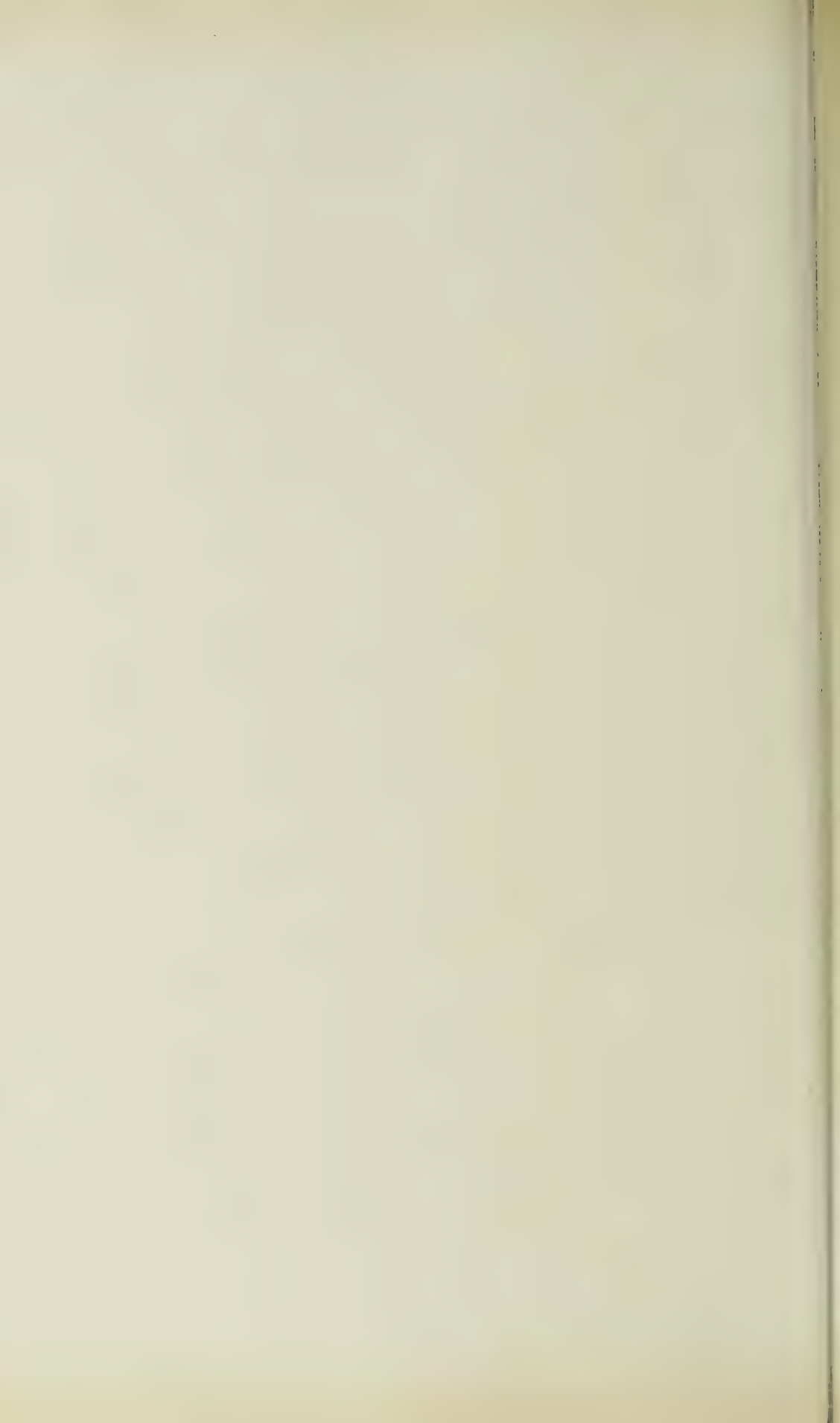
Of Glastonbury and Hartford. Editorial
writer on the Times and Lincoln's Secre-
tary of the Navy



GENERAL ALFRED H. TERRY

(1827-1890)

Of Hartford and New Haven. Colonel Seventh Con-
necticut Volunteers; Major-General volunteers in
Civil War. Brigadier-General, U. S. A., in Indian
campaigns



time on April 16, Capt. John C. Comstock of the Light Guard had enrolled most of his men as Infantry Company A, William H. Hoffman and George S. Gouge lieutenants. On the 19th, Ira Wright as captain and Justin H. Chapman and Daniel C. Rodman as lieutenants had enlisted the men for Infantry Company B. On the 20th Windsor Locks, Enfield, Thompsonville, Simsbury and other towns had contributed Infantry Company C, under Levi N. Hillman and Stoddard E. Horton of Windsor Locks as captain and first lieutenant. From New Britain, under date of the 20th, came Capt. Frederick W. Hart, captain, and Lieutenants William G. Cunningham and Oscar M. Butler with Company G, in which were several Farmington and Southington men. The other companies were from Meriden, Bridgeport, Waterbury and Danbury.

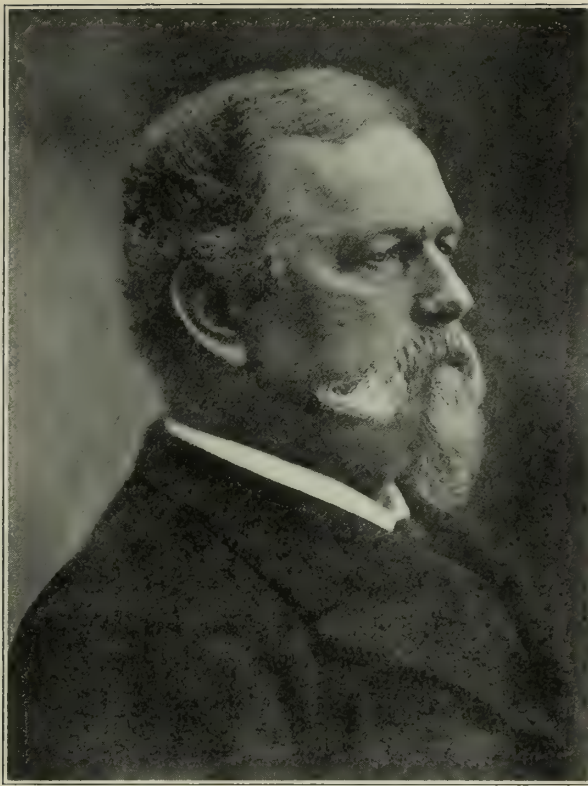
Service was to be for only three months under the then law for militia in putting down an insurrection. Most of those who had not followed the history as here outlined, and did not know the South, believed that three months would be long enough and 75,000 men sufficient. Such optimism was in contrast with the grimness of 1775. The Legislature not being in session the governor could get no appropriation, but already he had pledged his own money and in four days after the call the companies from Hartford were in rendezvous camp for the First Regiment in New Haven. Daniel Tyler of the Regular Army quickly accepted the colonelcy, Burnham was made second in command, Hawley captain of his company. Burnham was given command May 10 when Tyler was made brigadier. In New Haven, the first quarters were the college buildings. On May 13 the regiment was in camp at Washington and General Scott was exclaiming, "Thank God, here is one regiment all equipped for service and even with transportation."

On the next day arrived the Second Regiment commanded by Alfred H. Terry of New Haven, grandson of Maj. Nathaniel Terry of Hartford. Its companies were from New Haven and other towns, including Company H of Hartford which had been Rifle Company D of the old First Militia, under Capt. James W. Gore and Lieutenants Jesse H. Lord and Charles H. Scott, enlistments dated April 23. Eight companies had Sharps rifles; the others, the Springfields. The President's call was for only

one regiment from Connecticut but the disappointment of the men, not a few of whom had bid as high as \$50 for a place in the ranks of the first companies, had caused Buckingham to secure the acceptance of three. Buckingham was already being looked upon much as Washington looked upon Jonathan Trumbull. This permission was obtained, the Third came to rendezvous camp in Hartford May 9, on the Albany Avenue fair grounds. After receiving its colors from the governor in person at the State House, it started for Washington May 23. Infantry Company A, which had been Rifle Company A in the militia, was commanded by George N. Lewis with John Brennan and Lucius B. Bolles as lieutenants. Company E had been Rifle Company E in the state organization—Capt. John A. Nelson and Lieutenants Harry Finnegass and William Wright. The three regiments were brigaded under Tyler.

Individual towns had been carrying the financial burdens and furnishing many of the uniforms, the women in groups doing the sewing, till the May session of the Legislature enacted legislation which stood with little change throughout the four years, allowing \$30 a month for each man, \$6 for the wives and \$2 for each child. It also directed that 10,000 men should go into training to be ready for the next call. As in the Revolution, however, there was to be no time for training; only, in this instance, the opposing armies were about equally unfit. The one day of Bull Run was to be the "officers' training camp." Before that day of terrible lesson, Hartford men were to be the first notable victims. Col. Elmore E. Ellsworth of the Ellsworth Zouaves, who was shot May 24 while tearing down Confederate colors on an Alexandria hotel in full sight of the Capitol, was the grandson of John Ellsworth of Hartford. Capt. James H. Ward, the distinguished naval officer who had helped found the Naval Academy and who had organized on the Potomac the first flotilla, was killed at Acquia Creek June 27. His father was Col. James Ward of Hartford, commissary-general of the army in 1812.

July 16 the Connecticut brigade was the vanguard of the army pushing toward Richmond, and finding the enemy at Bull Run Creek Tyler advised advance in force. But the army was not ready. By the 21st when the engagement began, Washington spies had informed Longstreet of his peril and Johnston had been called to the field with 18,000 men. Theoretically neither

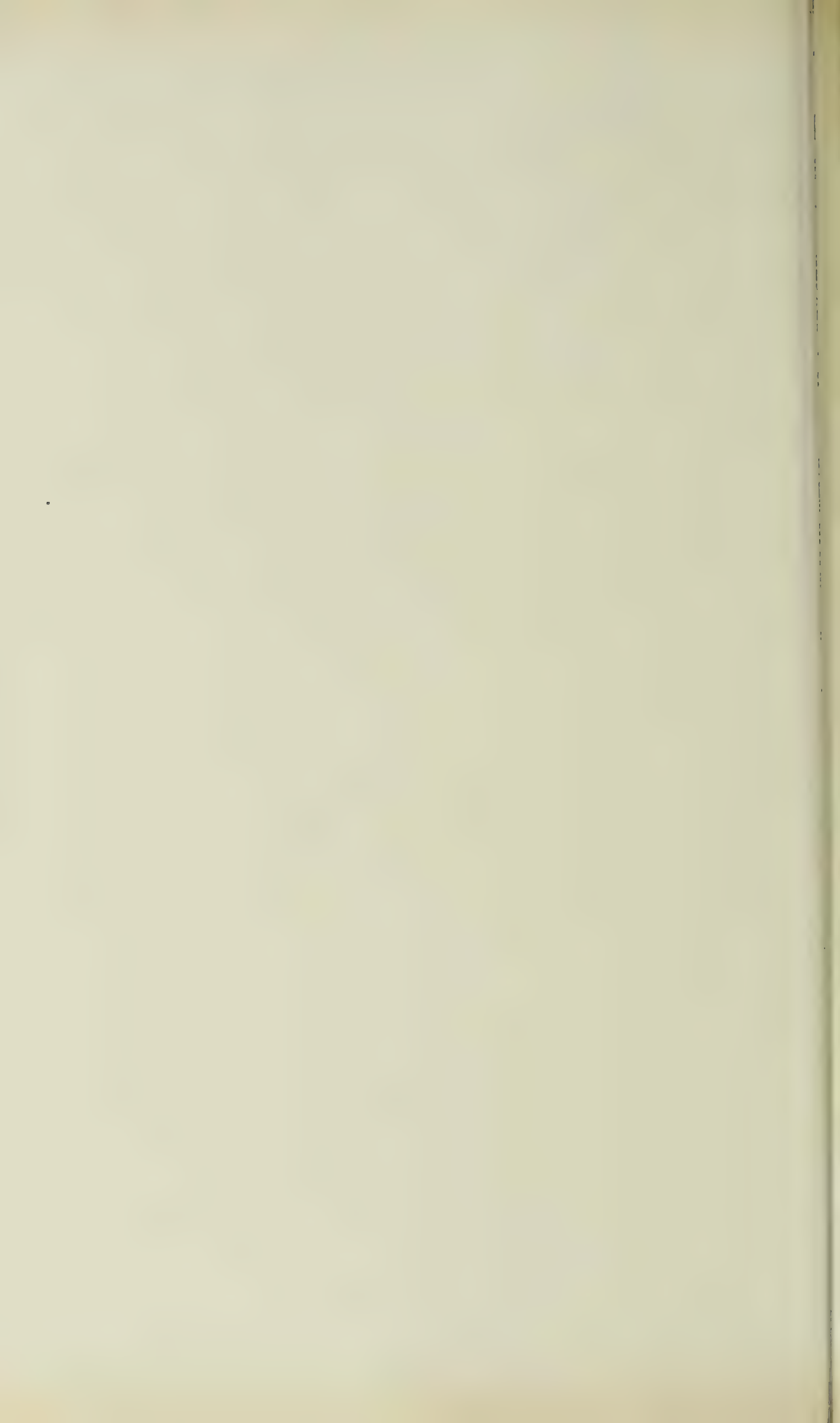


GENERAL JOSEPH ROSWELL HAWLEY
(1826-1905)

Editor of the Courant. Raised first company in
Hartford for Civil War; Colonel, Seventh Connecti-
cut Volunteers; Major General; Governor, 1866-67;
United States Senator, 1881-1905



HAWLEY BRONZE MEMORIAL AT THE CAPITOL MAIN ENTRANCE



side should have been there since neither had had training. But war laughs at the untrained. Victory was with the North, thought the Connecticut men till they caught their first glimpse of the rush toward the bridge to the capital. They kept their ranks firm, as though mindful of Putnam and Chester at Bunker Hill. In his report General Tyler said:

“At 7 o'clock Tuesday evening I saw the three Connecticut regiments, with 2,000 bayonets, march under the guns of Fort Corcoran in good order, after having saved us not only a large amount of public property, but the mortification of seeing our standing camps fall into the hands of the enemy.”

The few good companies of the militia had furnished the backbone of the three-months regiments; the men from Bull Run were now to furnish the backbone for the three-years forces. In this state over 500 of them became commissioned officers. Some of the waiting men went to Meriden and farther down the line to join the cavalry and the light batteries, among them Capt. W. E. Riley and Lieut. W. Gedney Bunce (later the great artist) for the First Cavalry. Edward W. Whitaker, corporal in the company Hawley raised, was lieutenant-colonel of that regiment and brevet brigadier. The Fourth Infantry which had been ready but could not get in under the first call was immediately reassembling, in Hartford, around Col. Levi Woodhouse of the Mexican war and was forming the famous “First Heavies.” When Woodhouse resigned in August he was succeeded by Capt. Robert O. Tyler of the regular army who was to continue after the war as brevet major-general. Thomas S. Trumbull, who had risen from sergeant-major to be lieutenant-colonel in 1864 and in 1865 succumbed to disease brought on by overwork, was considered by artillery authorities to be one of the best officers in that arm of the service. He was a graduate of the Harvard Law School and was practicing law in New York when he came here to do his “bit.” Of other Hartford officers, L. G. Hemingway was to become major; H. H. Pierce, major and to remain in the army, and C. M. Robbins, captain in the colored troops. Surgeon W. W. Skinner of Windsor Locks was to be brevet lieutenant-colonel. C. H. Owen, who was detailed to Tyler's staff, was to be brevet captain after his disabling wound at Cold Harbor.

Another group of turned-back companies was assembling at

Colt's Armory to form Colt's Revolving Rifle Regiment under the command of Samuel Colt who had his commission as colonel, but as they were not willing to go into the Regular Army, the plan was abandoned; the camp was removed from Colt Meadows to the corner of Bond and Webster streets and the Fifth Infantry was organized under Col. O. S. Ferry of Norwalk who in 1862 was succeeded by Maj. George D. Chapman. Frank D. Lane and William S. Coggs well became majors, H. S. Smith adjutant and E. V. Preston quartermaster. E. E. Marvin of Rockville, later to be one of the most prominent Hartford citizens, was captain of a company. The Sixth, assembling in New Haven, had Company B, men of Hartford and neighboring towns, under Capt. B. F. Prouty, and G of New Britain under Capt. John Tracy.

The Seventh rendezvoused at New Haven under the command of Colonel Terry who, on his appointment as brigadier-general, was to be succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Hawley, and he by Capt. D. C. Rodman of Hartford who never recovered from his wound at Fort Wagner and died in 1881. In this regiment also were Captains D. G. Francis of Hartford, Valentine B. Chamberlain of New Britain and L. C. Sutliff of Southington. The Eighth recruited at Camp Buckingham in Hartford under Col. Edward Harland of Norwich; the Ninth and the Ninth Battalion, Irish, at New Haven. J. A. Nelson and D. C. Warner of Hartford and J. W. Graham of Berlin were captains. Of the Tenth, which was mustered at Camp Buckingham in September, A. W. Drake was lieutenant-colonel and succeeded Colonel Russell. He died of consumption in 1862. John L. Otis of Manchester was colonel from March in 1863 and brevet brigadier. Maj. Henry W. Camp, son of Rev. Henry B. Camp of Hartford and member of the storied Yale crew of 1859, every member of which was an officer in the army, including Owen already mentioned and J. H. Twichell who was to be pastor of the Asylum Hill Congregational Church, was to meet a glorious death at Petersburg and his name be preserved in one of the finest classics of the war, the "Knightly Soldier," written by Chaplain Henry Clay Trumbull of his regiment and his city. P. W. Hudson of Manchester was one of the captains. The Eleventh was a Hartford regiment with many members from surrounding towns. Griffin A. Stedman, Jr., Trinity '59, a man of wealth and high culture who had given up his Philadelphia law practice to come back here and get into the serv-



CAMPFIELD MEMORIAL

Statue of General Griffin A. Stedman on Campfield
Park, indicating Rendezvous Camp for Civil War
Regiments



ice, was major and became colonel after Colonel Kingsbury was killed at Antietam. His brevet as brigadier-general reached his quarters at Petersburg August 5, 1864, the very day he was killed. J. H. Converse of Windsor Locks, killed at Cold Harbor, was a major in this command. Nathan Mayer was surgeon.

The Twelfth was the "Charter Oak Regiment." It was organized here in the early winter of 1861-2 for the New England Division which General Butler desired for his New Orleans campaign. Henry C. Deming, Yale '36, the democratic orator and mayor whose intense loyalty had caused him to be made speaker of the House, put aside his earlier views about a war and accepted the colonelcy. The duty Butler gave him in Louisiana was that of mayor of New Orleans. On his return in 1863, he served two terms in Congress. George N. Lewis was lieutenant-colonel. J. C. Kinney of Darien, after the war a *Courant* editor, postmaster and major of the Foot Guard, was a first lieutenant in the Thirteenth, assembling in New Haven. N. W. Perkins of New Britain commanded a company in that regiment.

A camp of instruction at Annapolis was promulgated in Washington in May, 1862. The call was for 50,000 to be trained. The Fourteenth was to be one of the regiments. Before the 50,000 could be raised, however, reverses had made it necessary to call for 300,000 for immediate service and three years. Buckingham's appeal was reminiscent of Jonathan Trumbull's. Promptly recruits came in at Camp Foote in Hartford and the Fourteenth's ranks were filled with men who were to see more fighting than those of any other regiment. Adjutant Theodore G. Ellis of Hartford went through the grades to the colonelcy in October, 1863, brevet brigadier in 1865. Capt. Samuel Moore of New Britain was promoted to be major and then, in 1862, lieutenant-colonel. Levi Jewett of Windsor Locks was assistant surgeon. J. E. Blinn of New Britain was one of the bravest captains. What that regiment did at Gettysburg alone is enough to give it high place in Connecticut annals. The Fifteenth, assembling in New Haven, went to the front closely on its heels. In general the rendezvous of regiments in Hartford was at what is now marked as Campfield Memorial Grounds, to be described later.

The Sixteenth above all regiments learned what it was to be rushed into battle even before it could get its full equipment together after its very speedy recruiting in its Hartford camp. It

was an exceptionally fine body of men. Frank Beach, graduate of West Point and son of George Beach, frequently mentioned in this history, was the colonel; Frank W. Cheney of South Manchester the lieutenant-colonel; George A. Washburn and Henry L. Pasco of Hartford were successively majors, and J. B. Clapp (Wethersfield) and Herbert Landon adjutants. Dr. A. S. Warner of Wethersfield was surgeon. Most of the companies were from Hartford, one from Enfield and Suffield, one from Canton and vicinity and one from Bristol, Capt. Newton S. Manross of which town had just been appointed professor at Amherst and was one of the most promising officers. The regiment leaving here August 29, 1862, was thrown into the fearful battle of Antietam September 17. Cheney was incapacitated by the wounds he received and was succeeded by John H. Burnham. In that engagement the Fourteenth lost Captain Blinn of New Britain, and the Sixteenth, Captains Samuel Brown of Enfield, F. M. Barber of Manchester, John L. Drake of Hartford and Manross of Bristol, besides many enlisted men from towns in Hartford County.

Of the other three-year regiments, Hartford gave three companies to the Twentieth, led by Col. Samuel Ross who won rank of brevet brigadier. C. M. Talcott of New Britain was adjutant, following James B. Burbank of Hartford who later went as a private in the Regular Army and continued therein, with brevet major of volunteers in 1865. Many men from county towns east of the river went in the Twenty-first. Under the call for 300,000 nine-months men in August, 1862, all of the companies except one were from the county, assembling at Camp Halleck in Hartford under the command of Col. George S. Burnham, Lieut-Col. Ellsworth N. Phelps of Windsor and Maj. Herman Glafcke of Hartford. Jonathan S. Curtis was surgeon. In the Twenty-fourth, assembling at Middletown, there was one Hartford company. The Twenty-fifth, Col. George P. Bissell, drew almost entirely from Hartford County and vicinity, mustering in here in the fall. D. H. Stevens of Glastonbury as lieutenant-colonel was succeeded by M. C. Weld of Hartford, and Maj. M. E. St. John of Simsbury by Thomas McManus of Hartford. H. C. Ward of Hartford was lieutenant-colonel of the Thirtieth and colonel of the Thirty-first (colored). Richard E. Holcomb of East Granby was colonel of Butler's First Louisiana and was killed at Port Hudson.

In the navy, besides Secretary Welles were Lieut.-Commanders Francis M. Bunce and Edward Terry, grandson of Nathaniel, and Henry Howard Brownell of East Hartford, the poet, secretary of Admiral Farragut. In the Regular Army J. Hartwell Butler of Hartford was brevet-major. At General Terry's great victory at Fort Fisher, for which he received promotion and the special thanks of Congress—and where the Sixth and Seventh and a portion of the First Heavy Artillery were in the van of the assault—Paymaster R. H. Gillette of the navy, son of Senator Francis Gillette of Hartford, was killed by the explosion of a magazine.

Based on three years' service Connecticut sent out 48,181 men or 6,698 more than her quota, without reference to the last call when Connecticut was asked for none. Of this total Hartford County furnished about one-fourth. The state had about 80,000 voters and about 50,000 able-bodied men on the militia rolls in 1861. The total casualties were 20,572. Readers of war history know that the Hartford contingents were in the hardest engagements, and, largely because of the capture of many of the Sixteenth at Plymouth, had more than their proportion of prison experience.

The county was generous in voting money for support of soldiers' families and also, following the old custom, for bounties till bounty-jumping and attendant deserting became scandalous. It frowned upon the purchase of substitutes except when it was apparent that a man could not be spared from duties at home. There had not been even the beginning of the science of manpower which were to be seen in the World war, nor was there organization in the production of material. Colt's, Sharps' and the concerns from which they drew for equipment were running day and night, which makes it more remarkable that Hartford County was able to send so many. Of bounty-jumpers and deserters, the adjutant-general in his final report was glad to remark that none of them was of Connecticut origin; mostly they were "professionals" from other states. Comparatively little was heard in this section about the enforcement of the draft, so repulsive to American sentiment except in a community where there are evaders. Of rioting there was none; of "copperheads," or democrats who proclaimed the war a failure, there were few.

Irish and Germans made up most of the alien class and, with the English, their patriotism was most creditable.

Chaplain Twichell was wont to tell of an incident when his regiment was bivouacing alongside of an Irish command and he met the Catholic chaplain looking for a place to rest. Mr. Twichell threw himself on the ground and called the priest to share his blanket with him. Soon after Mr. Twichell could feel the priest shaking with laughter. This aroused his curiosity. "I'm laughing," replied the priest to his inquiry, "to think what the saints are saying as they look down and see a Catholic priest and Protestant clergyman sleeping out here under the same blanket!"

From the first week to the last, the women of the county were tireless in their work. The Hartford Aid Association, for which large amounts of money and supplies were given, was in operation several months before the organization of the United States Sanitary Commission. Mrs. John Olmstead and Mrs. S. S. Cowen were particularly active.

One of the most generous of givers for all causes and especially of equipment for officers was David Clark who in 1865 was for a time owner of the *Post*. In later years the *Post* was under the management of J. M. Spalding and in its last days, before being taken over by the *Times*, of John A. Porter.

The Hartford City Guard was maintained by members of the militia who were unable to go to the front. One of its functions was to train men to recruit the companies in service, especially the unit that had gone with Artillery Company A, the original designation, as its nucleus. Colonel Burnham and Lieut. L. A. Dickinson had been of that company. At one time it was called out to guard the arsenal. Today its descendant is Company F of the local regiment, the One Hundred and Sixty-ninth Infantry. It was immediately after the war that the state military units were reorganized, the first to use the French name, National Guard. In 1871, the number of regiments was cut down to one for each of the four congressional districts, ten companies each for maximum, sixty-eight men to a company, and later one machine-gun platoon to a regiment, and a battery of light artillery. Brigade formation was abolished in 1907, after the passage of the Dick bill, when more attention to uniformity throughout the country was the purpose of the guardsmen them-

selves. Brigade encampments gave way to regimental and the Federal Government was more actively coöperating.

The posts of the Grand Army of the Republic in the county in 1927, with number of post in the state department, names of commanders and the number of members:

Nathaniel Lyon, 2, Hartford, Henry Lewis	13 members
Stanley, 11, New Britain, S. H. Wood	10 members
Gilbert W. Thompson, 13, Bristol, E. H. Allen	8 members
Robert O. Tyler, 50, Hartford, Nathan Coe	33 members
Newton S. Manross, 57, Forestville, A. P.	
Stark	1 member
A. E. Burnside, 62, Unionville, J. H. Davis	5 members
Daniel C. Rodman, 65, East Hartford, W. H.	
Brewer	5 members
John M. Morris, 66, Wethersfield	2 members

Important in the functions of all organizations are the Department of Instruction, assisted by the Boy and Girl Scouts among others, and participation in the affairs of the Soldiers' Home at Noroton. There also is the Woman's Relief Corps which always has been an aid to the G. A. R.—one for each post. The Ladies of the G. A. R., recently organized, give particular attention to school instruction. The Hartford tent is named for Elizabeth A. Turner. The Sons of Veterans, since 1927 the Sons of Union Veterans—teach patriotism and duties of citizenship. The Hartford organizations are Griffin A. Stedman Camp No. 9 and Hartford Camp, No. 50.

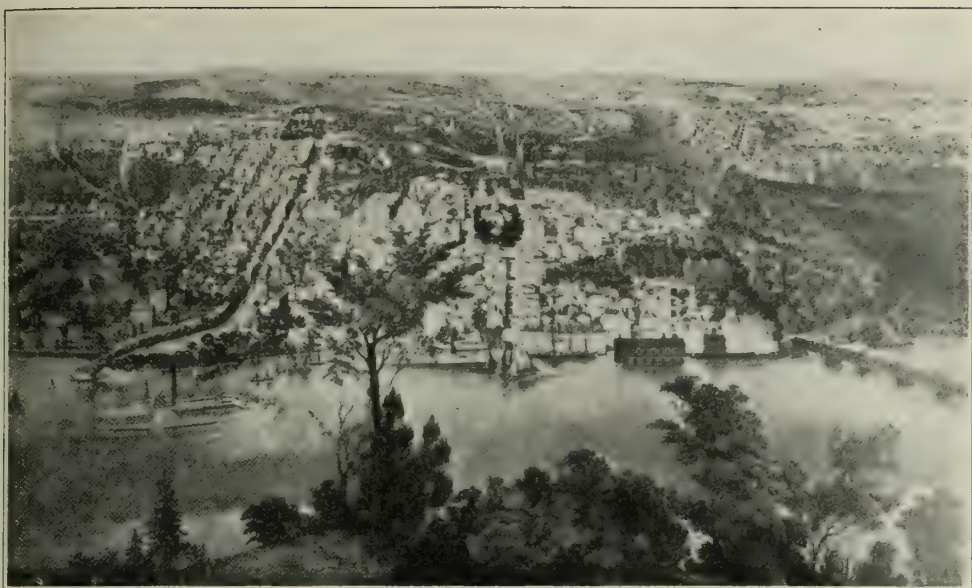
XXVII

RETURN TO PEACE

POLITICAL CONDITIONS—CHAPLAIN TWICHELL AND DOCTOR PARKER—
STREET CARS—THE NEW CAPITOL—GOVERNMENT BUILDING—FOUND-
ING OF TRAVELERS AND CONNECTICUT GENERAL.

From the end of the war till the '80s was a period of painful readjustment which, with all its tragedies, left no physical scars on a community of Hartford's enterprise. There were terrible struggles over the monetary standard in particular and calls for help from the Freedmen's Bureau at work in the South, responded to by many including a number who had been engaged in educational work there before the war. Among these latter was Rev. John A. B. Rogers of the local Catholic Apostolic Church who had founded Berea College in Kentucky, in association with Rev. Francis Hawley, father of General Hawley, at that time a worker in North Carolina for higher standards; the college had been closed during the war but Mr. Johnson went back and reestablished it for children without distinction as to color.

In the remnants of returning regiments there were men for public affairs as well as thousands of skillful mechanics and intelligent farmers whose places awaited them. The state, normally a close one politically, had reelected Buckingham successively through to 1866 (Julius Catlin lieutenant-governor from 1858 to 1861), though in the third year of the war the governor might have been defeated but for the vote of the soldiers in the field, Thomas H. Seymour opposing him on a "peace" platform. (Seymour, whose portrait, by vote of the Legislature, was turned face to the wall in the Capitol throughout the war, had thirty-eight votes for nomination for President at the democratic national convention that year.) Hawley followed Buckingham in office, carried on by his own popularity and also by the wave of sentiment continuing so strong after the assassination of Lin-



(Collection of Morgan B. Brainard)

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF HARTFORD, 1869



HARTFORD IN EARLIEST HORSE CAR DAYS

From spire of South Congregational Church, Main Street, looking north. On west side of street, to reader's left: South Baptist Church, Center Church, Christ Church; to the west of them, Pearl Street Congregational Church and North (Fourth) Congregational Church. East side: Second Baptist Church, St. John's Episcopal Church (tapering spire); dimly beyond it, old statehouse dome. In right midground: Prospect Street, with fine residences, the one with pillars being George M. Bartholomew's; just beyond it, the Daniel Wadsworth homestead



coln, but at the end of the year, the democrats were victorious. In the next election, Marshall Jewell won, was defeated the next year, then won again narrowly, after investigation of the apparent majority for his democratic competitor, and served two terms, or till 1873. After this second term, the democrats were successful for four terms and then again for the first of the present two-years terms, the candidate being Hartford's eminent lawyer and orator, Richard D. Hubbard. His successor also was a democrat.

Governor Jewell was appointed by President Grant minister to Russia and a year later to be postmaster-general, which position he resigned in 1876. He was chairman of the Republican National Committee till his death. Governor Hubbard (1818-1884) was a native of Berlin and a member of the law firm of Waldo, Hubbard & Hyde. He had been representative in the Legislature, state's attorney, and congressman in 1867. The statue of him on the Capitol grounds was provided for in the will of his friend, George D. Sargeant.

General Hawley succeeded Julius L. Strong in the lower house of Congress in 1873 and served another term in 1879-81, entering upon his long series of terms as senator in the latter year (till 1905). In 1868 he was chairman of the republican convention which unanimously nominated Grant, who, in his letter of acceptance to Hawley, wrote the words which became the campaign slogan, "Let us have peace." In his address at the convention, attacking the talk of repudiation among some of the opposition, Hawley uttered the words that made another slogan—"Every bond must be as sacred as a soldier's grave." In 1876 Hawley was president of the Philadelphia Centennial Commission for the exhibition which did much to bring North and South together.

William W. Eaton (1814-1898), a native of Tolland and four years in business in Columbia, S. C., had been in both houses of the Legislature before removing to Hartford, and while a resident in Hartford had been speaker of the House in 1853, a member in 1863 (the "peace-campaign" year) and again in 1868, continuing there till 1874 when Governor Ingersoll appointed him to the Senate to complete the term of Senator Buckingham who had died. He was sent to Washington again, as representative, in 1883.

Gideon Welles (1802-1878) continued as secretary of the navy through Johnson's administration, after which he returned to live among his old friends. He was born in Glastonbury. As an adherent of Jackson's, he made his influence felt through the columns of the *Times*. Beginning with 1827, he served two terms in the Legislature and three terms as comptroller, and was chief of the bureau of clothing and provisions in the navy department in 1846-49. As a republican he was delegate to the convention that nominated Lincoln. In 1872 he joined the liberal republicans and in 1876 supported Tilden.

For the period here reviewed mention also should be made of the fact that throughout the war J. Hammond Trumbull was secretary of state. Charles M. Pond was treasurer in 1870 and George G. Sill was lieutenant-governor in 1873-77.

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What was to prove to be epochal in the religious, literary and social life of the city was the formation of the society for the Asylum Hill Congregational Church in 1864. Leading men who believed the development of the city to the westward warranted a Congregational church on the "Hill," where Prof. Calvin E. Stowe was holding Bible classes, came together on February 3 of that year with A. G. Hammond as chairman. Erastus Collins presented the subject and with Samuel Coit and A. M. Hurlburt was made a committee to secure the approval of the other churches. On June 16 organization was perfected, J. M. Allen, clerk, J. S. Tryon, treasurer, and a building committee composed of Mr. Coit, Mr. Allen, Henry French and Newton Case. The committee on pastor, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Tryon, Mr. Collins, Rev. J. R. Keep and John Beach, in due time recommended Rev. Joseph H. Twichell who came on December 13, 1865. The first members were thirty-three from the North Church, twenty-five from the Pearl Street, four from the Fourth, two from the South and ten from outside these parishes. Their first year, while holding their meetings in the old West Middle schoolhouse, they erected their brownstone edifice, for which Roland Mather gave the spire and his daughter the clock.

Mr. Twichell (1838-1918) who had been chaplain of the Sev-

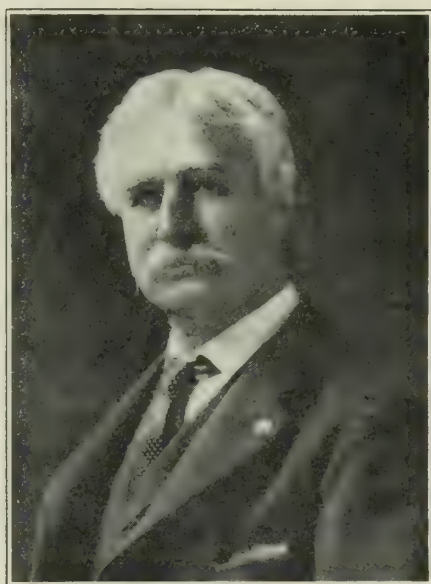


ASYLUM HILL CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,
HARTFORD



JOHN BROWNLIE VOORHEES, D. D.
(1875-1918)

Pastor of Asylum Hill Congregational
Church, Hartford



REV. DR. JOSEPH H. TWICHELL
(1838-1918)



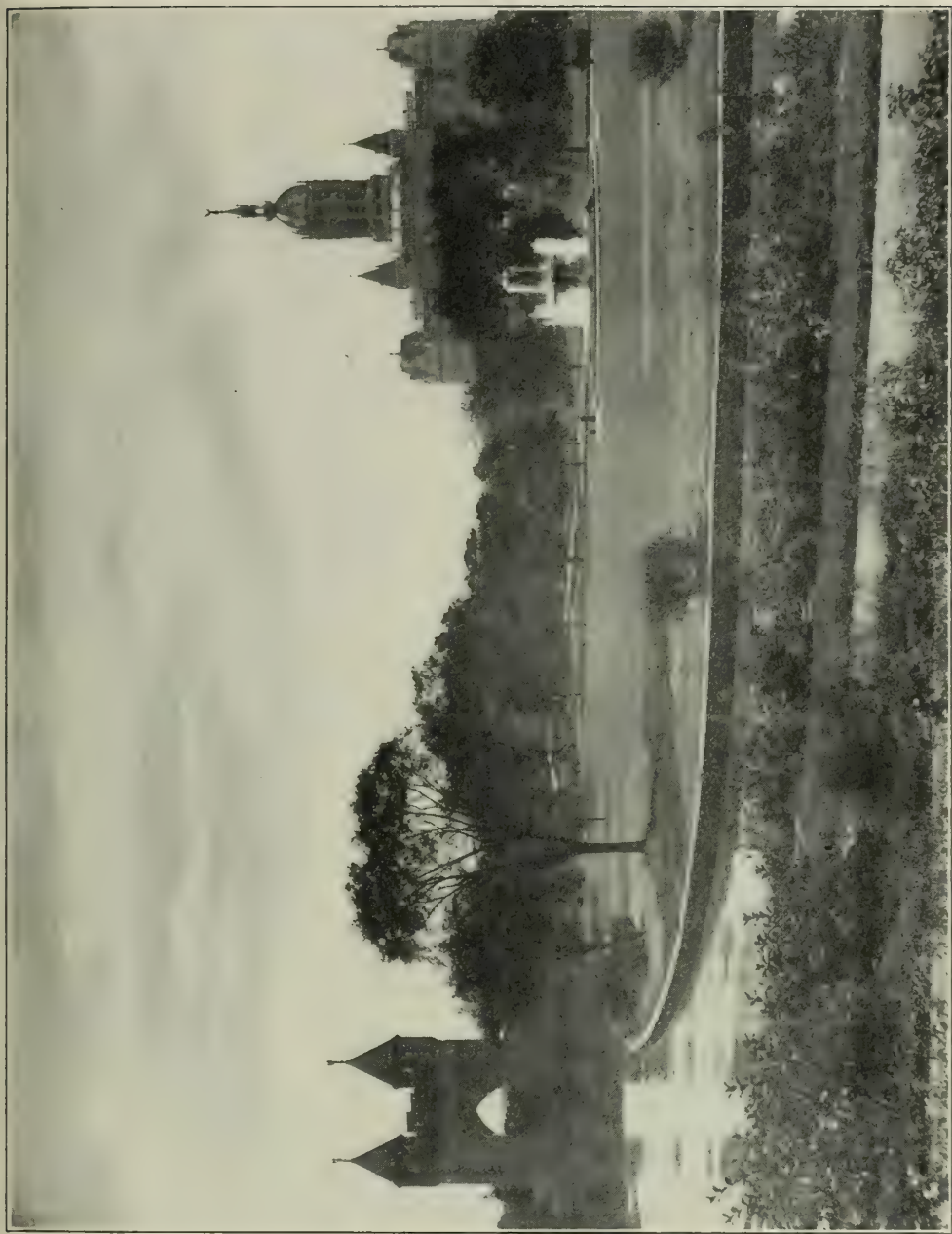
enty-first New York Volunteers, was born in Stonington and had graduated at Yale in 1859, where, as has been said, he was a member of the first famous crew, and where he was to serve many years as a member of the corporation. From his coming till he was made pastor emeritus in 1911, he lent distinction to the church and to the town in whose civic and literary life he played a prominent part. His first American ancestor, Joseph, had been a member of Hooker's party out of England, and he had had his theological training at both Union and Andover seminaries. With special zeal for the mission work in which his church was a leader, he always inculcated the spirit of patriotism and, therefore, it was as by inheritance of his brave ideals that his successor at the time of the World war, Rev. Dr. John Brownlee Voorhees, gave his life in Y. M. C. A. service overseas. At the age of thirty-seven Dr. Voorhees had come here in 1912, with his bride, after serving in the Union Reformed Church of New York and in domestic missions, and he had upheld the worthy traditions of the parish.

Mr. Twichell—he would not accept the degree of LL.D. till in his last years—found among those welcoming him one who for sixty years was a civic and religious leader, Rev. Edwin Pond Parker (1836-1920) who had succeeded Rev. Walter C. Clark as pastor of the Second or South Church in 1860. One of his ancestors was William Parker, of the Thomas Hooker party, and another was one of the settlers of New Haven. His mother was a relative of Dr. Joel Hawes of the First Church and of Rev. O. E. Daggett of the Second Church. He was born in Castine, Me., and was graduated at Bowdoin and at Bangor Theological Seminary. His broad views, especially on "future probation," caused a discussion in the religious press which continued for several years. The hymns he wrote will live long, while several of his addresses are among Hartford's classics. He and "Father" Fisher were the first formally elected chaplains of the Legislature. He was a member of the Yale corporation from 1895 to 1919 where he was associated with Mr. Twichell and Rev. Dr. George Leon Walker, making three from the community that fought hard to have the college locate here in its early days. After he resigned in 1911 he was made pastor emeritus.

Asylum Hill and South Main Street did not seem so far apart as they did before the war. For street cars had come. They came in 1863, the same year the first letter boxes had appeared around the center. The horse-railroad company to run toward Wethersfield had been incorporated two years before the war, but it was not till April, 1863, that the first car appeared on the line to Spring Grove Cemetery, and in March one ran as far as the railroad station and back again to the old State House. It was not till 1872 that one could ride all the way to the top of Asylum Hill, by aid of an extra horse on the steep grade. Electric cars were run on the Wethersfield line in September, 1888, to Glastonbury in 1892, to the South Windsor line in 1895—which marked the end of horse service. Subsequent development is described elsewhere.

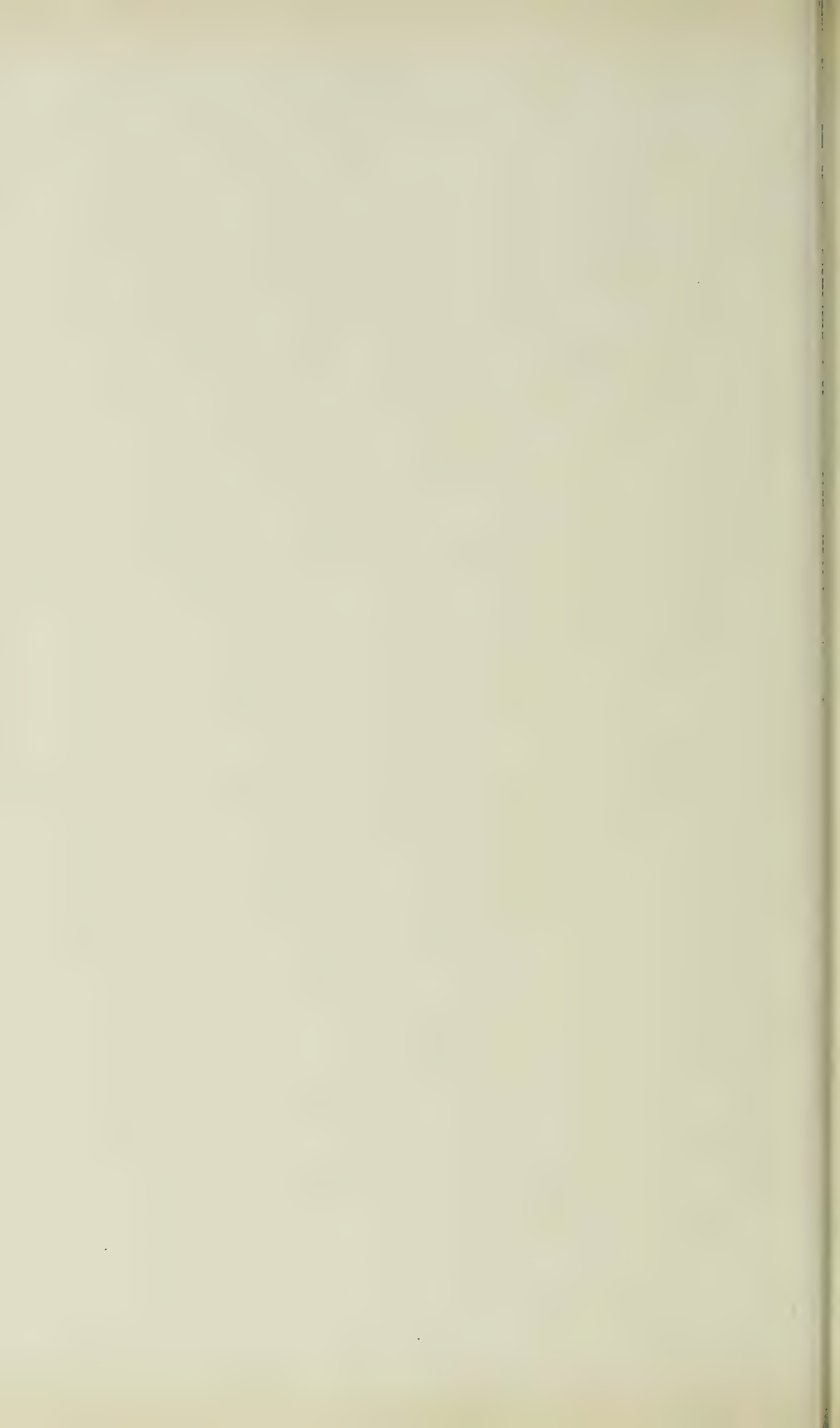
Charles C. Goodrich, native of Wethersfield, organized the first company to transport freight on the river. The company failed in 1882 and was bought by the Hartford and New York Transportation Company, Mr. Goodrich continuing as vice president till his death in 1921.

The feeling that Hartford was the more suitable place for state business and should be the single capital gained ground after the war. Despite New Haven's protests, the vote went that way and the last session of the Legislature was held in New Haven in 1874. The decision was influenced by Hartford's generous offers, in accord with which city bonds were issued up to a total of \$1,100,000 for expenses which amounted to \$2,532,524 for land and building. Hartford had bargained with Trinity for its site at \$600,000, the college to have the use of the buildings till 1877, and the college moved to its present location on Rocky Ridge, far more desirable for its purposes. The Capitol site is unexcelled by any in the country, the grounds being practically a part of Bushnell Park. The building, of East Canaan marble, which was begun in 1872 and finished in 1878—of secular Gothic design, 300 feet long and 257 feet from the ground line to the top of the Genius of Connecticut which surmounts the dome—is near the railroad station, to be seen by all passing through, separated from the tracks by what is now called the Park River. The curve the river makes to the vicinity



THE CAPITOL AND BUSHNELL PARK, HARTFORD

With Corning Fountain in the foreground and Soldiers' Memorial Arch to the left, over Park River



of the station and then around by the Memorial Arch to the southeast seems almost artificial as it allows the broad sweep of lawn, the Corning fountain and the terrace as one looks toward the majestic building from the station and across Asylum Street. The special joy of Chairman A. E. Burr of the commission was that the total cost was within the appropriation. Other members of the commission were Jeremiah Halsey—descendant of the one of the same name connected with the building of the Bulfinch State House—Nathaniel Wheeler, William P. Trowbridge, Austin Dunham, Gardner P. Barber, Franklin Chamberlain. Richard Upjohn was architect; J. G. Batterson, builder; Gen. W. B. Franklin, superintendent. The State House, as elsewhere told, was turned over to the city for a City Hall.

Simultaneously an object of modern execration was going up on the park to the east of the historic State House, that object being the government building, of what was then a standardized architecture, mansard roof and ungainly in its proportions. It should be said that the "square", with the fountain the poet thought was immortal, had become a sort of catch-all and was about as unsightly as the government building is to modern eyes. The long drawn-out sequel will be related later; hearts long sick with deferred hope are now convalescent. The government required from 1873 to 1882 to build the monstrosity. In the practical phase of it, it was outgrown fifteen years ago.

The Catholics, as previously indicated, in this period, in the year 1876, had broken ground on the old Morgan farm on Farmington Avenue for their cathedral. In 1878 the Sisters of Mercy had acquired land at Mount St. Augustine on Quaker Lane, West Hartford, for their school for young boys; in 1880 the former home of Rose Terry Cooke on Albany Road for St. Mary's Home for the aged, and there were soon to follow St. Joseph's Convent with its academy; St. Catherine's Convent and Asylum for Girls, St. Joseph's Asylum for Boys, the Sacred Heart Convent of Mercy, St. Joseph's parochial school on Capitol Avenue, St. Peter's parochial school for girls on Franklin Avenue, the boys' school of St. Patrick's under the charge of the Christian Brothers—and much similar building in New Britain and elsewhere around the county.

The foundations of the \$17,000,000 Travelers Insurance Company were laid by James G. Batterson in a way described in the analysis of his career, given on another page. It reads something like a fairy tale but there were items of administration in the '60s that would have been enough to daunt less determined men. By the charter of 1863 the capital was placed at \$100,000. Organizing in 1864, the directors were Mr. Batterson, Ebenezer Roberts, W. H. D. Callender, Thomas Belknap, Jr., James L. Howard, Charles White, George W. Moore, C. B. Erwin, Marshall Jewell, Hugh Harbison, G. F. Davis, G. S. Gilman and J. B. Bunce—Mr. Batterson president, Mr. Davis vice president and Rodney Dennis secretary, the company to insure people against accident. All were comparatively young men who had to face a wholly new problem, working out the company's salvation. Similar companies were springing up elsewhere which were to succumb to the difficulties that always were besetting. The Railway Passengers Assurance Company, with headquarters here and Mr. Batterson as president, was formed by seven companies in 1866, of which the Travelers was the one survivor and the reinsurer of the rest, and soon was turning the business over to its ticket department. In 1874, venturesome men, with Richard D. Hubbard as figurehead, went out to form the Hartford Accident; it lived two years. Meantime the Travelers had taken up life insurance, by stock plan, with such success that it was fortified against the perils from the still confusing accident business; a 25 per cent dividend was paid in 1865 and stock was increased to \$500,000, and to remain at that till stock dividends made it \$1,000,000 in 1892. It had its own building on Prospect Street in 1872.

But that is only a part of the chapter of the unending romance of Hartford in insurance. These boiler explosions which were causing such mortality in Hartford as elsewhere were due largely to man's careless familiarity with the great giant, Steam. Young men like E. K. Root, F. A. Pratt, Amos W. Whitney, E. M. Reed, Charles F. Howard and J. M. Allen, with Prof. C. B. Richards of Yale as a helper, had formed the Polytechnic Club in 1857, the one thought being the study of causes and prevention, not insurance. From that earnest beginning of students not insurance men, looking deeply into the principles of prevention, de-



THE TRAVELERS INSURANCE COMPANY



veloped with the aid of local insurance genius that which has overcome the terror which threatened to limit the value of steam to mankind. The outcome, delayed by the war, was the Hartford Steam Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company, for whose scientific guidance employers of the giant have been glad to pay liberally. Hence the business ranks as insurance of a most valuable type in the progress of civilization. The first directors were Henry Kellogg of insurance experience; R. W. H. Jarvis who was to be one of the strong men at Colt's; Frank W. Cheney, head of Cheney Brothers' silk industry; and others more concerned in the harnessing of steam than in insurance as hitherto popularly conceived—J. A. Butler, C. M. Beach, J. B. Bunce, Daniel Phillips, G. M. Bartholomew, J. G. Batterson, Marshall Jewell, E. M. Reed, and several from other cities, for the interest naturally was nation wide. And Jeremiah M. Allen, of whom one reads much in Hartford history, was chosen president. As he could not accept at once Enoch C. Roberts was called to the position. Disaster impended through the failure of the employers of steam to grasp immediately the scientific idea, and in 1867 Mr. Allen was prevailed upon to return from New York to take up the difficult task of chief executive. The company continued to occupy only one small room, but the thoroughness of its inspection service was saving it from losses, state insurance departments were enthusiastic and in 1869 began the continuous period of dividends not less than 10 per cent.

The disaster of the Chicago fire in 1871 has been reviewed and the fall of the State Mutual, to be followed by the strong Orient of today with its affiliations. Likewise mention has been made of the beginnings of the Connecticut General Life Insurance Company in 1866 whose first directors were J. M. Niles, E. W. Parsons, T. W. Russell, E. K. Kellogg, G. D. Jewett, J. G. Batterson, C. M. Pond, Leverett Brainard, W. G. Allen, F. B. Cooley, C. F. Webster, H. J. Johnson, and representatives from Chicago, Cincinnati, New York, Baltimore and Boston. Mr. Parsons succeeded Mr. Niles as temporary president, Mr. Russell being secretary.

In this connection should be mentioned P. Henry Woodward (1833-1917), quiet, unassuming—one of the city's best history-builders. His birthplace was Franklin. Graduated at Yale in 1855 and studying law, he came here in editorial capacity on the

Courant during the war. In 1865 for what in itself was a life achievement, he accepted an appointment in the postal service at Washington. The first year he helped reconstruct the railway branch of the service in the southwest and in 1874 became chief of another branch, retiring about the time Grant dismissed Secretary of the Treasury Bristow and the postmaster general. Thomas L. James, Garfield's postmaster-general, recalled him to take charge of the investigation of the Star Route frauds which resulted in the saving of millions of dollars. With the change of administration in 1885, he returned to Hartford where he found opportunity to exercise his genius for research by compiling, in conjunction with the Board of Trade of which he was made secretary, a history of Hartford's enterprises and institutions. Among his subsequent publications was, in 1897, the first complete detailed history of insurance in the state. In 1899 he began as vice president to give of his superior knowledge of finance to the Connecticut General and continued in office till his death. The company since has had the benefit of the genius of his son, Charles G. Woodward, along similar lines.

"Accident" was the feature in name and scope of the Hartford Life when chartered in 1866. In two years it was changed to include life and then annuity, with little success till 1880 when H. P. Duclos of Vermont had devised his system of assessmentism with safety-fund feature. At that time, however, assessmentism was being legislated against, territory was cut down, and after changes in administration and ownership, the life part of the business was sold to J. G. Hoyt of Cincinnati, to become a part of the Missouri State Life. The assessment feature has to be continued here, without new business, till such time as the amount at risk shall drop to the point where the safety funds (one for men and one for women) can be divided among survivors according to the provisions of the charter.

The state insurance department, created in 1865, was not established till Dr. George S. Miller of Enfield (later superintendent of agencies in the Phoenix Mutual Life) was appointed commissioner and John M. Holcomb (later president of the Phoenix Mutual Life) actuary.



HARTFORD STEAM BOILER INSPECTION & INSURANCE COMPANY,
HARTFORD



XXVIII

NOOK FARM "LITERARY COLONY"

MRS. STOWE AND "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN"—MR. WARNER, MARK TWAIN, WILLIAM GILLETTE AND OTHERS—FIRST TELEPHONE AND AIR CRAFT—MEMORABLE BATTLE-FLAG DAY—SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL ADVANCE.

To furnish a review of the works of the Hartford Literary Colony is not within the scope of county history. Something of the atmosphere and effect does, however, belong to the study of the life of the Constitution Towns. There is in these pages occasional reference to "Nook Farm," for comparison with which there is nothing in New England except the quite different "Brook Farm" of Hawthorne, Emerson, Thoreau and their friends. Nook Farm dates from Constitution days when it was part of an apportionment, as "the nook," to Governor Haynes, it taking its name from the nook caused by the winding of Little River between present Farmington Avenue and Laurel Street. The hundred acres between Imlay Street and this river was bought of W. H. Imlay by John Hooker and Francis Gillette in 1853 for their home lots and farms. Hooker was a lineal descendant of the founder; Gillette, whose senatorship has been mentioned, was a descendant of settlers of Bloomfield where he had a unique home of rough stone and where he had won a name as an abolitionist which had caused him to be drafted three times for candidate for governor on the Free Soil ticket. In these fields and woods, each built a residence of architectural design which has held its own through the years, Hooker's of brick on the lane now Forest Street, near Hawthorn; Gillette to the northwest, west of the lane and on a wooded bluff overlooking the stream. Mr. Gillette's wife was Mr. Hooker's sister.

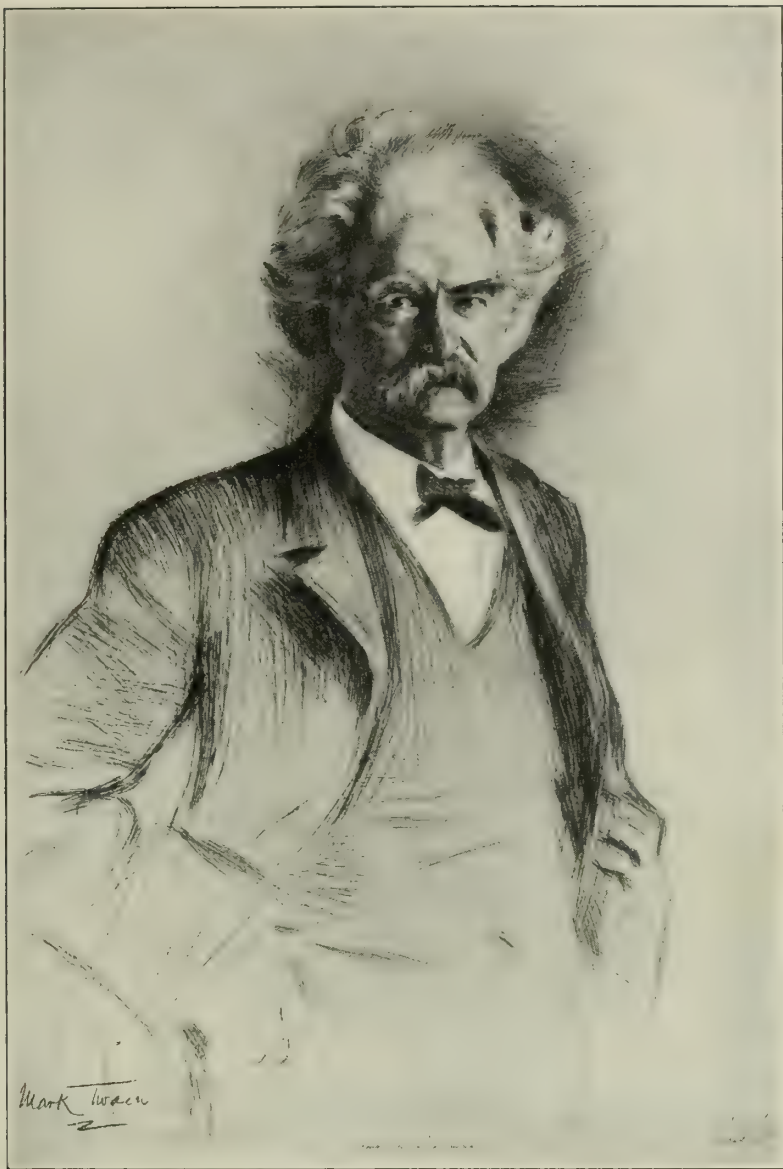
When in 1860 Charles Dudley Warner (1829-1900), a native of Plainfield, Mass., gave up his law practice in Chicago at the request of his Hamilton College classmate, Joseph R. Hawley,

to be editor with him of the *Press*, he occupied a cottage near Mr. Hooker's where Mrs. Edward Hooker, mother of John, had been living. Later Mr. Warner removed to the brick house Thomas C. Perkins had built, across Hawthorn Street from Hooker's and also still standing.

It was there, while editor on the *Courant* with Mr. Hawley, that Mr. Warner whimsically tried his hand at gardening and wrote his papers which, when published in 1871 as "My Summer in a Garden," brought him his first literary fame.

Samuel L. Clemens, "Mark Twain" (1835-1910), a native of Florida, Mo., was stopping at Mr. Hooker's house at this time while reading the proof of his first book for his publishers, the American Publishing Company. Meanwhile, he and Mr. Warner together wrote "The Gilded Age" which Mr. Clemens successfully dramatized. Mr. Warner's brother, George H. Warner, also of literary proclivity, married Mr. Gillette's daughter Elisabeth, for whom Mr. Gillette built a house a little north of his in what was then the popular "Gillette Woods," a wonderful cluster of chestnuts, beeches and oaks. On the death of Mr. Gillette in 1879, his daughter and her husband returned to the homestead where they lived until 1904, and on removing South continued to own it till they sold it to Lucius F. Robinson, 2d, Prof. Henry A. Perkins and John M. Gallup in 1921, they being adjoining residents. Mr. Warner, the author, removed to the house his brother had occupied, and that was his residence till his death in 1900; after that, the residence of his wife till her death and of Miss Mary Barton, a member of the family who with her brother, Philip P. Barton, now owns it. Mr. Hawley in the earlier days was living near his former law partner, Mr. Hooker, south of Hawthorn Street.

In 1873, Mr. Clemens built a house in this same grove on the river bluff, on Farmington Avenue, giving a deck and pilot-house effect to the front, in recollection of his steamboat days. The kitchen part of the house looked toward Farmington Avenue—the front toward Mr. Warner's house with the grounds of which it was connected by a well beaten path. The house was unique in certain of its features, including its billiard room. Here, with his local friends and those from a distance, he enjoyed life to the utmost till, after buying out his New York publishers,



SAMUEL L. CLEMENS
(MARK TWAIN)

America's greatest humorist



Charles L. Webster & Company, and after the success of Grant's "Memoirs," fate turned against him.

A heavy investment in an unsuccessful typesetting machine contributed to financial disaster in 1894. To him and Mrs. Clemens, a much more serious loss was sustained in the death of their oldest daughter, Susan, who died at the home here while Mr. Clemens with his wife was on a lecture tour of the world earning money to pay his creditors. The money raised and debts paid, a dinner was given in his honor in New York. During this time of grief and hardship he had written "Joan of Arc," "Pudd'n Head Wilson" and other books, and had been honored with the degree of Litt. D. at Yale and, in 1907, at Oxford. He could not bring himself to return to his old home; instead he traveled much and built an Italian villa at Redding, Conn. His daughter Clara married Ossip Gabrilowitsch, the Russian pianist. In the sketch of his life published after his death, his recollection of one or two Hartford men and incidents was faulty. The judgment of literateurs today is that he was the greatest humorist of his times—if not of any times.

Mr. Warner was editor and his brother George an assistant editor of the "Library of the World's Best Literature," the last great work which Mr. Clemens' publishing house undertook and was obliged to pass on to another. As editor of the "Editor's Drawer" and then as editor of the "Editor's Study" of *Harper's Magazine* Mr. Warner continued till his death. His earlier works were luminous descriptions of his travels in Oriental lands. Collections of essays vied in popularity with his novels like "A Little Journey in the World," "The Golden House" and "That Fortune." He gave much of his time to the cause of uplift for the colored race and at home was a member of the park board and of the state sculpture commission. His connection with the *Courant* is taken up at the time of his death.

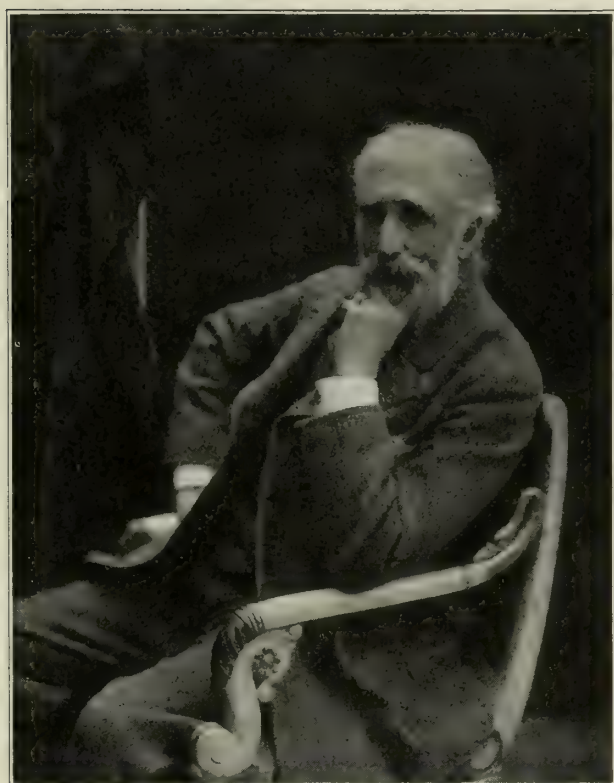
Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-1896), daughter of Lyman Beecher and Roxanna Foote, wife of Prof. Calvin E. Stowe, was born in Litchfield, but of the many places she lived in, Hartford was the only one she called home. Most of her "teens" she was here, as pupil and as teacher in the school of her sister Catherine. With her she helped establish a seminary in Cincinnati, after her father had gone there to Lane Theological Seminary. The wife of the distinguished Professor Stowe, in Cincinnati, at Bowdoin

College and at Andover Theological Seminary, rearing a family of six children, nursing them through a cholera epidemic while she herself was far from well, suffering pangs of poverty and writing industriously for periodicals, and withal taking deeply to heart the glimpses she caught of slavery across the Ohio, she was sending the most cheerful letters to her brother Henry Ward Beecher, her invalided husband and other members of the large family and, when she could, getting to Hartford to visit her sister Mary, Mrs. Thomas C. Perkins of Nook Farm. Her first earnings of importance were \$300 she received in 1851 from the *National Era* of Washington, of which John G. Whittier was corresponding editor. This was for her serial, "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act was what drove her to make the time to write the story. It appeared at a period when the methods of the extreme abolitionists were dis-affecting many; it united millions in this country and in Europe in the belief that human beings could not be property. Her work in assembling data, much more laborious than the writing, came during the months at the Bowdoin College town of Brunswick, Me., when she was carrying on single-handed for her whole family and teaching outside. The 10 per cent royalty on the story in book form yielded \$10,000 in four months, after which it was an Aladdin's lamp. She was welcomed by royalty in England and visited other countries where high and low paid her honor. In the meantime her other books were coming out, quaintly picturing New England life. Literary celebrities of every land were in intimate correspondence with her; James Russell Lowell was writing that it was her genius in her first book still more than the moral which had appealed to him, and her subsequent books confirmed his judgment.

So it was in 1863 that she strolled down into the fine grove of oaks and ash trees by Park River where the Underwood and Merrow plants now are, and said to her builder, "This is the spot that I haunted as a girl. I said if I ever could have a home it must be here." But the beautiful home, visited by thousands of distinguished friends and many of the lowliest, was elbowed by Hartford's fast-spreading factories. From it ran a shady road northwesterly, up the knoll to where her sister Mrs. Perkins lived, and across the road from her—as has been said—was her half-sister Isabella, wife of John Hooker. Her house and also



WINTER VIEW OF SCENE OF CHARLES
DUDLEY WARNER'S FIRST BOOK
"MY SUMMER IN A GARDEN"
Hawthorn Street, Hartford



CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER



the one at Mandarin, Fla., where she spent the winters, was peculiar as to its front gables; on Forest Street, not far from Farmington Avenue and but an easy step from "Belle's" and "Mary's" was a brick house with much the same peculiarity; any one of the three would suggest the others. In 1873 she chose that for home for the rest of her life. There on beloved Nook Farm she wrote for a time, there she received her honoring guests, there she marked the passing of her older friends and relatives—her husband in 1886—and there she dreamed out her last days till July 1, 1896.

The Warners, Clemens, Perkins, the Stowes, the Hookers, Twichell, Editor Clark, Rev. Nathaniel J. Burton, Doctor Parker, the Hamersleys, J. Hammond Trumbull, the Beechers, Olmsted, the Footes and Hawleys, Henry C. Robinson—those who did not reside on the farm came there—and Howells, Olcott, Cable, Matthews, the T. B. Aldriches, the Fields, George William Curtis, Professor Lounsbury, the surviving "communists" of Brook Farm near Concord, Dickens and other writers from England, men of Trinity and Yale, and Harvard not barred, Bunce, Flagg, Brandegee and fellow artists, Modjeska, later Paderewski and other musicians drawn by Mrs. Warner, herself a queen among them, and Thomas Nelson Page, Sarah Orne Jewett, Alden, Rev. Dr. Anderson, Roosevelt—the joy in the life there at Nook Farm was the informality. Any of them might be dropping in on any one of the others at any hour, always welcome, morning or evening, unless it was at Clemens' when he was walking around his billiard table, plotting his next chapter; he was the most versatile talker, in his high, drawling tones, but the subject must be to his taste—which luckily was broad and variegated. Several of the Hartford men were also members of the Monday Evening Club which began in the '60s, meeting at each other's houses.

The wives were thoroughly congenial. And there were the children. "Will" Gillette starting on his road to fame by arranging theatricals in his father's barn—that barn once a station in the "underground railroad" for slaves on the way to Canada—building a steam engine or carving a chair, or winning the high school declamation prize; "Dick" Burton, the poet and future professor of literature and for several years living in the house he built near Mr. Warner's—frisky in his school and Trin-

ity College days, and tall "Ed" (Dr. Edward B.) Hooker leading the way to the swimming hole with Rob and John Porteus. "They keep me in good form," said Mr. Warner and wrote "Being a Boy." Clemens filled his house with the boys of his memory, his "Tom Sawyers" and "Pudd'n Head Wilsons."

Clemens took the stage once himself, cast for a part in a comedy played by amateurs in 1876, for the benefit of the Allyn Library. And it was in a Mark Twain play, "The Gilded Age," that Gillette made his first professional appearance here the year before, at Roberts Opera House. The date is worth preserving—January 11 and 12, 1875, John T. Raymond as "Colonel Sellers." Gillette's sturdy father had not favored the stage for his tall boy. But the boy had ideas of his own and while still at New York University, at the age of nineteen, he began using them, gaining a place with a St. Louis stock company. He got home again safely. Clemens gave ear to him and soon he was performing at the Globe in Boston. He had done himself credit in "Faint Heart Ne'er Won Fair Lady" before he began in New York with the book Mr. Clemens had dramatized. None of the many receptions accorded him by his home town in the plays of his own writing, like "The Private Secretary," "The Professor" or "Held By the Enemy" or "Secret Service" or "Too Much Johnson," or his adaptations like "Sherlock Holmes" could ever have been more gratifying to him than that first one.

Nook Farm ever has continued to have its charm for literary people and lovers of music. Prof. Henry A. Perkins of Trinity writes much upon science and education; Prof. Lewis B. Paton of the Seminary Foundation is a well known writer on theological and archaeological subjects; John M. Gallup has been one of the city's leading organists; Prof. Robert B. Riggs, lately dean of the Trinity faculty, is a promoter of scientific literature and Mrs. Riggs a patron of art; Col. Francis Parsons, lawyer, newspaper man and now vice chairman of the board of the Hartford Bank and Trust Company, has written masterly stories and sketches; Arthur P. Day, chairman of the board of the Hartford-Connecticut Trust Company, is an artist and a collector of literature, as also is Paul G. Merrow, though both shrink from publicity; the late W. O. Burr, proprietor and editor of the *Times*, had his home here, now Mrs. Burr's; Miss Mabel Wyllys Wain-



SENATOR FRANCIS GILLETTE'S HOUSE, HARTFORD



HOME OF HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, HARTFORD



wright, descendant of the proprietor of 1639, is a devotee to music; Miss Lucy Perkins, daughter of Mary Beecher Perkins, has delightful literary style.

The neighborhood, about which more will be said in connection with the Mark Twain Memorial, draws many visitors, especially from foreign lands. It is rich in the lore of those who have passed on. Two of the less familiar quotations from Mark Twain may be given in illustration and as history items. On his first visit to the city he wrote:

"Hartford is the place where the insurance companies all live. They use some of the houses for dwellings. The others are for insurance offices. So it is easy to see that there is quite a spirit of speculative enterprise here. Many of the inhabitants have retired from business but the others labor along in the old customary way, as presidents of insurance companies."

President Bliss of the local publishing house produced "Innocents Abroad," Mr. Clemens' first book, against the judgment of his directors. After it was off the press the author wrote to an old steamboat associate:

"Thirty tons of paper have been used in publishing my book. It has met with a greater sale than any book ever published, except 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'—not so bad for a scrub pilot, is it?"

Rev. S. Dryden Phelps was living here in this period, formerly a Suffield clergyman but coming here from New Haven in 1876 as editor of the widely circulating *Christian Secretary*. He was well known as a writer on religious subjects and was the author of several familiar hymns. His son, William Lyon Phelps, born in 1865, was to take his place in literature in the next generation and to become essay-writer, critic and professor of literature at Yale, an ordained Baptist clergyman and a doctor of divinity.

There were and are other names marked in literature in that period and on. A shortened list of them would include John Fiske, the historian who had gone from here, his birthplace; Annie Eliot Trumbull, daughter of Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull,

who writes poetry and fiction; Rose Terry Cooke, novelist and poet; Rev. Henry Clay Trumbull, brother of Doctor Trumbull, for many years editor of the *Sunday School Times* and writer of books; Edmund Clarence Stedman, the poet, who was born here in 1833; Frederick Beecher Perkins, born here in 1829, who chose both education and fiction for his field; William Graham Sumner of Yale, of Hartford birth (1840); Mary K. Talcott, delving into history; Sarah Pratt McLean Greene of Simsbury, with her "Cape Cod Folks," "Everbreeze" and other stories of life along the coast; Prof. Charles F. Johnson of Trinity; Rev. Dr. William L. Gage; Clyde Fitch, dramatist; Winchell Smith, playwright and international producer; Charles Dillingham, theatrical manager; Prof. Richard Burton, poet, lecturer, professor of English at University of Minnesota, now head of the New York Drama League; Capt. Louis F. Middlebrook whose two volumes on "Maritime History of Connecticut During the Revolution" cover hitherto unexplored territory; Philip Curtis, now of Norfolk, novelist; Col. Emerson G. Taylor, in fiction, war history and foreign correspondence, and Wilbur F. Gordy, educator, supervising principal of Hartford schools (1884-1904), superintendent of schools in Springfield (1904-1911), chairman of the Hartford Board of Education many years till 1928, who, among his several historical writings, produced the most widely known school history of the United States.

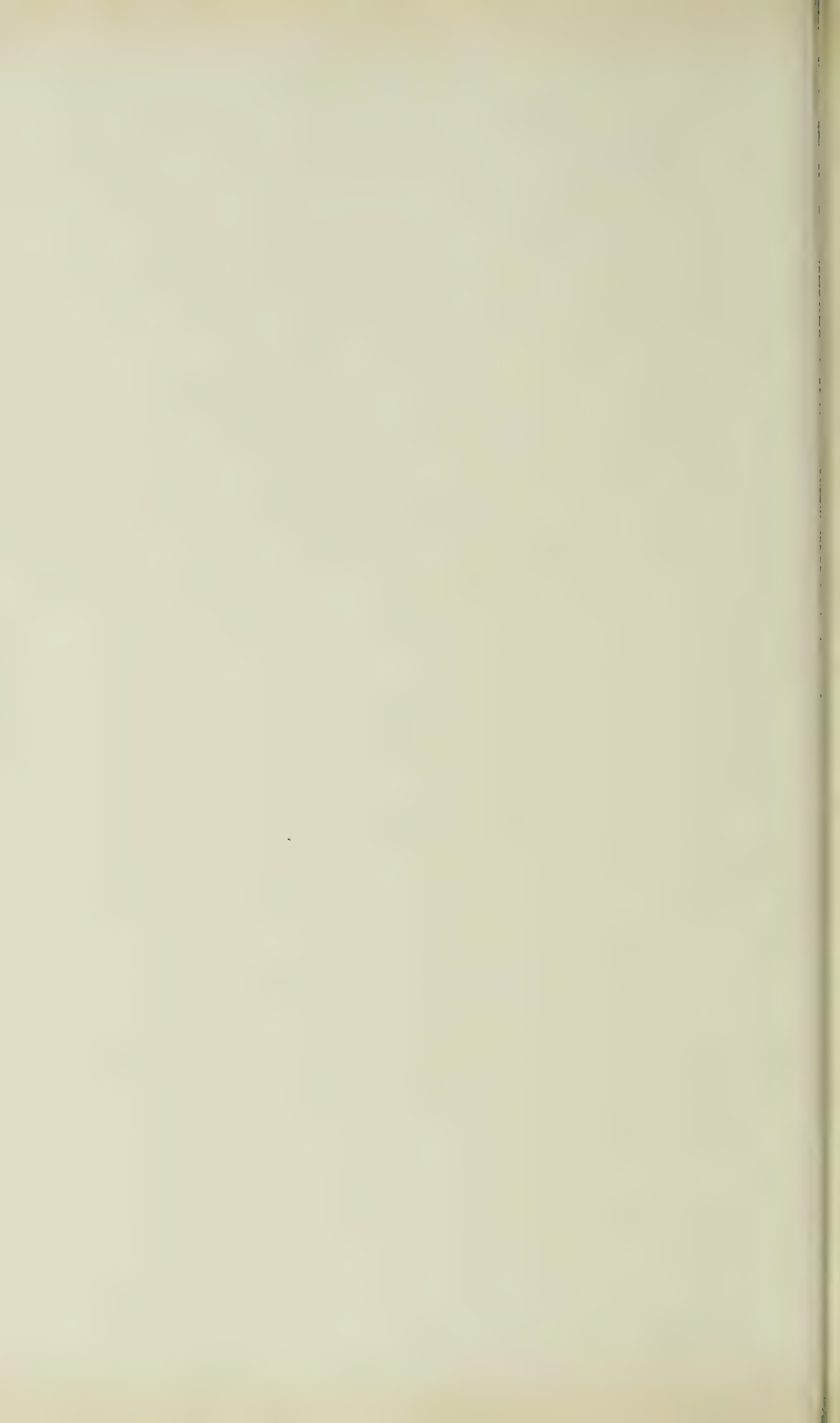
Mark Twain in 1876 was one of the first users of the telephone in Hartford. Isaac D. Smith, Mr. Clemens' favorite drug-gist, in the old Hotel Capitol at the corner of Main Street and Capitol Avenue, was perhaps the first in the country to operate a telephone exchange. His first wires he ran to Doctors P. D. Peltier and John A. Stevens, then to Mr. Clemens, General Hawley and the *Courant*. Messages telephoned were retelephoned by the clerk, John M. Knox, till Mr. Smith devised a switch and substituted for the old coffin board a regular switchboard, which was a marvel. In October, 1877, Graham Bell, then New England superintendent, wrote Mr. Smith that the telephones to be sent him were "for the first telephone line which fully embodies the central office idea." New Haven had a station in 1878, soon after which the manager there took over Smith's humble beginnings. Knox, who installed Mark Twain's telephone, used to tell



RESIDENCE OF GEORGE W. MERROW, HARTFORD
Built by John Hooker. Was Mark Twain's first Hartford home



RESIDENCE OF SAMUEL CLEMENS (MARK TWAIN),
HARTFORD



how the humorist raved against anybody who would undertake to extend the reach of the human voice; a gag would be a better device. Clemens told his intimates that Professor Bell begged him to invest \$500 in the telephone project but he drove him away, saying that he had only just been parted from good money by a man with an invention, and next day loaned \$5,000 to a friend who went bankrupt within a week.

Edison's invention of a talking machine was exhibited at Allyn Hall June 11, 1878. The audience, according to the press, was astounded and delighted. The sound waves were recorded on tinfoil on a cylinder and by the turning of a crank the words were reproduced.

The very next day there was the first local exhibition and flight of an airship. It was at Colt meadows near where the aviation field is now. The performer was Professor Richtel who had advertised his "flying car—Only Reliable 'Air Line' to All Parts of the World." Previously he had given exhibitions indoors. The car was a cylindrical bag filled with gas. In an attachment beneath, the man with his feet worked pedals and thereby controlled a propeller at the end of the bag, turning one way to go up and the reverse to come down. He had waited four days for good weather. The flight was perfect and returning from over the Connecticut he landed directly and easily at the feet of his manager. Two days later he flew to Newington, six miles, and on the way, came down almost to the ground near Charles Schultz's house, got a drink of water without landing, rose quickly into the air and continued. He stopped at Newington because his legs were tired. Richtel told the press he expected to show that navigation of the air could readily be effected.

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A day still to be counted as one of the county's most memorable was Battle-Flag Day on the anniversary of Antietam, September 17, 1879. The occasion, by direction of the Legislature, was the removal of the battle flags from the old arsenal to the cases that had been prepared for them in the west corridor of the new Capitol. General Hawley was marshal, Maj. J. C. Kinney chief of staff. Among the military guests were Generals Burnside, Schofield, Franklin, Warren and Benham. Including

a battalion of 1,000 who had gone to the war from other states, there were nearly 10,000 army and navy veterans in line, representing every regiment. The escort consisted of the First Connecticut National Guard (Col. Lucius A. Barbour), dressed in new uniform of helmets, dark blue frock coats and sky-blue trousers, scarlet facings; First Company (Maj. C. B. Boardman) and Second Company (Maj. C. W. Blakeslee) Governor's Horse Guard; First Company (Capt. G. B. Fisher) and Second Company (Capt. J. G. Phile) Governor's Foot Guard, and the Putnam Phalanx (Maj. F. M. Brown). The flags had been prepared to bear transportation, unfurled, by a committee of ladies including Mrs. Joseph R. Hawley whose service in the field had endeared her to thousands of soldiers. The several arches and the decorations on buildings were the most lavish ever seen here. For the most part the flags were carried by men who had carried them in the war, and at the Capitol it was they who bore them in to their resting places. In many instances there were two stands of colors, the original and those with which it had been necessary to replace them. The federal flag of the Sixteenth was made up of the pieces the men had torn it into and had secreted in their clothing when enduring prison life after their capture at Plymouth. The pieces had been beautifully mounted on white silk for this event.

In his address presenting the colors, General Hawley said:

"It is quite certain that we shall never again be summoned as battalions, with trumpet and drum, banner and cannon, for even a noble holiday like this. Let the flags rest. In a few years these men will no longer be able to bear arms for the land they love, but these weather-worn and battle-torn folds shall remain through the centuries testifying that Connecticut was true to free government, and pledging her future fidelity."

Governor Charles B. Andrews in accepting the custody for the state closed his address with these words:

"Lovingly, then, and tenderly, let us lay them away in the motherly arms of the state whose trophies they now become, that they may teach these lessons of patriotism and of duty to all future generations."



BARN ON PREMISES OF LUCIUS F. ROBINSON,
Jr., HARTFORD

An "underground railway" station for escaping
slaves in abolition days, when Francis Gillette owned
the place



RESIDENCE OF COLONEL FRANCIS PARSONS
Forest and Hawthorn streets, Hartford



RESIDENCE OF MRS. WILLIE O. BURR
Farmington Avenue and Forest Street, Hartford



The regimental tents were in the east part of Bushnell Park; the dining tents were in the west part and the collation the citizens had provided, like the fund they had raised, was generous. The men sang and marched to the music of "Marching Through Georgia," which was written by H. C. Worth, a Hartford boy. In the evening the Capitol was illuminated by candles and the arches by gas while the Brush Light Company, through the kindness of the Willimantic Linen Company, gave an exhibition of their new 3,000 candle-power electric lights from the top of the Capitol, the rays of which were seen eighteen miles away. Hartford's population then was 40,000; the railroads transported 60,000 that day and it was estimated that nearly 50,000 more came in by their own conveyances.

Though naturally this was not among the comments at such time of almost religious solemnity, the town found that it suddenly had developed a new power of social entertainment. Among the guests were many of note aside from the veterans and their immediate friends, all of whom were so bountifully provided for, and in the over-crowded community somewhere must be a place for them, such as today is considered a matter-of-fact adjunct. The Hartford Club met the requirement. It had been in existence only since 1874 when it was incorporated by General Hawley, Dr. W. A. M. Wainwright, Samuel W. White, General Franklin, Frederick W. Russell, J. Watson Beach, Charles M. Pond, Col. F. W. Cheney and C. S. Weathersby. In lieu of the old-time inns it had furnished a place where affairs of business moment could be thrashed out and plans be formulated for anything requiring coöperation of the community, like this. In its first days, occupying the former Wadsworth residence, it had made a worthy beginning, but after it had built its present establishment across Prospect Street, it took fully its place as an institution. Today sees the expansion of clubs along other specific lines, social, fraternal, collegiate, professional and the rest, but the Hartford Club, like its prototype in other cities, remains the one in which the public has something akin to civic interest.

Banking in particular was shaping itself to the new requirements. The Connecticut Trust Company in 1868 was the first of its kind, followed by the Hartford in 1871, the Security in

1875, the Riverside in 1907, and the Park Street; and the banks, like the City, the State, the Mutual, and the United States were to add the important word "trust" as time went on, till today there are these great organizations and consolidations, mention of which belongs to the final period of the history. In savings banks, in the '70s and now, there were three in addition to the original Society of Savings, promoting and ready to receive the benefits of post-war dependability when such a thing was so essential to progress—the State (1858), and the Mechanics and Dime (1861).

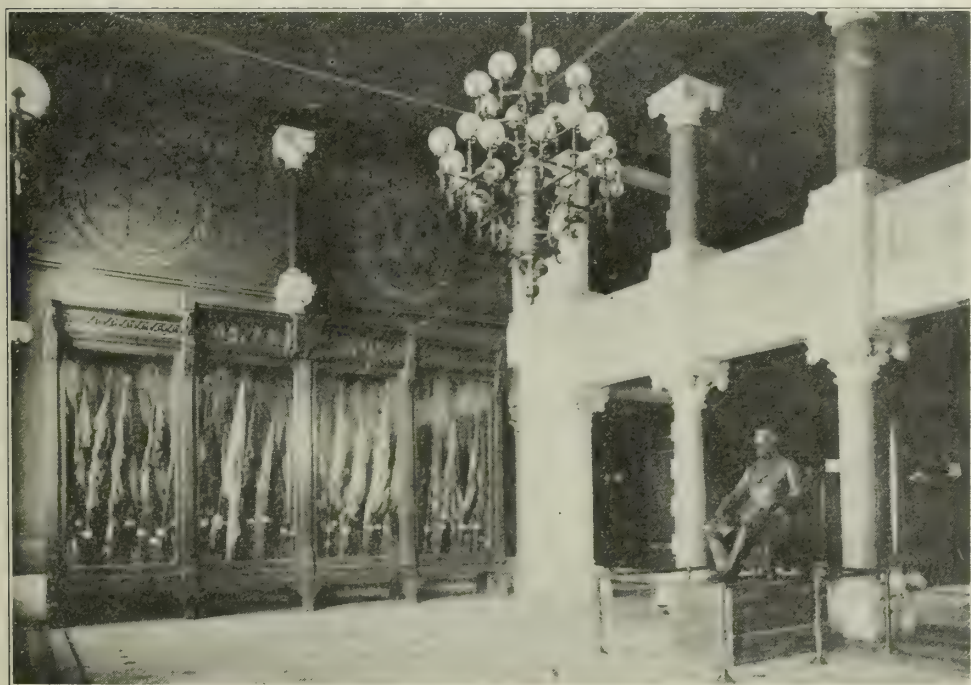
Cemetery needs had received no further attention than that which has been recorded till 1864 when Cedar Hill, to become the largest of all of them, was incorporated and during the years to be greatly beautified. It now embraces 300 acres. The stock was bought by the association till in 1897 the whole ownership was in the lot-owners. Northam Memorial Chapel, with bell in the west gable, was built in 1882 by Mrs. Charles H. Northam in memory of her husband who had bequeathed \$30,000, increased by \$10,000 by Mrs. Northam. The Gallup memorial gateway, built in 1889, was given by Mrs. Julia N. Gallup of Plainfield and Hartford who died in 1884. She also gave the memorial window in the waiting room.

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In the war cycle and following, first steps were being taken in industries which were to figure largely in subsequent history. The great Pratt & Whitney concern of today was started in 1861 on \$1,000 savings of two mechanics trained at Colt's. Francis A. Pratt (1827-1902), a native of Woodstock, began at Colt's in 1858 and was made superintendent of the Phoenix Iron Works. Amos Whitney, mentioned elsewhere, went with him. Their own concern they started in a car shop. The first of their large buildings on Capitol Avenue was built in 1865. Prescott, Plimpton & Company began making envelopes by patent process in that year. Linus B. Plimpton (1830-1904) incorporated in 1873 the present Plimpton Manufacturing Company, for turning out stationery and books in addition to envelopes. Horace J. Wickham, coming as an apprentice, devised machinery which brought the concern into a fair monopoly of the envelope business, so that it



HARTFORD CLUB, PROSPECT STREET, HARTFORD



BATTLE FLAGS AND GOVERNOR BUCKINGHAM STATUE IN THE CAPITOL,
HARTFORD



long held the government contract in competition with other concerns. The Hartford Manufacturing Company was organized by the Plimpton concern and the Morgan concern of Springfield as a branch to take care of the government work, the United States Stamped Envelope Works being merged with it. The capacity was 5,000,000 envelopes a day. The paper trust necessitated other changes and meeting all competition the Plimpton Manufacturing Company in 1908 became a division of the United States Envelope Company while enlarging its own special business. Mr. Plimpton served in the state Senate and as delegate to the republican convention in 1900. Maro S. Chapman, prominent in Manchester history and president of the City Bank, was closely associated with Mr. Plimpton and became vice president of the concern.

Other concerns were acquiring wide repute. The Smyth Manufacturing Company was formed in 1879 by George Wells Root and others, the company paying Mr. Root and Orianna Smyth for their patent which had revolutionized the binding of books. The Sigourney Tool Company, of which Mr. Root was proprietor, made the machines, and under the direction of John R. Reynolds improvements were perfected along with machinery for other features of binding. The two companies combined have occupied their plant on Sigourney Street since 1898. The Billings & Spencer drop-forging plant, to become the largest in the United States, was conceived in 1869 by Charles E. Billings (1835-1920) in company with C. M. Spencer of rifle fame. There was a large plant in Canada besides those here and at Rocky Hill. The former plant of the Columbia Vehicle Company on Park Street is now the home of the concern. Mr. Billings was also prominent in banking and rendered conspicuous public service. The Hartford Machine Screw Company dates from 1876 when it began the manufacture of screws with the wonderful labor-saving machinery invented by C. M. Spencer. It was established by Mr. Spencer and George Fairfield. The William Rogers Manufacturing Company was organized in 1865. Under Bryan Edward Hooker, sixth in descent from the founder, the Broad Brook Company, woollens, was enjoying a period of great prosperity. Pliny Jewell, head of the P. Jewell & Sons leather-belt industry to which reference has been made, died in 1869 at a period of great activity in his business. His son, Lyman B.

Jewell, continuing the concern, lived to be ninety, dying in 1917. The Hartford Carpet Company of Enfield, which always has retained its high position, was under the presidency of George Roberts (1810-1878) who was an East Hartford man by birth and held the office of president thirty-two years.

Names prominent in banking included: Gustavus F. Davis (1818-1896), president of the City Bank and of the State Savings Bank, vice president of the Travelers and also president of the Hartford Dispensary; Charles H. Brainard (1813-1889), president of the State Bank who acquired a large amount of real estate, built the finest house in town on Capitol Avenue (now Mount Sinai Hospital) and lost heavily; Robert E. Day (1829-1894), president of the Security Company from its formation in 1876 till his death.

Roland Mather (1809-1897), descendant of Rev. Richard Mather, who came over in 1635, was born in Westfield, Mass., and removed to Hartford in 1828. The commission house of Howe (Edmund G.), Mather & Company became Mather, Morgan (Junius S.) & Company. Mr. Morgan went to Boston but the firm continued till Mr. Howe's death in 1873. Mr. Mather retired at the age of forty-two to give his attention to his private business and to his duties as director in many corporations. In 1838 he was major of the Governor's Foot Guard. His interest in philanthropic institutions was marked by his \$500,000 in gifts while living and his bequests in his will. The estate was the largest that ever had been probated in this district.

Hon. Dwight Loomis (1821-1903), born in Columbia, graduate of Yale in 1847 and Rockville's first lawyer, came here (after the war and after having completed his term in Congress), serving as judge of the Superior Court. He was appointed to the Supreme Court and continued till he reached the age limit in 1891. Yale gave him a LL. D. David S. Calhoun (1827-1912), who long had been judge of probate in Manchester, came to Hartford in 1870 and for twenty years was judge of the Court of Common Pleas. On retiring he had an office with his son, J. Gilbert Calhoun.

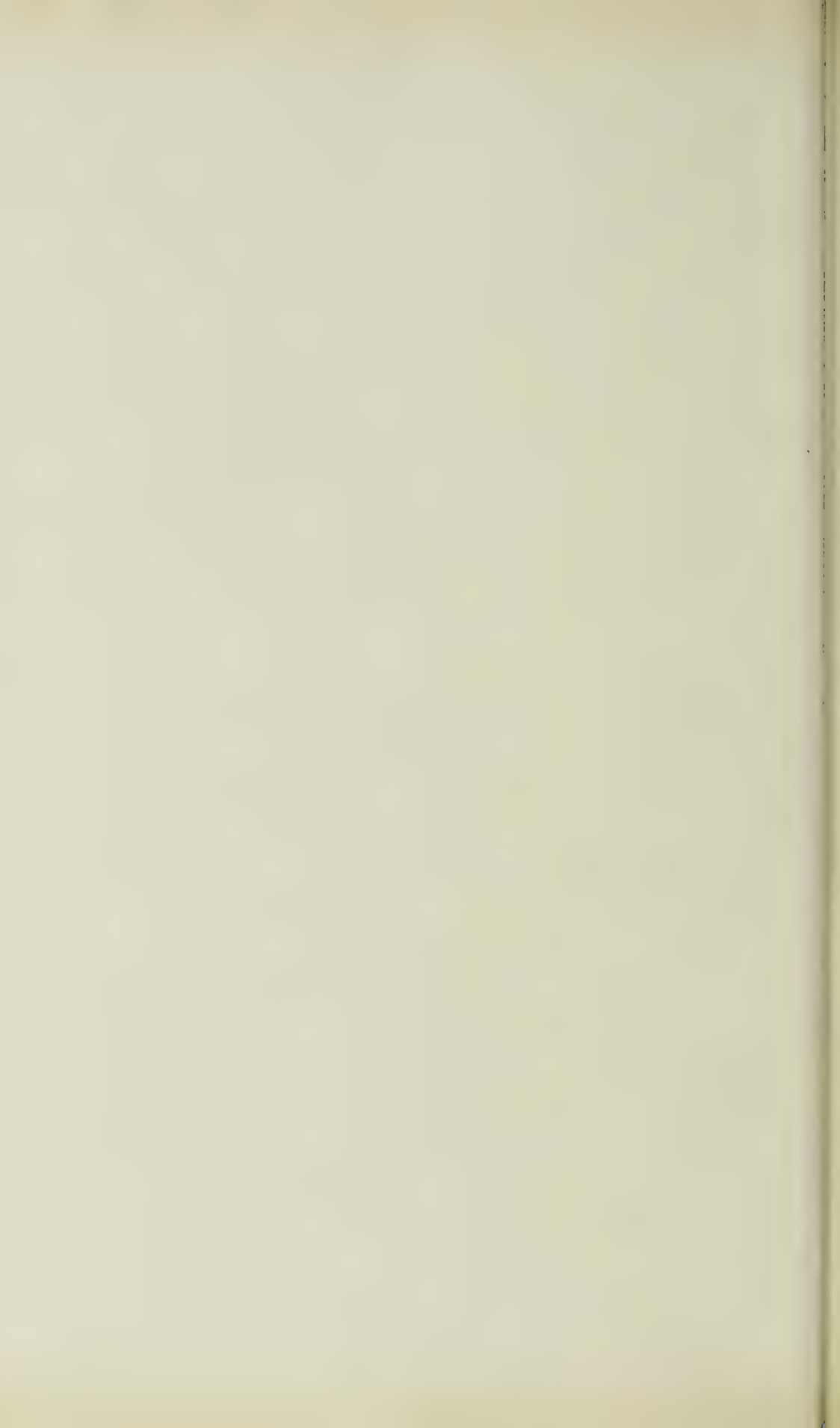
One whose counsel often had been sought during the stormy days was H. K. W. Welch (1821-1870), who stood high in the legal profession. He was born in Mansfield, the son of Dr. Archi-



RESIDENCE OF CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER, HARTFORD



MUSIC ROOM IN RESIDENCE OF CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER, HARTFORD
Portrait of Mr. Warner, wearing fez, on the wall



bald Welch. He began practice here in 1850 and was a partner of Hon. Nathaniel Shipman.

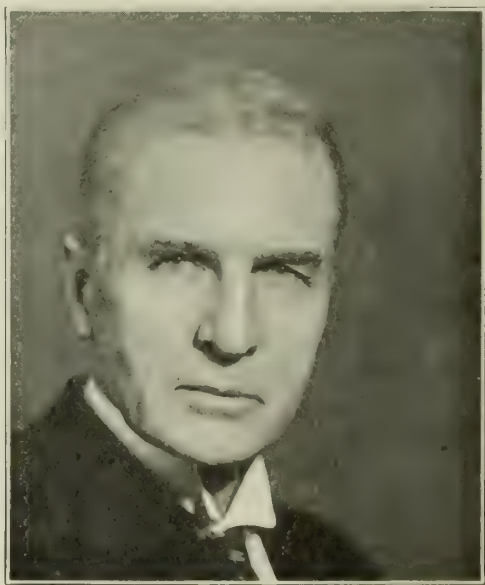
Willis I. Twitchell (1852-1914), a native of New Haven, Vt., and a graduate of Middlebury College, had been four years principal of the Windsor High School when he came here in 1883 as principal of the Arsenal District School; in 1901 he succeeded Esther C. Perry as principal of the West Middle District, including the Noah Webster School. He was president of the Watkinson Farm School and among his writings was "The Pathfinder of American History," in collaboration with Wilbur F. Gordy. John W. Stedman (1820-1896), born in Enfield, was president of the Connecticut Historical Society for many years, secretary and treasurer of the State Savings Bank, bank commissioner (while living in Norwich) and insurance commissioner in 1874. Dr. Harmon G. Howe (1850-1913) began practice here in 1875; he was president of the city and the county medical societies and gave much of his time for the hospital and the Hartford Retreat. Monsignor Thomas S. Preston (1824-1891), born in Hartford and graduated at Trinity in 1843, left the ministry of the Episcopal Church to join the Catholic, in which he became very prominent, being prelate of the Pope's household in 1873.

Names still familiar in leading lines of business include those of the following: Philemon F. Robbins (1807-1890), born in Rocky Hill, for over fifty years was head of Robbins & Wingate, cabinet-makers, and when he retired this and the furniture business was carried on by his sons. George P. Chandler (1844-1922) came with the drug firm of Lee, Sisson & Company in 1865, one of the oldest and largest drug concerns in the state, Thomas Sisson (mentioned elsewhere) being head of it. When Mr. Sisson died in 1900 Mr. Chandler succeeded him and the name became the Sisson Drug Company; he in turn was succeeded by his son, George A. Chandler—continuously at one location on Main Street. George W. Moore (1823-1889) was one of the earliest dealers in western mortgage loans, with his son James B. Moore and James H. Tallman who continued the business after his death, and it continues today. He was a director in many of the city's institutions and was largely instrumental in making Cedar Hill Cemetery what it is. A. A. Olds (1852-1925) began for himself in the furnace and fertilizer business in 1877 with Frank H. Whipple, in succession to the firm of Allen

& Willard. Mr. Olds, with residence in Windsor, was one of the pioneers in the development of shade-grown tobacco. Frank S. Brown came here from Boston in 1866. With James M. Thomson and William McWhirter, two Scotch business men, the firm of Brown, Thomson & McWhirter was formed which acquired the so-called Cheney Building erected in 1877. Mr. McWhirter retired in 1878, Mr. Brown in 1892 and Mr. Thomson in 1896, their successors being George A. Gay, William Campbell and Harry B. Strong, under the present name of Brown, Thomson & Company, drygoods and department store. The store of Moses Fox, started in 1847—for many years now G. Fox & Company—was also moving rapidly to its present position, despite serious fires, as a department store. W. H. Bulkeley was keeping the Bee Hive in the public mind. George O. Sawyer, Civil war veteran, came from Maine in 1869 and eventually built a building at the northeast corner of Main and Asylum streets to house his store for the years it continued. Isidore Wise meanwhile was developing the large establishment which bears his name and has taken over much property on Main and Pratt streets.



CLARA CLEMENS GABRI-
LOWITSCH
Singer. Daughter of Mark Twain



WILLIAM GILLETTE
Actor, playwright and novelist

XXIX

BEGINNING OF SIXTH HALF-CENTURY

FOUNDATIONS FOR A GREATER FUTURE—HONORING THE SOLDIERS—
LEADERS IN NEW ACTIVITIES—CHINESE STUDENTS—WELFARE IN-
STITUTIONS.

Town and county entered upon the last half of the third century with restfulness following the storms of the national reconstruction era, inflation and speculation. Conditions at last had reached normalcy after the Civil war, specie payment had been resumed, a new generation was coming on to succeed that made restless by the war, and the western plains were being opened for those who felt the urge of adventure. Agriculture not yet had begun to feel the pull of western competition, industry was enjoying an impetus with inventions, many of them in Hartford shops, and the comforts of peace and unfeverish progress were in evidence.

The state fairs in the fall at Charter Oak Park, once Zephaniah Bunce's farm, were more worth while; Washington Street was the scene of a continual carnival during the sleighing season with "Earle," "Lady Scud," "Glencoe," and a score of their mates, driven by such proud owners as H. A. Redfield, Henry Keney, William H. Bulkeley, Ludlow Barker, Henry Hitchcock, Charles R. Hart and R. G. Watrous, and, mounted on bicycles, people of all classes and ages were getting out into the open. J. H. Hale's peach orchards in Glastonbury were developing into the finest in this section; the dam of the Holyoke Water Power Company, dating from 1870 and representing much Hartford capital, was to be replaced at enormous expense; Colonel Pope was improving the bicycle and calling for better roads; the Legislature was meeting only every other year and always in Hartford; the new county building on Trumbull Street was going up at a cost of \$170,000 and with provision for a large law library for the Hartford Bar Association, which dated from 1795, and the new post office was lifting its somewhat ungainly form on the neglected State House Square. It truthfully could be said of the Government structure

that it was greatly needed. It came to its slow completion in 1882. Like the railroad roundhouse near the Capitol, built soon after, it was purpose, not ornament that people had to consider. The Roman classic fence around the State House grounds, ordered by the Legislature in 1834, was removed to the Old People's Home on Jefferson Street and traveled thence to the West Middle school grounds which it still adorns with its iron fasces.

Recent experiences, nation-wide, developed such practical-mindedness as this, and yet art was giving new evidence that it had not been smothered. Indeed commercial and industrial prosperity, as ever, was contributing to art, education and religious and charitable institutions and aiding in the progress of humanity. The Hartford Art Society, organized in 1877 as the Society of Decorative Art, was incorporated in 1886 and connection established with the Atheneum—"heir to the ideas of Daniel Wadsworth." Members were privileged to study the old pictures, the society assuming expense of heating and care. Mary D. Ely, one of the founders, was president till 1891 when her strength failed, but long before her death in 1902 she had the pleasure of seeing her hopes realized. By the encouragement of that society, many were to go forth to attain prominence in the world of art, here and abroad. The Keney scholarship was increased by gifts from other friends, and selected pupils were sent to such institutions as the art school of the Boston Museum. Then the Paige traveling scholarships enabled pupils to go to European art centers. The exhibitions were of value to the community, especially, as will be seen, with the developments which have come in these later days.

Among the names that linked this period of art with that of the past was that of Frederick E. Church, born on Temple Street in 1826, one of America's greatest landscape painters for all time. He owed his career to Daniel Wadsworth and the Atheneum, in which institution is an historic specimen of his earliest work, "Hooker's Journey," along with others of later days but none that satisfied him. He was wont to try to buy something worthy to send here but, as he told Charles Dudley Warner who frequently was his traveling companion, he always was outbid, much more being given for his pictures than he ever got himself. His greatest picture, "Niagara," which was the admiration of both continents, brought \$12,500 at a sale in Paris when the canvases of the most famous Frenchmen brought little more than half that.

He began drawing with Benjamin Coe and water colors with A. H. Emmons. Mr. Wadsworth noticed him at his work in the Atheneum and persuaded Thomas Cole of New York, the "father of painting," to teach him. He was Cole's first pupil. Church's preference was for the grand and the transcribing of atmosphere. Honored abroad as at home, he traveled extensively for his subjects, and his last days, in 1900, at his beautiful home in the Catskills, were full of joy. So desirous was he that his native town should have something worth while to remember him by that he sold to Timothy Allyn at a comparatively low price what he considered his masterpiece, "Jerusalem."

Dwight W. Tryon was another native, born in 1849 and living till 1925. As a clerk at Brown & Gross's bookstore, he earned the money to go abroad to study art—contrary to the advice of his friend, Mark Twain. He won many notable prizes and was a member of several societies. For thirty-three years he was head of the art department at Smith College.

T. Sedgwick Steele, descendant of a Hartford founder, was still doing fine work, continuing till his death in 1903. He also found many of his subjects in foreign lands. N. A. Moore, of Kensington, was delighting with his landscapes. D. F. Wentworth was beginning to win the applause which still is his today. Gurdon Trumbull, Jr., was specializing in game fish, for which he had no superior. William R. Wheeler (1829-1893) was painting governors' portraits. Frederick S. Jewett had been a member of the city's first park board, helping in the layout of Bushnell Park; from his brush came charming productions. Hartford is proud of its examples of the skill of the sculptor, Olin Levi Warner (1844-1896), who was a native of West Suffield; the statue of Governor Buckingham in the Capitol is one of them. He had gained national fame and was engaged in designing bronze doors for the Congressional Library in 1896 when he died as the result of an accident. Carl Gerhardt had won the honor of designing the soldiers' monument at Utica, N. Y., of which George Keller was the architect, and the prophecies of his friends were fulfilled. Bunce, Flagg and others were entering upon careers which bring them more appropriately into a little later period.

Other sons were bringing credit in fields no other Hartford sons had trodden. Two of them are far from being through bringing it. The slightly elder of them is William Gillette who

now has his castle-like home on the high cliff (the "Seventh Sister") at Hadlyme, overlooking the Connecticut. Mention has been made of his work, in the Nook Farm section. In these later days he turns to novel-writing.

Otis Skinner, born in 1858, three years after Gillette, is a clergyman's son and came to Hartford with his parents while yet a young school boy. His first stage was in the basement of the Universalist Church of which his father was pastor. He made his public debut in Allyn Hall as second in the cast of "The Dead Shot," played for charity in 1877, in the fall of which year he appeared as "Jim, an old negro," in the cast of "Woodleigh," by the Philadelphia Museum Company. What he has been since, for half a century, the world knows well. Lew Clapp ("Lew Dockstader") was a leader among those who made minstrel entertainments an actual boon for the "tired business man." And Lew never forgot his old Hartford associates. Maude Granger, whose father, Abraham B. Brainard, was a foreman in Pratt & Whitney's great plant, comes here to visit her relatives and girlhood friends after her half-century of acting. Lucille Saunders, in the period we are reviewing, was singing in opera in London after winning laurels on this side.

Among the citizens there was more thought of the future than there had been through the previous quarter of a century, more joining in fellowship, more care for the welfare of others, young and old. The Watkinson Farm School was opened in 1881 on Park Street, near the orphan asylum, in which David Watkinson had been greatly interested. Mr. Watkinson's bequest of \$60,000 in 1857 had come, by careful management, to equal \$200,000. The institution had been chartered as the Watkinson Juvenile Asylum and Farm School in 1858 and since 1864 had received a few boys with the aid of the orphan asylum fund. Now twenty acres of land had been acquired near Park Street and the school formally opened as a training school and home for boys in need of care. Today it has excellent buildings and facilities on the former Prosser farm of 130 acres, at the corner of Albany Avenue and Bloomfield Road where, thanks to the generosity of Rev. Francis Goodwin, in 1895, the Handicraft School in connection with it was established, for the education of a large number of boys in horticulture, floriculture and kindred subjects.



OTIS SKINNER



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LEW DOCKSTADER
One of the Country's Greatest Minstrels



The Old People's Home, on Jefferson Street, built with the \$50,000 bequest of Charles H. Northam, late president of the hospital, was dedicated in 1884.

The Good Will Club, which has made better and happier citizens out of at least 25,000 youths since 1880, was preceded by the Dashaway Club, formed in 1860 by Miss Elizabeth Hamersley and others in the Morgan Street Mission School building, and by that club's successor, the Sixth Ward Temperance Society in City Missionary Hawley's night-school building in 1867. The temperance society's \$1,000 fund went to the public library and its furnishings were utilized by the club of 1880. The Good Will Club was inspired and throughout her life, ending in 1927, was guided by Miss Mary Hall, in memory of her brother Ezra Hall. After graduating at Wesleyan Seminary and serving as an instructor in Lasell Seminary, near Boston, Miss Hall studied law and was the first woman in the state to be admitted to practice. The club became her life work. David Clark and A. E. Burr assisted her in making the start. By 1889, the club needing a building of its own, a fund was raised for the purchase of the former Female Seminary building on Pratt Street. Henry and Walter Keney were generous benefactors, and when a still larger building was required in 1910 Henry Keney saw to it that it could be located on the Keney homestead land, so that today it stands on Keney Tower square. The trustees from the beginning have been some of the city's foremost men. Under volunteer instructors the boys have practical courses, a company of cadets, drum corps and orchestra, games of all sorts and gymnastics, and also a "city," governed wholly by themselves.

Miss Hall was a daughter of Gustavus E. Hall, whose home was the once famous inn at Marlborough, in the story of which town will be found an account of it. Of late years, she had provided a camp there for the boys; the inn itself she bequeathed to the Colonial Dames for public use. In her will she left \$20,000 for the club. Willie O. Burr, editor of the *Times*, left \$10,000 to the club fund which his father, A. E. Burr, had been instrumental in establishing.

The Veteran Firemen's Association was organized in 1889 and a building provided for it on Arch Street. The Police Mutual Aid Association, dating from 1880, was performing a worthy function; its record of dispensations today is over \$85,000. For

social and beneficent purposes there were coming in the Hartford Lodge of the Elks, Wadsworth, Nathan Hale and Parkville lodges of the Ancient Order of United Workmen, B. H. Webb Council of the Royal Arcanum, Capitol Lodge of Sons of St. George, Clan Gordon of the Order of Scottish Clans, Charter Oak Council of United American Mechanics, Hartford Tent of the Maccabees, and the German Aid Society, following chronologically the German Independent Aid Society, three sections, established in 1875. College graduates were foregathering, the Yale Alumni Association in 1885 and the Mount Holyoke Alumnae Association the following year. And of special literary flavor was the Monday Morning Club which since 1888 has been meeting at the homes of its members.

The still vivid memory of the Civil war, which a few years previously had found expression in the organizing of Nathaniel Lyon Post No. 2 and of Robert O. Tyler Post No. 50, had been recognized by the forming of a Woman's Relief Corps for each of the posts, as No. 2 and No. 6 respectively on the state rolls, with Griffin A. Stedman Camp of Sons of Veterans No. 6 soon to follow, and in the early part of the Twentieth Century, Lizbeth A. Turner Tent, Daughters of Veterans, and also the Citizens Corps to assist in Memorial Day exercises.

Such memory found more public expression on Buckingham Day, June 18, 1884, when 30,000 people came from out of town to join the throng. The 7,000 men in line included the veterans, the First Regiment of the Connecticut National Guard, contingents from other regiments, the Governor's Foot Guard and Horse Guard, Putnam Phalanx, and the Seventh Regiment of New York. The occasion was the unveiling of Olin L. Warner's statute of the war governor in the battle-flag corridor of the Capitol, with presentation by Speaker Henry B. Harrison, acceptance by Gov. Thomas M. Waller and oration by United States Senator Orville H. Platt.

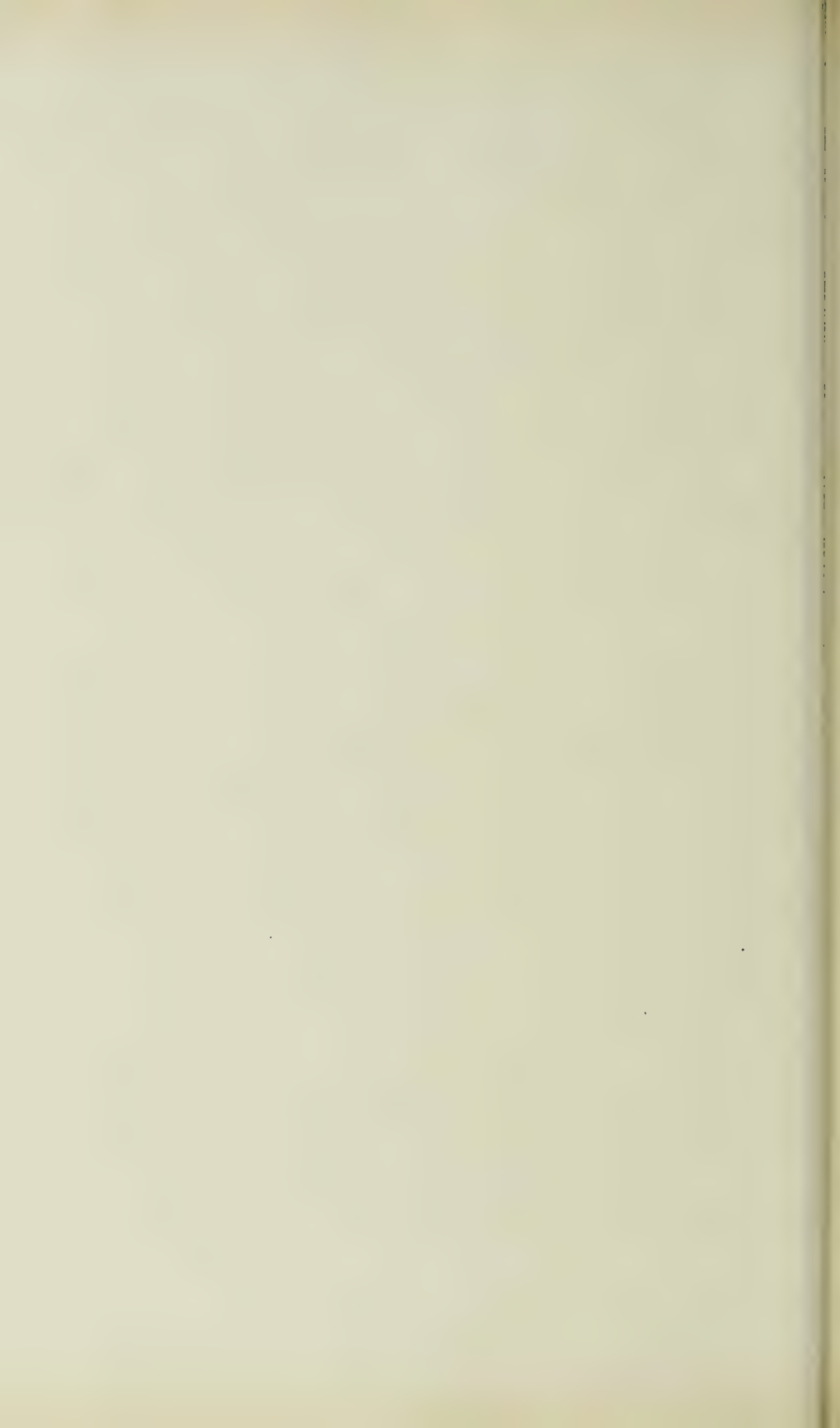
On September 17, 1886, the Memorial Arch at the Trinity Street entrance to Bushnell Park was dedicated. The graceful brown stone structure had been designed by George Keller of Hartford, who that year had won the prize for the design of the President Garfield monument in Cleveland, with sculpture by Casper Buberl and Samuel Kitson. The town had appropriated \$60,000 for it. There were more than 5,000 veterans in line, es-



OLD RAILROAD STATION ON ASYLUM STREET, HARTFORD, 1885



WASHINGTON STREET, HARTFORD, IN THE '90s



corted by the First and Second regiments of the National Guard, the Governor's Foot Guard and Horse Guard, the Putnam Phalanx military companies from Bridgeport, Providence, R. I., and Troy, N. Y., the selectmen, Mayor Bulkeley and the common council, with Col. William E. Cone as marshal. It was an earnest reminder of Battle-flag Day in 1879.

An institution which was designed to do much good for dumb animals in particular throughout the state owed its inception to a high school girl who in later years was in charge of the Winsted Hospital. Gertrude O. Lewis, daughter of Dr. John B. Lewis, eminent surgeon in the Civil war and medical director of the Travelers' Insurance Company, loves animals. She persuaded George T. Angell of Boston, who later was to become a leader in the work of prevention of cruelty to animals throughout the country, to come to Hartford to make an address. Enlisting the clergy in her cause, she had a large audience for the speaker at Park Church Sunday evening, November 13, 1880. The immediate result was the organization of the Connecticut Humane Society with Rodney Dennis as president and Henry E. Burton as secretary, its scope soon to be broadened to include uncared-for children and its years of usefulness and generous public support to continue through the years indefinitely.

At the same time something of great national import was being observed by students of government and international affairs. Dr. Yung Wing, one of the most advanced Chinese of his times, was bringing selected Chinese boys here for an education. Regretfully, his noble undertaking still stands unique in the world's history. With nothing revolutionary in mind but purely with the advancement of his own people and the basis of a better understanding between the races, Doctor Wing, himself a graduate of Yale in the class of '54, had finally succeeded in bringing his government to take his view of the subject. In a childhood given over to severe toil in the rice-fields, he had acquired from missionaries a knowledge of English and was brought to America in 1847, after intensive study, by William A. Macy, a Yale man who had had a school in China. While pursuing his studies he made the acquaintance of Prof. David E. Bartlett of East Windsor, Yale '28, an instructor at the present School for the Deaf till his death in 1879. Wing was an importer when his government commissioned him to buy arsenal machinery at Pratt & Whit-

ney's in 1864, and since that time, it may be said, China has continued to buy at various times in amount running into the millions. Gaining in prestige, Doctor Wing boldly and successfully proposed reforms in China. One resulted in the establishment of the China Merchant Steam Navigation Company and another was the sending of prospective leaders in national affairs to this country for instruction.

He was appointed commissioner and was made a mandarin of third rank. Headquarters were established in a building erected on Collins Street, and in 1872 youths to the number of 120 finally began to arrive. Yale gave him the doctor's degree, he married the granddaughter of the Rev. Bela Kellogg of the East Avon Church and the sister of Dr. Edward W. Kellogg, by whom he had two able sons, Morrison B. and Bartlett G. Wing. He was a member of the Asylum Hill Congregational Church and for many years president of the Congregational Society of New England. From 1874 to 1878 he was on special duty investigating the condition of the Chinese in Peru. The boys were sent to various schools around the country. The direct government representative at the mission here was Chin Lan Pin, afterwards minister to the United States, and Doctor Wing was associated with him in Washington.

The wisdom of the doctor's plan was being demonstrated, the students were achieving much in scholarship and popularity when suddenly in 1881 they were recalled and the commission discontinued. The cause is said to have been dissatisfaction with our immigration law, disbarment of the students from the government academies of the army and navy and discrimination in favor of the Japanese. Some of the boys failed to return to China, others came back here and several of them were put into government positions where they attained high place. Among the students in Hartford were Liang Tun Yen, later confidential adviser and secretary of Li Hung Chang, then successively taotai of Tientsin, head of the Tientsin Railway, controller-general of customs and president of the Board of Foreign Affairs and named for minister to the United States, an honor he declined because of duties at home; Mun Yew Chung, who became a member of the Chinese legation; Wong Kai Kah, the vice-commissioner at the St. Louis exposition (both Wong and Liang received their degrees of B. A. in later years, on petition of their classmates of '82 and

'83 at Yale); Chin, Lon, Tong, Jeme, Ye, Lee, Woo, Yang (a nephew of Yung Wing), Chu Chun Pan, Chu Kee Yung, and Tsai Shou Kie who established the University of Tientsin and became taotai of Tientsin. Wong and some of the others in their high school days lived in the family of Professor Bartlett. In college where Mun Yew Chung won fame as coxswain of the university crew and all the boys were popular, college slang classified them as "the Hartford Christians."

Doctor Wing was given an important position in China in 1882 but could not remain there on account of his wife's health. He was made noble of the first rank, in order that he might take part in the peace conference after the Japanese war. Persisting in his reform work during the reign of the dowager empress, a price of \$100,000 was put on his head. From 1900 to 1902 he was under British protection at Hongkong and then returned to Hartford where he died in 1912.

This period of the beginning of the last half of Hartford's third century was marked by comfortable taking account of the recent past, with none of that feverish discounting of the future achievements to be noted in later days. There was the old-time free-handedness on the part of those who had acquired money and the obvious willingness of the characteristically high class of working people to earn a good wage and to enjoy what they got. Bicycles were adding greatly to this enjoyment. Even adults were utilizing them to get ten or twenty miles into the country—at closing hours in the factory districts the streets were congested with them; the races by the state association at Charter Oak Park were said by the press to be fully as enjoyable as the time-honored horse races, and George B. Thayer, merchant, student, writer, soldier, lawyer and for the years since then an iron-muscle pedestrian to all parts of the world when not doing his part in the wars that came, was attracting national attention by his pedaling to the Pacific coast and back.

Time was being saved and freighting promoted by improved transportation and hours were being added to each day by better light at night. Already it was plain that New England's more dense population was commanding the attention of promoters of railway passenger traffic, the lines built at costly venture were experiencing readjustment and paralleling was to become a craze

which only the fiercest fights in the Legislature were finally to curb. The Poughkeepsie, Hartford & Boston, bought by the Connecticut Western which had leased it, was sold under foreclosure for \$60,000. The New York & New England, into which so much Hartford County capital had gone, was put into the hands of Receiver Charles P. Clark in 1884, and the Legislature was granting the charter of the Hartford & Harlem from the New Britain point of the New England to the New York state line, with the Olmsted parallel to the New York, New Haven & Hartford in the southern part of the state making a desperate fight against the "New Haven"—which, better established, was to come out the great victor, eventually the monopolist of all, including water and trolley lines; was almost to sink under its load, with loss of many thousands to stockholders, and then, in this present era, was to be rehabilitated under the presidency of E. J. Pearson.

It was in those exciting days of 1884 that Hartford citizens went to the Legislature for relief from grade-crossing conditions at the local station where great gates checked traffic through Asylum Street, the main artery to the west. The ancient ropewalk station just north of the street served for both the New Haven and the New England trains. The plan was to drop the tracks below street level and put a station on Spruce Street, a bit west of the old one, filling in Asylum Hill to make a grade upward to its peak from half a block east of the tracks. The New England being too utterly poor and city property owners far from unanimous, the struggle assumed various phases till at last the present iron and masonry overhead structure for the tracks and an upper-deck stone station on the site of the old one was adopted, the city paying one-half, \$200,000, in 1892. As in the matter of the post office, it was practicality, not adornment, that was attained, and both problems are awaiting future generations. The public was further agitated over rail service inasmuch as the Sunday laws prohibited transportation on Sunday except as demanded by "public necessity," so that for a time business was limited to milk trains.

New form of artificial light came not without heated opposition by the company long occupying the field. Lanterns and torchbearers had given place, in city streets, to oil lamps at public expense in 1821. The Hartford City Gas Light Company—to use its original fully descriptive name—chartered in 1848, had kept

pace with inventions in device. There had been some experiments with the electric arc and that year, 1881, the Hartford Electric Light Company was chartered. Austin C. Dunham, interested in industries in various parts of the state and one of the most progressive of electricity geniuses, was back of it. The company applied for a charter in 1881. In 1884, its proposition to the city was to furnish thirty lights around the central streets, one light to replace four mantle gas lights. Alderman Harbison, in devotion to the gas company, fought bitterly, but the proposition won a majority vote finally, with condition, however, that the price of electricity for the six months' trial should not exceed the price of gas—which the gas company had cut. Mr. Dunham and his associates cheerfully bore the heavy expense of installation. In two years Hartford boasted of being the best-lighted city of its size in America.

Some of these same promoters, convinced that individual use of fuel was ridiculously expensive, introduced a community plan for heating by steam from a parent plant. The Hartford Steam Company went to the undertaking confidently in 1881, but troubles in transmission caused abandonment.

Politics were gathering such impetus as had not been felt since war times. The morning *Courant* and the evening *Post* carried the republican gospel, the evening *Times* the democratic. It was divined that there was room for a morning democratic paper, and the *Telegram* was started by D. C. Birdsall in 1883—to run a course of several hectic years. There were two Sunday papers, the *Journal*, established by Joseph H. Barnum in 1867, and the *Globe*, established by C. W. Griswold in 1876. Editorial style remaining constant, make-up and local handling had changed with the hour and, while doings of corporations were still unobtainable, kindly attention was being given to social events. How this latter was received in more conservative and classical sets was thus vividly set forth in a card in the *Courant* by Miss Sarah Porter, sister of Yale's president and head of a noted school for girls in Farmington:

“Not many years ago no journal would have wished or have dared to report any gathering not professedly open to the public, but sentiment has been so rapidly debased that the reporter pries into the most sacred scenes of domestic and social life and helps to desecrate them to occasions of mere

ostentation. I know that the press is the mouthpiece of the public, but the tone of the press greatly forms the sentiment of this public. Many reluctantly submit to the intrusion out of fear of very false reports, but not the less the degrading influence works, and unless this practice is checked, the heartiness and simplicity of society will be more and more eaten out and tyranny of the idlest curiosity be established over us all. Those who, in coming years, are to be teachers of young girls, will find it far less easy than I have found it to cherish the finest instincts and to develop the truthfulness and noble simplicity which belong to good womanhood. All these, I am sure, will be in accord with my views, and in their name I protest against the practice of reporting the incidents of private life and urge its suppression."

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In the presidential election of 1880, Hartford County gave Garfield 13,917 votes and Hancock 12,988; in 1884, Blaine 13,695 and Cleveland 13,966. The latter was the "mugwump" year, but the local republican papers remained steadfast. The contest of 1884 was like an echo of 1860. The republicans revived the Wideawakes of that day, some of the founders of which were still active. Judge George S. Gilman was the original permanent president. Maj. Julius G. Rathbun was the commander of the new organization, with its capes and torches. Men of such prominence as Rev. M. B. Riddle, James G. Batterson and Rowland Swift spoke for Blaine. At each rally, the names of the vice presidents and secretaries took up much of the newspaper space. The result in the county was: Blaine, 13,695; Cleveland, 13,966; Cleveland's majority in the state was 1,284. Hartford gave a majority of 670 for Cleveland. The republican towns in the county were Avon, Canton, Enfield, Farmington, Granby, Hartland, Manchester, Newington, Plainville, Simsbury, Suffield, West Hartford, and Wethersfield—thirteen out of twenty-nine. John R. Buck, who for his work in the Committee on Naval Affairs had won the title of "Father of the Modern Navy," was returned to Congress by the republican vote. Governor Thomas M. Waller of New London, democrat, got a plurality but not a majority; hence by the old law, not repealed till some years later, the election of governor was thrown into the republican Legislature where the republican candidate, Henry B. Harrison of New Haven, was chosen.

en. In the subsequent years, till Wilson's vote in 1916 was nearly a thousand more than Hughes', the county continued in the republican column—with special strength when Bryan was running and the democratic *Times* repudiated him. In the '80s Miss Frances Ellen Burr and Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker were exerting themselves strenuously for woman suffrage.

Congressman Buck (1836-1917) was brought up ruggedly on his father's farm in East Glastonbury. After attending school and teaching, he studied law and became a partner of Julius L. Strong. He served through the legislative clerkships, held municipal offices, was treasurer of the county and as senator assisted in important legislation relative to the court system. He was first sent to Congress in 1880, and was succeeded there, prior to this re-election, by former United States Senator W. W. Eaton. When Mr. Buck retired to private life, he was in partnership with A. F. Eggleston. He retained the famous old homestead in East Glastonbury and delighted to go there for recreation. William E. Simonds of Canton was the congressman from 1889 to 1891.

William H. Bulkeley (1840-1902) was lieutenant-governor from 1881 to 1883. He came of a distinguished colonial family and was a son of Eliphalet A. Bulkeley, first president of the Connecticut Mutual Life Company and organizer of the Aetna Life. After a mercantile career in Brooklyn, N. Y., he organized in 1871 the lithographing firm of Kellogg & Bulkeley (still a very prosperous concern here) and also was proprietor of the enterprising Bee Hive drygoods store. At one time he was vice president of the Aetna Life. In the Civil war he was a captain in a New York regiment. With rank of general he was a member of the staff of Governor Bigelow of this state. In 1882 he was nominated for governor but Thomas M. Waller of New London received a majority, with, however, enough "black" ballots to throw the election into the republican Legislature. General Bulkeley declared he would not accept office under a technicality. It remained for the Legislature to pass a healing act for the ballots.

The Sunday earthquake, August 9, 1884, which rang bells, stopped clocks and raised waves on the river, might have been taken as indication of high disapproval of such election laws and may have had something to do with the reform that was worked out after a little.

George G. Sumner (1841-1906) was lieutenant-governor from

1883 to 1885. Coming from Bolton where he was born, he entered the law office of Waldo & Hyde. At different times he held the offices of city attorney, recorder of the city court, chairman of the democratic state committee and state senator. James L. Howard (1818-1906), a native of Windsor, Vt., was lieutenant-governor from 1887 to 1889. With his brothers, he created the very successful concern for the manufacture of car trimmings, James L. Howard & Co., and in 1846 built the Howard building on Asylum Street. One of the earliest life insurance agents, he was among the organizers of the Travelers. For many years he was president of the gas company and held large interests in Springfield. When the present site of the Hartford Public High School was selected he was chairman of the school committee. To the cause of various Baptist organizations he gave much of his best thought and was long a trustee of Brown University.

Among other men prominent in public affairs was Charles M. Joslyn (1849-1920) who was born in Tolland and coming here to practice joined the firm of Hyde, Gilman & Hungerford—today Gilman & Marks. He served two terms in the Legislature, was on the staffs of Governors Hubbard and Morris and judge advocate on the staff of the Putnam Phalanx. He organized the Hubbard Escort in 1880, which for many years was a prominent social and political organization. He was president of the Hartford Library Association, vice president of the Hartford Trust Company, and for ten years chairman of the high school committee. Maj. E. Henry Hyde (1848-1920) was the son of Lieutenant-Governor E. H. Hyde of Stafford. Prior to his becoming a member of the firm of Hyde, Joslyn, Gilman & Hungerford, he was associated with Samuel F. Jones, one of the foremost lawyers. Major Hyde served through the clerkships in the Legislature, was prosecuting attorney, first president of the Board of Charities and major of the First Company, Governor's Foot Guard, for seven years.

William Waldo Hyde (1854-1915) was born in Tolland, a descendant of Elder Brewster and grandson of Congressman Loren P. Waldo, who came to Hartford in 1864 to open a law office with his son-in-law, Alvan P. Hyde (William W. Hyde's father) and with Richard D. Hubbard (governor 1877-1879). Mr. Hyde, graduating from Yale in 1876, became a member of this firm in 1881. The firm name was Hyde, Gross & Hyde when Charles

E. Gross entered into the partnership, later Hyde, Gross & Shipman (Arthur L.), of which firm Charles Welles Gross and Alvan Waldo Hyde, sons of partners, became members, latterly Gross, Hyde & Williams—always one of the leading offices in the state. William Waldo Hyde was mayor from 1885 to 1891 and served as superintendent of schools, corporation counsel and as member of the committee to revise the city charter. For twenty-five years he was general counsel for the water board, one of the five trustees to take over the Connecticut Company from the New York, New Haven & Hartford road on arrangement brought about by the federal government, and held other positions of trust, public and private. He belonged to many patriotic and social organizations.

Charles E. Perkins (1832-1917) was the son of Thomas C. Perkins of Hartford and grandson of the eminent lawyer Enoch Perkins who came here from Norwich. Mr. Perkins took his son Arthur into partnership after his admission to the bar, so that the office of Perkins is continued in these days. Mr. Perkins filled the positions of city attorney and member of the Legislature and was president of the County Bar Association. E. Spicer Cleveland (1825-1903) came to Hartford from Hampton as a clerk. At the outbreak of the Civil war, he had been a congressman, elected on the democratic ticket, but he was an ardent Union man, went to several states as a speaker for Lincoln and was postmaster for eight years. After the war he returned to the democratic party and was elected to the Legislature from Hampton, where he retained a summer residence. Again residing in Hartford, he was chosen senator, was nominated for governor in 1886 and received 58,818 votes against 56,920 for Phineas C. Lounsbury, the republican candidate. Under the old rule, neither candidate having a majority, the election went to the Legislature where Mr. Lounsbury won. He served more terms in the Senate and did not agree with his party leaders in the deadlock session of 1891.

Charles E. Gross (1847-1924) came of ancestors who were among the earliest Massachusetts pioneers. After graduating at Yale in 1869 he took a law course and was admitted to the firm of Waldo, Hubbard & Hyde, changes thereafter taking place as already mentioned. Mr. Gross was general counsel and director in the Phoenix Mutual Life, a director in the Aetna (Fire) and the New York & New England Railroad, president of the Society of

Savings and of the Holyoke Water Power Company, vice president of the Atheneum, president of the Connecticut Historical Society, of the park board and of the Board of Trade. He was administrator for several large estates. Arthur F. Eggleston (1844-1909) was a descendant of one of the town's original settlers. Though only a mere lad, he served in a Massachusetts regiment during the war. Graduating at Williams College in 1868, he began law practice in the office of Hon. John R. Buck in 1872 and entered into a partnership with him which continued till Mr. Eggleston retired in 1908. That was at the expiration of his long term as state's attorney. Gen. Thomas McManus (1834-1914) was a veteran of the Twenty-fifth Connecticut Volunteers and was instrumental in having the site of the old rendezvous camp here marked by the erection of the statue of General Stedman. He was judge of the City Court and of the Court of Common Pleas and chief of divisions in the treasury department at Washington (1887-89). He was a general on the staff of Governor Waller. Dr. James McManus and Robert McManus were brothers of his.

Henry C. Robinson (1832-1900) was the most eminent corporation lawyer of his day. He was a direct descendant of the earliest Puritans and ever was an earnest worker in the South Church. On graduating at Yale in the class of '53, he studied law and became partner of his brother, Lucius F. Robinson, continuing alone after his brother's death in 1861 till 1888 when his son, Lucius F., present head of the firm, became a partner, and soon after, his second son, John T. Two sons of Lucius F. (second)—Lucius F. and Barclay—also are now with the firm. During Mr. Robinson's term as mayor Hartford was made the sole capital of the state. He was a member of the Legislature and four times was nominated by acclamation by the republicans for governor of the state, declining the fourth. It is understood that he also declined appointment as minister to Spain and the presidency of the New York, New Haven & Hartford road. Service was rendered as director in foremost public institutions and in banking and insurance corporations, yet withal he found time to be a lecturer in the Yale Law School and to contribute to the literature of the day, especially law literature. His oratory was of high order. Eliza Niles Trumbull, a descendant of Elder Brewster of the Plymouth colony, was his wife. Mr. Robinson's son

Henry S. went from law practice into banking and became president of the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company.

John C. Day (1832-1899) was the son of Calvin Day of Hartford. He was graduated at Yale in 1857 and received the degree of M. A. in 1865. He retired from law practice here and in 1888 lived abroad for seven years. In 1864 he was private secretary to Governor Buckingham. He was a director in banks and insurance companies and in Landers, Frary & Clark of New Britain. Mrs. Day was a daughter of John and Isabella Beecher Hooker. Mrs. George P. Bissell of Hartford, Mrs. Joseph Cooke Jackson of New York and Miss Caroline Day of Hartford were his sisters. Harrison B. Freeman (1838-1913) graduated with the class of '62 at Yale. From 1887 till he reached the age limit in 1908, he was elected judge of probate. He was the father of Harrison B. Freeman, a prominent lawyer of today.

These are but a few of those the story of whose lives is the history of the times. Among others, and like most of those named a frequenter of the Hartford Club, was the stalwart and much revered Maj.-Gen. William B. Franklin of Civil war fame. On retirement from the army in 1866 he came here and was made vice president and general manager of the Colt's Patent Fire Arms Manufacturing Company. He was superintendent on the commission that built the Capitol, was presidential elector on the democratic ticket in the Tilden campaign and adjutant-general under Governor Hubbard. He discharged the duties of president of the first board of managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers and of commissary general to the Paris exposition, receiving the first decoration given to an American as grand officer of the French Legion of Honor. He was a director in several Hartford insurance and financial concerns, and was senior warden of the Church of the Good Shepherd.

Prof. John B. Brocklesby, LL. D. (1811-1889) in 1820 came to Avon with his father who built near Monte Video. After graduating at Yale in 1835, he went into law but gave up practice to become professor of mathematics at Washington (Trinity) College in 1842, succeeding Charles Davies. He wrote much on natural philosophy and astronomy. He retired in 1882. John H., William C., and Arthur K. Brocklesby were his sons. Rev. J. R. Keep (1810-1884), a native of Longmeadow, Mass., a graduate of Yale, '34, formed the Congregational church in Unionville and

preached in other places till he came to Hartford in 1854 and for twenty-five years was a professor at the American Deaf Mute Institute. He married a daughter of Rev. Dr. Noah Porter of Farmington, a sister of President Porter of Yale. He was the father of Prof. Robert Porter Keep of Farmington.

William H. Gross (1835-1891) began business life in the book store of William J. Hamersley. Later with Flavius A. Brown he started the book store of Brown & Gross, first at the corner of Main and Asylum streets and then down Asylum Street half a block. On Mr. Brown's death Leverett Belknap was made partner and afterwards George F. Warfield. The firm today is G. F. Warfield & Co. Mr. Gross was secretary of the Atheneum. William H. Post (1833-1899) was partner with Caleb L. Talcott in Talcott & Post, drygoods, several years after the death of his brother, Amos Post, or till 1881 when he formed the William H. Post Carpet Company, at the corner of Asylum and Haynes streets, where the company is still located. His son, William S. Post, succeeded him in the business. Mr. Post also was the president of the Capewell Horse Nail Company, and was one of the founders of Park Church. Caleb M. Talcott (1826-1901), born in Rockville, was head of the firm of Talcott & Post, at the corner of Main and Pratt streets, his first partner being Amos Post. He continued the business for many years alone. He was instrumental in forming the Capewell Horse Nail Company and was interested in various other concerns.

George J. Capewell invented the automatic horse-nail machine. He was born in Birmingham, Eng., in 1843. Coming to this country, his father was a manufacturer of firearms in Woodbury. The son began business for himself manufacturing light hardware in Cheshire. In 1880 the great Capewell Horse Nail Company was organized, Frank L. Howard president. Mr. Capewell retired from business life in 1907. The plant became the largest of its kind in the world and so continues. He gave liberally to public institutions and especially to the Hartford Hospital, where the X-ray building was given by the family in memory of him.

Dr. Cincinnatus A. Taft (1822-1884), a native of Dedham, Mass., followed his brother, Dr. G. M. Taft, in practice of homeopathy here, and by his interest in public affairs, filled a large place in the community.

J. Watson Beach (1823-1887) was the son of President George

Beach of the Phoenix Bank. He was head of the firm of Beach & Co., importers, formed by three brothers, George, J. Watson and Charles M., and afterwards continued by Charles M., T. Belknap and Charles Edward, grandsons of George. J. Watson Beach was at one time president of the Mercantile National Bank and a director in several concerns. He was the father of Mrs. George H. Day, Mrs. P. H. Ingalls, Dr. C. C. Beach and George W. Beach.

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Altogether it was fertile soil for helpful institutions of all kinds. In 1888, Mrs. Emily Wells Foster interested herself in a poor blind Italian child and sent him to the Perkins Institute in Boston. She and the local Heart Sunshine Society soon heard of other cases. They had no difficulty in enlisting in their cause a Hartford lawyer, F. E. Cleveland, himself blind for many years. Arrangements were made to have the state send needy cases to the institute but only to find that the accommodations there were insufficient. Thereupon the Legislature in 1893 passed a resolution appointing the governor and chief justice and two others a commission to look into the subject and allowing \$300 for educational purposes. Mrs. Foster and Mr. Cleveland were the two others. This was the beginning of the State Board of Education for the Blind and the corporation known as the Connecticut Institute and Industrial Home for the Blind. A house was secured at No. 57 Kenyon Street for a nursery to which children were brought from around the state. A larger house was taken, on Asylum Street, and a kindergarten introduced. State aid was allowed for children of school age and Hartford women continued to furnish most of the funds for the rest of the expenses. Now it has its school department, farm and gardens in a most attractive locality on Holcomb Street with a thriving department of trades on Ridge Road.

And the Children's Aid Society was started. Virginia Thrall, born in Bloomfield, her ancestors founders of Windsor, had been educated at Suffield Institute and at Mount Holyoke, had married William B. Smith and had come here to live in 1876. She organized a corps of workers to assist "Father" (David) Hawley, the city missionary, giving special attention to the needs of children. A laundry and cooking school were established and legislation se-

cured by which there should be kindergartens in public schools, of which Hartford's West Middle had one of the first in America. An annual fair was a feature for many years. Sunset Cottage was provided near the reservoirs and the Sister Dora Society drew many. Mrs. Smith was a member of the State Board of Charities for nine years. In 1887-88 came the bequests from the Lucy S. Church and Charles Wright estates, \$62,000, and the City Mission Association was formed to assist in the work, with headquarters in its own building on Pearl Street. Levi Prosser gave his farm in Bloomfield. In 1892, the name was changed to the Children's Aid Society, and from this grew the Connecticut Children's Aid Society to provide homes for children and especially to care for crippled children at a splendidly equipped home in Newington, for the beginning of which the society raised the funds in 1898 to buy a fifty-six-acre farm. The acreage has been increased as need required and the buildings also. Dr. Joseph E. Root aided much in those earlier days when the women were giving of their time and their means. Mrs. Smith's son, Dr. Oliver C. Smith (before his untimely death) and Winchell Smith, the present eminent playwright and producer, helped to carry on the work, the burden of which the state now gladly assumes. For the value of such an institution in state economics has been well demonstrated. It is a pleasure to see the children at their seaside home at Woodmont, at their sports and studies and their entertainments, with their orchestra and their teams, in Newington. The Legislature of 1927 appropriated \$300,000 to meet immediate building requirements. Governor Trumbull participated in the exercises for the graduating class.

Withal, in this period, Prof. Charles H. Young, on his thirty-third birthday and after he had made a name for himself in France by the work he did on the battlefields in 1870, was entering upon a forty-years' example of patience and endurance in his small second-story rooms on Asylum Street in the heart of the business district. He fell from a high cliff in 1886. From that day to the day he died, in 1927, he never left the bed by his front window, except once when a fire in the store beneath necessitated his being taken out for a short time. His knowledge of foreign languages enabled him to give lessons and for many years he was active with his pen. He was always cheerful while his readings made him an interesting conversationalist upon any topic.



SCOTTISH UNION AND NATIONAL INSURANCE COMPANY, HARTFORD



In insurance in this era, the Scottish Union and National and the Lion Fire were the first of the foreign companies to locate their American headquarters here. Martin Bennett, who had been president of the Connecticut Fire since 1873, was chosen for general manager in 1880. James H. Brewster, who had been associated with Mr. Bennett in the Connecticut Fire for thirty years, was made assistant manager.

There were two insurance tragedies and one happy escape from one. That of the Charter Oak Life was the greatest in Hartford history. In 1886, Thomas F. Plunkett, treasurer and agent of the Union Manufacturing Company of Manchester and an officer of the Hartford Silk Company of Tariffville, in both of which Hartford capital was strongly represented, fled to escape prosecution for irregularities. Charles M. Beach of West Hartford, as receiver, settled all claims so far as possible. The claims allowed amounted to \$394,000; there were outstanding notes of \$246,000; the assets were only \$200,000. George M. Bartholomew, president of the Charter Oak and associated in many of the city's large enterprises, was a director in both of these companies and president of the Union. He had endorsed a large amount of paper.

As has been said, the life insurance company started most auspiciously in 1850, but with the vicious stock-note method of capitalizing. After years of brilliant success in the field, it was revealed that only \$10 a share ever was paid on the stock, the remainder being paid in dividends, yet on this total dividends of 8 per cent were paid regularly together with commissions on the large business done in the home office. Inasmuch as the company had assisted largely in financing the Connecticut Valley Railroad and certain concerns along the route, had invested in a mine and had erected its fine granite building on Main Street at what seemed an enormous cost, the friends of President James C. Walkley, who had held that office since 1855, became alarmed. Other revelations following, a receivership was narrowly avoided in 1875 when several leading men accepted positions on the board of directors and ex-Governor Marshall Jewell was made president; drastic reform was introduced, the company was mutualized and New York men who had had a part in bringing on the trouble were prosecuted but were acquitted after an important witness had disappeared. Mr. Bartholomew was persuaded to take the presidency in 1878.

Mr. Bartholomew (1816-1899) began his business life with Robert Watkinson of the Eagle Manufacturing Company of Glastonbury and always was closely associated with the Watkinson interests. Beginning in 1825 he was trustee of the Hartford, Providence & Fishkill Railroad for twenty years, became its president and later was receiver for its successor, the Boston, Hartford & Erie. He had been president of the American Bank, director and vice president of the Connecticut Western Railroad, director in the Chicago & Northwestern and identified with several other roads. Also he was president of the Holyoke Water Power Company and of the Union Manufacturing Company. To relieve the insurance company's present embarrassment, he gave his personal endorsement on paper amounting to two millions and a quarter, and with the money raised the company saved large sums in claims by buying up policyholders. It was too late. Insurance Commissioner Ephraim Williams was forced to apply for a receiver in 1885, but the case turning on questions of valuation, the action was discontinued. One year later came the Plunkett sensation.

President Bartholomew told his directors that he had been holding a large amount of company money to prevent its being attached, but in the present embarrassment he could not pay it over; he did, however, turn in securities and his personal property in large part, which he believed would, in time, be worth the amount of the indebtedness. Then he resigned. Isaac Brooks of Torrington was appointed receiver, with Edmund A. Stedman of Hartford. A dividend of 18 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent had been paid policyholders at the end of the receivership in 1897. The fine office building, heavily mortgaged to the Aetna Insurance Company, was taken by that company, and when the company had built its building directly north thereof, it sold the other to the Aetna Life. Mr. Bartholomew anticipated prosecution by leaving the country. In 1890 a petition signed by clergymen, judges, lawyers and other citizens to quash proceedings was handed by Governor Bulkeley to Judge Sanford in special court session. The petitioners dwelt upon the honored name, the age and the serious physical condition of the indicted man, holding that he did not embezzle but rather stood pledged for nearly \$1,000,000 for the corporations he was charged with embezzling from—the insurance company, the silk company and the American Emigrant Company. Henry C. Rob-

inson was the eminent lawyer who laid the matter before the judge. State's Attorney Eggleston said the purpose was to have the court order him to nolle the cases, but this he could not do consistently with his oath of office; he could not ask for nolle of the cases of Thomas F. Plunkett and James S. Parsons, who had fled. Judge Sanford regretfully denied the petition. Mr. Bartholomew returned in 1891, appeared in court and was sentenced on one count for one year. After that he returned to his home on Prospect Street and lived in retirement till his death, acquitted of criminality by his fellow citizens.

The other company was the Continental in which there had been clashing since its organization in 1864. In 1873 "outsiders" put in John C. Tracy as director and James S. Parsons was chosen president. The failure of a brokerage firm in 1877 caused revelation of financial discrepancies and, on action by Commissioner O. R. Fyler, Lorrin A. Cook of Winsted and Hon. John R. Buck of Hartford were appointed receivers. President Parsons put himself beyond the reach of the court.

In 1889, John J. McFarlane of Philadelphia, highly recommended but who eventually paid heavy penalty for wrecking an insurance company and a bank, bargained to buy of Aaron C. Goodman his controlling interest in the Phoenix Mutual Life of which Mr. Goodman was president. As already told this was a stock company, dating from 1851, on mutual principles, and had been very successful. The directors hearing of the plan hurried to the Legislature in its closing hours and secured a charter amendment which enabled the policyholders to buy the stock, under direction of Insurance Commissioner Fyler, John C. Parsons to hold the block in trust until the policyholders could vote. The price agreed upon was one-half that which McFarlane had offered before the matter became public, and McFarlane dropped out of the exciting proceedings. Since then the company has been purely mutual and it soon took rank among the leaders. Vice President Jonathan B. Bunce was made president by the board approved by the commissioner, and Secretary John M. Holcombe vice president.

President Bunce (1832-1912) was a descendant of one of the original "proprietors," Thomas Bunce, who received 110 acres of land for service in the Pequot war. After working with his father, James M. Bunce, in his wholesale house, he went to New York as a partner in the firm of Dibble & Bunce, but returned to the firm of J. M. Bunce & Co. when his father died. Drayton

Hillyer was one of the firm. At the outbreak of the war, Mr. Bunce was quartermaster-general on Governor Buckingham's staff and outfitted nine regiments of infantry, a battalion of cavalry and three companies of artillery before he returned to his own business. It was largely because of his zeal and industry that, as has been said, the first Connecticut regiments to arrive in Washington received such hearty praise from General Scott because they were the first that had appeared well outfitted. He withdrew from the mercantile business after fifteen years to take the vice presidency of the Phoenix Mutual Life. In 1904 he resigned to accept the presidency of the Society for Savings, a high post of honor, but continued as chairman of the board and of the finance committee of the insurance company. He was associated also with the Hartford Fire, the Phoenix National Bank and the Connecticut Trust and Safe Deposit Company and with the School for the Deaf, the Retreat and the Hartford Hospital. He was a brother of Admiral F. M. Bunce and of William Gedney Bunce, the artist.

In the Hartford Fire, Charles E. Chase, son of Pres. George L. Chase, was appointed assistant secretary in 1890. In the Aetna, William B. Clark, who had been an officer of the company since 1867 and who was to live to be the dean of insurance presidents, was made president in 1892. The Connecticut was paying all dividends out of income from assets. Mark Howard, who had been president of the National Fire since its organization in 1871, died in 1887. He was born in Loose, England, in 1817, and had been special agent for the Protection before coming to Hartford. He was the first internal revenue collector for Connecticut. James Nichols was promoted to the presidency; he was a native of Weston, born in 1830, a lawyer by profession, and from 1861 judge of probate till he became adjuster and special agent for the Merchants in 1867, four years before the reorganization as the National. S. C. Preston, who had succeeded to the presidency of the Orient in 1874, was succeeded in 1883 by John W. Brooks of Torrington and he, in 1886, by Charles B. Whiting. The Hartford Steam Boiler and Inspection Insurance Company in 1883 increased capital to \$250,000 with a \$50,000 stock dividend and doubled the capital in 1887. The Connecticut General Life and Aetna Life were taking on accident insurance. With the two exceptions that have been named, all the insurance companies were entering upon a new era of prosperity.

XXX

ATHENEUM AND LIBRARIES

RELIEVING THE INSTITUTIONS OF EMBARRASSMENT—GENEROUS GIFTS
AND FREE LIBRARY BY SUBSCRIPTIONS—GREAT STONE BRIDGE BEGUN
DIVERSIFYING INDUSTRY—PERIOD OF THE POPE PLANTS.

The Wadsworth Atheneum, which through the years since 1841, with its associated organizations, had been furnishing the cultural undercurrent of a wide and busy community, was approaching a condition of great embarrassment through the '80s—of special historical interest in 1927-28 because of the recurrence. Like non-state colleges, such an institution may be well endowed and yet be poverty-stricken. In this instance the organizations had funds which were giving them a national name, but they lacked the wherewithal for enlargement and for maintenance. The recently formed art society had saved the art gallery from closing, and now the problem was how to save the public library, make that free and also give the historical society and the Watkinson Library the space they must have. In 1883 the city was authorized to pay a tax of one-fifth of one mill for the support of a free library and art gallery and a special commission recommended such tax. But the combination of problems was of a nature that made action slow, even though it was a time when all the country, and the state in particular, was realizing the value of libraries. It was impossible to add harmoniously to the Atheneum building because the Glastonbury quarry which had furnished the stone had run out and Daniel Wadsworth's deed of gift made it impossible to remove from the site of his father's historic mansion.

The Legislature in 1886 authorized the Atheneum to become a closed corporation, to solidify and perpetuate the institution, and the trustees of the two libraries and the historical society, each to be represented on the board, adopted a plan by which the Atheneum should be enabled to appeal for public aid. Rev. Dr. Goodwin was made president of the board. But just previously, in 1888, he had been able to announce that his cousin, Junius Spencer Morgan, native of Hartford but then conducting his world-wide

banking business at his London office, would give one-quarter of the \$400,000 required; J. Pierpont Morgan of New York, \$50,000; Lucy Morgan Goodwin and her sons, James J. and Francis, of Hartford, \$50,000; and Henry and Walter Keney of Hartford, \$50,000, and Roland Mather would add \$25,000 to his earlier gift of \$10,000, leaving only \$125,000 to be obtained by public subscription. At least 2,000, of every walk in life, responded instantly to the call. When the large brick addition to the rear of the main building and the reconstructed building itself were opened on New Year's, 1893, Charles Hopkins Clark of the subscription committee said: "There was no soliciting; we just held the hat and you filled it." The free library was established in the addition, the Watkinson Library above it, and the historical society succeeded to the second-floor space which the Watkinson had vacated. The trustees of the Watkinson had voted for the addition \$25,000 in land which was part of their property.

This was running true to old Hartford tradition once more. But on leaving the building that day Doctor Goodwin said to J. Pierpont Morgan that the only drawback was that the south side of the building was on the property line. Soon after, he received from Mr. Morgan a deed to a part of the adjoining property and eventually deeds to all the remaining property in the block as far as Arch Street, costing \$200,000 and occupied by St. John's Church, dwellings and stores. It will be seen later that the Morgan Memorial was erected near the Atheneum and that the property south of it was given for the site of the Municipal Building and for Atheneum (Street) South.

Dr. James Hammond Trumbull in 1890 resigned the office of librarian of the Watkinson which he had held for twenty-seven years, and was made librarian emeritus. His purchases for the library had been so well chosen that in 1890 they could have been sold for more than twice what had been paid for them. He was succeeded by Frank B. Gay, who had joined the Young Men's Institute in 1873. He became assistant librarian of the public library and in 1883 assistant to Librarian Trumbull of the Watkinson.

Of very substantial worth and credit to the city was the housing of the Newton Case Library of the Hartford Theological Seminary on Broad Street in 1892. In the attractively designed structure, adding much to the effect of the seminary's other buildings

in the block, there was space for 500,000 volumes and ample conference rooms. What with the state library, the bar library and the Trinity College library also, the town was well equipped.

Of quite a different nature and somewhat pyrotechnical was a simultaneous enterprise which was to prove to be the greatest in the history of Hartford and the whole county up to the time of this writing. From earliest times the great thoroughfares through the state toward Boston had been through Hartford and across the river here. It was the King's Highway. As has been chronicled, there has been a bridge here since 1810. The only other King's Highway was along the Sound shore to Providence but, until the toll bridge was built in recent years, with ferry near the mouth of the river. For years the public had demanded a free bridge here. As has been seen, the bridge company's charter was called "perpetual" and adjoining towns could not see that they should buy it out and assume maintenance when benefit was for a great general public, recognizable by the state. The state's principle always had been that adjoining towns construct and care for the bridges between them.

Complaint was so general that the Legislature of 1887 decreed that the bridge should be bought and freed and that Hartford on the west side and East Hartford, Glastonbury, Manchester and South Windsor on the east side should pay \$210,000. The storm which followed was only the first of a series on into the next century. The Legislature of 1889 met it by granting an appropriation for 40 per cent of the amount; the towns paid the balance, the bridge was free and the selectmen of the towns were given the management. One of their first acts was to grant the street railway the right to cross the bridge, a right which had been refused by the bridge company because it placed a burden upon the structure never contemplated. And the covered wood affair, standing since 1818, obviously was too decrepit to continue much longer. Charles W. Roberts of East Hartford was the superintendent. George W. Fowler of Hartford was chairman of the joint board in charge.

The towns groaned under the cost of maintenance and the prospect of a new bridge. Effort to put the burden on the state, because it was such a general highway, met with success in the Legislature of 1893 but with a repercussion that set the whole

state agog. A bill of \$25,000 was paid to a law firm for services in the employ of the selectmen of the towns and much more was said to have been spent in the lobby. J. H. Hale of Glastonbury, one of the commission named by the state on taking over the bridge, resigned when he learned of these things. His town held a meeting to denounce lobbying expenditure. Hartford did likewise and an investigation was demanded by many. It was finally concluded all around that the lawyers and not the legislators got the money. Henry L. Goodwin of East Hartford won through the Supreme Court an injunction against his town's paying its share of the lawyers' bill. It was apparent that all had wanted such legislation but only by proper method. It became the important issue of the 1895 legislative session, and the outcome was that the act of the previous session was repealed, the towns were to resume the burden, a good part of local street railway taxes should be given them, and there should be a regular bridge and highway commission. The commissioners named were among the foremost citizens—Morgan G. Bulkeley (who continued as chairman till his death), Meigs H. Whaples, John G. Root and John H. Hall, all of Hartford; James W. Cheney of Manchester, Alembert O. Crosby of Glastonbury, John A. Stoughton of East Hartford (who declined and was succeeded by Charles W. Roberts), and Lewis Sperry of South Windsor.

The pyrotechnics came while the Legislature was still debating—in the evening of May 17, 1895, when the old bridge caught fire, and despite the work of the firemen, burned out, like so much tinder. Thousands gathered on the river banks to watch the spectacle. The Berlin Iron Bridge Company, which already had a contract, quickly built a temporary bridge and when the winter storms destroyed that, another.

The act of 1895 had provided for an issue of \$500,000 bonds and for an apportionment of expenses. Glastonbury refused to pay orders for its share of the work till the Supreme Court decided it should. Springfield and other up-river towns fought strenuously for a draw and the government upset plans by ordering one in 1903, but the order subsequently was rescinded on its being shown that, by the plan proposed, any shipping that could navigate the river could pass under the bridge. In 1901 there were three plans under consideration: All stone, \$1,000,000; steel arch, \$878,000; steel girder, \$782,000. Hartford's Board of Trade

and Business Men's Association voted vociferously for a stone bridge and a fitting Hartford approach; the Common Council followed suit and the people in a city meeting voted by large majorities for the stone plan and for \$709,000 for extension of the Hartford approaches. Adjoining land for the causeway at the east end cost \$500,000. The other towns had to pay only the apportioned 21 per cent of the originally estimated \$500,000—Hartford the balance. The cornerstone of the east pier was laid in 1904; the story of the celebration in 1908 will be told further on, with the other events of its time.

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It was when industry was at high pitch, when people were enjoying themselves as never before and when they were showing the fine spirit that met the demands for the free library and the great stone bridge that the community was visited with its worst tragedy. Hotels in America were entering upon that era when comforts should mean something more than a bed and washstand and two or three long dining tables. The old American to the east of State House Square was to linger many more years as a relic of past splendor. The United States, across State Street from the State House was adapting its stage-coach traditions to modern times; the City Hotel down Main Street was the resort for commercial travelers; Timothy M. Allyn's famous Allyn House at the corner of Asylum and Trumbull streets, the place of assemblage for political, business and social clans; the Heublein on Lewis and Wells streets—long a happy reminder of the colonial institutions like the Bunch of Grapes tavern—was coming to furnish most acceptably something more than inner refreshment, and the Park Central had been built at the corner of High and Allyn streets as what was considered a fine example of the up-to-date hostelry. The Park Central was well filled with permanent and transient guests on the bitterly cold night of February 17-18, 1889, when a sleepy engineer allowed the water to go low and shortly before dawn there was an explosion that aroused the city. Twenty-three people were killed and many more injured as walls and floors fell. Among the killed were the daughter of Brig.-Gen. C. P. Graham of Middletown and her husband, Louis H. Bronson of Hartford, together with their child; Rev. Dr. LaVallette Perrin, formerly

pastor of the First Church in New Britain, then of Torrington and latterly in charge of the Congregational Memorial Building on Asylum Street; Mrs. Perrin, and Dwight H. Buel, native of Litchfield, for many years proprietor of a large Hartford jewelry store. Soldiers joined the police and firemen and relays of civilians in guarding and searching the ruins for two days.

An unparalleled incident in the national guard soon after was to shock the military sensibilities of General Graham, commanding the four regiments, and of several of his officers. That fall he issued orders for intensive drill which should keep his command up to its high standard. The Hartford companies of the First Regiment, Col. W. E. Cone, in their armory on Elm Street, which once had been a rink, were proud of the record they bore. For two years a local amusement association had held hot polo contests there, but with the understanding that it would secure another place by 1889. The quartermaster-general granted its application for use of the armory two nights a week and was supported therein by Governor Bulkeley. The Hartford officers resigned and believed they should receive honorable discharge since they had served more than five years and resignations of staff officers must be accepted on approval by their superiors. General Graham returned the resignations, in hope of adjusting the matter. All but those of the staff and one lieutenant were sent back to him and were forwarded without his endorsement. By direction of the governor, Adjt.-Gen. Lucius A. Barbour disapproved the resignations on ground of insufficient reasons, himself resigned and was succeeded by A. H. Embler of New Haven, formerly major of the Foot Guard of Hartford, like Colonel Cone a Civil war veteran and one of the most efficient officers in the state.

The resignations again were sent up and with no endorsement by Graham. When requested to endorse, he wrote, "Approved, with regret," his resignation was demanded and by order of the governor the other officers, mostly prominent citizens, were discharged for unlawful combination, Colonel Cone, Lieut.-Col. Charles E. Thompson (who had just returned from Europe) and Major Smith dishonorably, and Capts. Edward Schulze and George B. Newton for the benefit of the service. The staff officers were honorably discharged; resignations of subalterns were disapproved. Capt. A. L. Thompson was directed to assume com-

mand. The matter of armory rental was left to the Legislature. The law firm of Hyde, Gross & Hyde gave the opinion that the officers were still in the service as there had been no court martial and the bill of rights had been violated. Graham, refusing to resign, was honorably discharged and Col. Thomas L. Watson appointed by Governor Bulkeley. Capt. C. B. Erichson of New Britain was nominated and appointed colonel; Capt. A. L. Thompson of that city, lieutenant-colonel; Capt. P. H. Smith of Hartford, major. Captain Schulze was reinstated. By quo warranto against the new officers, the contest got into court. It was dragging along when Graham appealed to the Senate in 1891 where, against the report of a special committee and on the principle that an officer who could not be appointed without consent of the Senate could not be discharged without such consent, the appointment of Watson was disapproved. During recess following adjournment, the governor discharged Graham for the benefit of the service and reappointed Watson. That officer later resigned and Colonel Haven of New London was appointed. Graham petitioned the Senate for removal of the stain on his record but the Senate voted 11 to 10 that it had no power. Subsequently the stain was removed when Graham was made adjutant-general by Governor Coffin in 1895. After a long period, the cases in court were dropped.

This exceptional affair was only one of the incidents, in its later stages, of what was known as the "deadlock session." Morgan G. Bulkeley's ability and popularity as a mayor had contributed to successful nomination for governor on the republican ticket in 1888. Samuel E. Merwin, republican, and Luzon B. Morris, democrat, both of New Haven, were the candidates two years later. On the face of the returns the latter had twenty-six majority, but with sufficient "specked" ballots to cause investigation in the Legislature; and if the majority vote were overcome, the election would have to be by the Legislature under the law because there were 3,600 votes for other candidates. The Senate, which was democratic, refusing to join with the republican House in the investigation, declared Morris elected and swore him in. Comptroller Nicholas Staub locked the door leading from the executive chamber to the hall of the House. Governor Bulkeley, who was holding over, had it reopened with the use of a crow-bar. Excitement continued to run high and only the self-possession of the men most concerned prevented rioting. Quo warranto action by

Morris was finally agreed upon. Chief Justice Andrews, democrat and formerly governor, in giving the opinion of the court in favor of Bulkeley, said: "It is perhaps not too much to hope that the General Assembly will make haste to put an end to the anomalous condition of our election law." In 1901 the plurality law was adopted by that body in place of the majority law. Governor Bulkeley, who was president of the Aetna Life Insurance Company, advanced the funds for state expenses during the deadlock and was reimbursed at the next session.

Another reform resulted from a period of distress in 1889, another survival of the old days was lopped off, when it was decreed that the Legislature no longer should sit as a criminal court. Hartford furnished the culminating illustration of the error of that. A man named Swift had been sentenced to hang for killing his wife. Appeal was made to the Legislature for commutation to life sentence, chiefly because the man was drunk at the time of the murder. The Judiciary Committee was composed of able lawyers who freely expressed their opinion of bringing such matters to the General Assembly and, over-burdened with more appropriate subjects, reported in favor of commutation. By narrow margins, and in utter repugnance, both houses followed this lead. Governor Bulkeley promptly sent in his veto. The Senate insisted but the House sustained the veto 121 to 96, and thus, through disagreeing action, the decision of the courts prevailed. Subsequent legislation made that the last instance of confusing legislative and judiciary functions.

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Those of today who lived through that pre-twentieth-century period can but be impressed, in this review of it, by the force and steadiness of the progress, without exploitation, and by the manner in which both chastenings and problems were met, as well as by the proud, general achievements which are still and long will be a source of enjoyment. The city's increase in population to 53,000 in 1890 was an increase of but 11,000 for the decade, but the foundations were then being laid for an increase in the succeeding ten years 150 per cent greater than this. That for a hundred years this territory had had the name of being the home of ingenious and skilled mechanics was simply bound to draw other

highly intelligent workmen to it as industry was entering upon a new stage. Lines of nationality were being forgotten; men were being taken for what they were worth, and there was need of the strong arm no less than of the deft finger and the alert brain.

As in the previous decades the newcomers were being assimilated largely through interest of their predecessors but more largely, perhaps, through the native spirit of kindness and coöperation. If since 1633 the history of Connecticut can be read in the record of the churches, so in this period the record of the churches furnishes irrefutable evidence of the assimilation of those from continental Europe. The Irish Roman Catholics were constantly advancing, along with the Protestants, the Germans were bringing not only their societies but their churches, but here now were appearing the Swedish Baptists (1888)—in the same year with the Adventists—the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran (1889), and that same year the French Roman Catholics, to be followed in rapid succession by others, as will appear in the '90s.

In evidence of what newcomers could bring by way of learning, fellowship and patriotism may be cited the life of Rabbi Meyer Elkins (1832-1915). His parents died soon after his birth in Breslau in 1832. His hardships were relieved by neighbors and by Rabbi Arnstein, under whose tutelage he developed a thirst for knowledge. At an early age his writings had attracted the attention of the chief rabbi of England, Dr. S. Adler, and he was called to be rabbi of the temple in Liverpool. Only three in the congregation understood his German tongue. He readily met the requirement that he master English within the year. In 1872 he was made rabbi of Beth Israel in Philadelphia, which office he had to give up to live in the West on account of his wife's health. After her death he came to the congregation here in 1887, continuing his duties till 1912 when he was retired on salary and was succeeded by Rabbi Harry W. Ettleson. Liberal in his theology and of broad, democratic views, he was full of public spirit and planted seeds of charity and patriotism. Isidore Wise and Dr. A. J. Wolfe, the eminent bacteriologist, were among the men who assisted him in his work, and other leaders he had won to himself carried on for him till his death, and after. The congregation was—and now in association with other congregations continues to be—a potent factor in the city's development and well-being.

A severe loss had been suffered in 1887 when Rev. Dr. Nathaniel J. Burton of the Park Congregational Church died as the result of a carriage accident. This was the old North Church which had removed to Asylum Street in 1866 after the pastorate of Rev. Dr. Horace Bushnell who had fought for the principle of catholicity of faith. Dr. Burton, who was born in Trumbull in 1824 and was graduated at Wesleyan in 1850, had been called to this city from West Haven to be pastor of the Fourth Church, which pastorate he resigned in 1870 to accept that of the Park Congregational.

In 1885 a committee of twenty was appointed to arouse interest in the subject of liquor licenses and other public questions, with Charles E. Gross as secretary. Three years later a public meeting ratified the report of a committee of ten, consisting of Rev. Dr. E. P. Parker and other clergymen, Judge Nathaniel Shipman, Henry C. Robinson, W. F. Henney, J. A. Smith, F. P. Lepard and Col. Jacob L. Greene, relative to public morals and to charities, and Judge Shipman was made chairman of a permanent committee.

The memory of Thomas Hooker was ever an inspiration to good citizenship. An association of his descendants was formed in 1889, with John Hooker as president, Seth Talcott, Mrs. Martha W. Hooker and Gen. Alfred H. Terry, Henry G. Newton and Charles E. North of New Haven, vice presidents; Mrs. Emily Curtis of Hartford and Thomas W. Hooker secretary and treasurer respectively.

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Now was the first marked tendency in the county as a whole away from agriculture toward industrialism. The county was ranking fourth in the United States in agricultural importance but the factories were exercising their drawing power. Secretary W. F. Andross of the County Agricultural and Horticultural Societies was complaining that Hartford did not give enough support to the state fair to warrant its being held longer at Charter Oak Park in preference to Meriden, and to Meriden the fair went for the year 1889. A deficit resulted but Meriden people made it up and offered inducements. Then followed years of hesitation and doubts about the fair itself, say nothing of location; the character of the exhibitions and entertainment changed;

state and local associations, interested in dairies, horticulture and various branches of agriculture, were formed, state appropriations for local or county fairs were obtained, a Connecticut Fair Association was formed, the law against betting at horse races took Charter Oak Park out of the national circuit, and altogether the business of fairs was an index to the change in the times. Thus on till business men and manufacturers, like Henry Trumbull of Plainville, have come to see the wisdom of having Connecticut farms, so fast being abandoned, find a way to profitable representation in the Connecticut market, one of the best and most easily reached in America; to have a fair at Charter Oak where industry and agriculture should combine; to build attractive permanent buildings at the park, and to be assured of the financial backing of the state. With the coöperation of those who already have established famous farms, the promise of something practical for Connecticut itself is more dependable than was that at the time the agricultural college was being endowed by the Legislature.

Manufacturing enterprises mentioned in the preceding pages were devising and progressing when the Hartford Board of Trade was organized in 1888 with Jeremiah M. Allen as president (for the next ten years) and P. H. Woodward secretary. Both of these were insurance men, wherein is indication of the scope of this the first real general council of business interests. Mr. Allen for many years was president of the Hartford Steam Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company and president of the Y. M. C. A. Mr. Woodward was an officer in the Connecticut General Life Insurance Company. The function of the board was not so much to invite or advertise as it was to record annually and to diffuse information of what Hartford concerns were doing, and also to secure closer community of interests. The first building it erected, on the corner of Capitol Avenue and Woodbine Street was specifically for the accommodation of young concerns that were seeking to get a start—and it was taken in 1900, soon after it was finished, by an outside company attracted here by the reputation for fine mechanics.

But that carries back to 1885 and the first typewriter, the caligraph. The American Writing Machine Company which made it was brought here from Corry, Pennsylvania, through the

instrumentality of George A. Fairfield of the Hartford Machine Screw Company who had answered questions about the character of Hartford workmen. The machines, which were crude but were welcomed by business concerns, were made at the screw company's works till the so-called typewriter trust took over the company and the manufacture was discontinued.

Employed by the caligraph concern was Charles D. Rice who later, after two years with the Yost Writing Machine Company in Bridgeport, returned to Hartford as chief engineer of the Pope Manufacturing Company, making Columbia and Hartford bicycles and automobiles. When the bicycle business was discontinued here, Mr. Rice went with the Underwood Company of Bayonne, New Jersey. With this proposition of skilled labor, Mr. Rice influenced the founder of that company to move his typewriter business to Hartford. The Board of Trade Building, which latterly had been the property of the Hartford Cycle Company, was bought and in 1901 the concern came, with 300 men to start with on less than 100,000 square feet of space—now with 5,000 employees and twenty-four acres of space, the largest typewriter plant in the world, Mr. Rice still in charge and still greater plans maturing as will be seen later on. These figures do not include the Bridgeport plant where the portable writers are made. Another concern of the Underwood group, to develop rapidly in Hartford, is the Underwood Computing Company, making book-keeping machines.

Industries were being diversified. Colt's Patent Fire Arms Manufacturing Company had added graphophones and phonographs to its list for ingenious mechanisms. The National Machine Company on Sheldon Street was making torpedoes, an order for the French government in 1888 having attracted much attention. The Beach Manufacturing Company, producing fleeced-lined goods, was getting well established at its plant on Grove and Commerce streets, with George W. Beach as president. The use of chain and sprocket on the bicycles furnished the Whitney Manufacturing Company with a specialty over and above the machine devices it was making and "Whitney Chains" became well known. Various improvements brought still more prestige, and with the advent of the automobiles, business increased four-fold. Outside inventions, like that of the self-starter, caused a demand for the specially adapted machinery and upon the ex-

perienced men at Whitney's. Camshaft or timing chains come in chief part from the same factory. Smith, Bourne & Co., with name changed to the Smith-Worthington Company, long-time producers of saddlery, undisturbed by automobile inroads, were pressed to meet the requirements of the revival of riding.

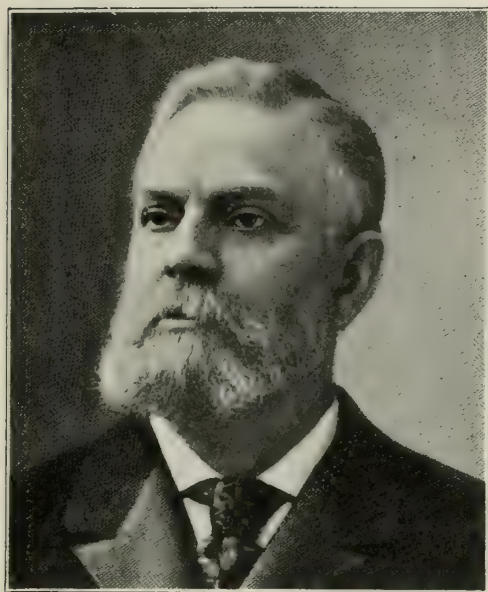
Francis Henry Richards was the leader among many individuals whose inventive genius was rapidly intensifying the possibilities of machinery, a man who has come to rank second only to Thomas A. Edison as inventor and patent-holder and wider in his field than the famous "wizard," a man who has done his work so quietly from within that his name is unfamiliar to the average reader. He was born in New Hartford, a direct descendant of Thomas Richards, one of the Hartford pioneers, and of William Whiting who, with his son and grandson in succession, kept the office of colonial treasurer in the family from 1641 for nearly one hundred years. When in 1865 Mr. Richards' father became head of the machinery department of the Stanley Rule and Level Company in New Britain, the boy went with him and soon was devising machines. From 1882 to 1886 he was at Pratt & Whitney's, leaving only to establish his own office here where he continued till 1924 when he removed his residence to Stamford to be nearer his main office of today, in New York. Among his inventions that have given employment to thousands of Hartford mechanics are an envelope machine, an automatic weigher, the fundamental principles of the air-cushion door-springs, a process for making golf balls which revolutionized the industry, and a revolving grate appliance for giant coke furnaces.

The Hartford Electric Light Company, led by men like Austin C. Dunham, of remarkable courage and foresight, was forcing electricity to produce its incredible results. At this particular stage of its progress it had undertaken and accomplished the substitution of direct power from the main plant for home-made power for running a factory. People—and not a few stockholders—laughed, not all of them gleefully, when in 1890 the drop-forge plant of Billings & Spencer was wired with promise that power would be furnished at wholesale rates. It was successful and the cut rates, the savings to the manufacturer, meant rapid increase in demand for power. The Hartford Rubber Works Company, among the first to use electricity for lighting, was almost simultaneously scrapping its troublesome and expensive

power plant for power from the Dunham company. And it became general. Other electrical achievements will be summarized later.

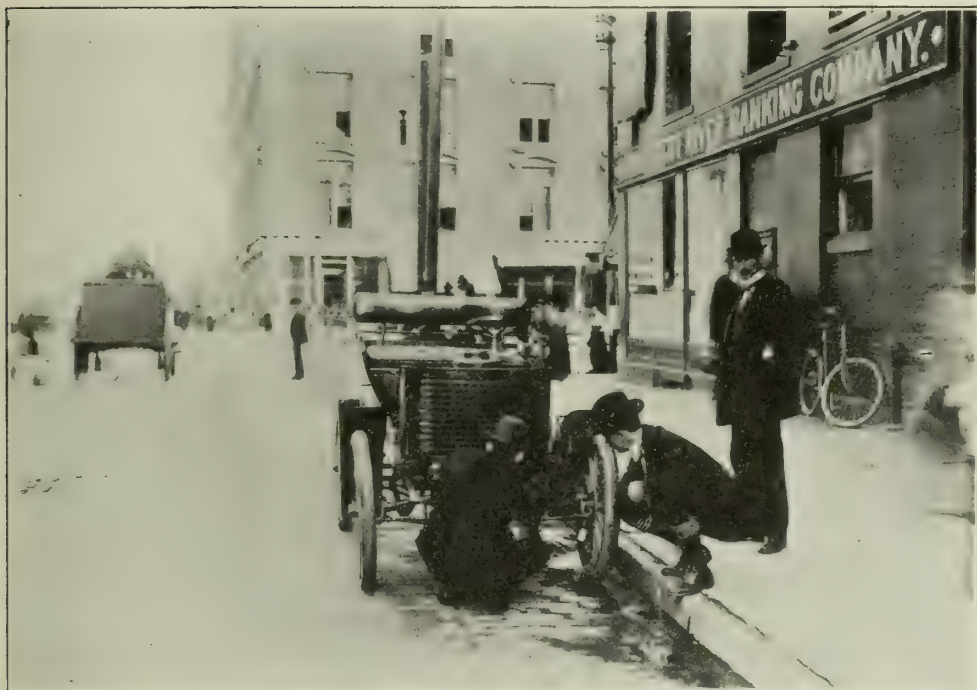
The great Pope plants were reaching their culmination. Their story is indelibly the story of their times—brilliant genius, courage, consideration of employees, victim of confused groping for capital in the period when, nationwide, capital was beginning to pile up. Of the three men who contributed to bring Hartford fame the leader was Albert A. Pope. Of a family of strong men he was born in Boston in 1843. When his father met with losses and moved to Brookline, the boy worked for farmers and at twelve had established a business for himself, peddling produce, afterwards going into the shoe-finding business. In the Civil war he went out as a second lieutenant in a Massachusetts company and returned a lieutenant-colonel. In a few years he had the largest shoe-finding concern in the country. When he saw a bicycle at the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876, the whole tenor of his life was changed.

Making a trip to England in 1877, he placed the first large order for bicycles and his active mind had conceived the plan which was to result in the Pope Manufacturing Company. The following spring he gave the Weed Manufacturing Company the first order for the manufacture of wheels, and George H. Day became affiliated with that concern which still had the class of workingmen that had brought prestige during the flowery days of the Weed sewing machine. Under the influence of the bicycles the value of the stock sped up from \$5 to \$75 in 1885 and reorganization became necessary. With Mr. Day as president, capital was reduced from \$600,000 to \$240,000 by making par \$10 instead of \$25. In 1890 Colonel Pope bought that company, paying \$15 a share for it. He was the owner of the patents for the Columbia bicycle which continued the favorite machine, with the company's "Hartford" next, through the days when men, women and children were riding. More buildings and a fine office had to be erected on Capitol Avenue, branches were established and in 1890, the Hartford Cycle Company was formed as a derivative. The introduction of low wheel, the rubber tires and soon the pneumatic tires and then the chainless wheel aroused more and more public furor. Capital was increased several times. Need-



COLONEL ALBERT A. POPE
(1843-1909)

Pioneer in bicycle and automobile industries
and building good roads



HIRAM PERCY MAXIM (ON THE CURB) AND HIS FIRST COMPLETED CAR, 1898

Photographed near the corner of Main and Pearl Streets, Hartford. He first ran a
vehicle propelled by gasoline in 1895



ing tubes, the colonel built the Pope Tube Works; needing rubber he took the Hartford Rubber Works.

When the coming automobile cast its shadow before, he was quick to detect it, along with Mr. Day. Electricians were the first consideration and the elaborate plant of the Columbia Electric Vehicle Company at the corner of Park and Laurel streets (now Billings & Spencer) told of the determination to lead in this industry. There were problems in financing. The bicycle business went to the American Bicycle Company. Subsequently, when that concern was about to collapse, he bought its stock and formed the new Pope Manufacturing Company for the manufacture of both bicycles and automobiles.

Meanwhile Hiram Percy Maxim, then an engineer in the Thomson-Houston Electric Company at Lynn, Massachusetts, had visited Hartford to get tubing for an experiment with an engine run by the new thing, liquid gas, the engine to be attached to a tricycle. Mr. Day was especially interested and had Maxim come here for his experiments. A few weeks later, in September, 1895, Mr. Maxim astonished and amused the public by appearing on Park Street with the first practical gasoline car of which there is authentic record in America. There had been reasonably encouraging experiments in foreign lands and doubtless some in this country, but no inventor had knowledge of the others' doings, and since Dr. Apollon Kinsley ran his steam car on Main Street in 1797—following in the footsteps of Nathan Read, also of Hartford, ten years earlier,—and since Christopher M. Spencer was annoying the farmers hereabouts with his roaring steam car along the highways in the early '60s, it is not of record that there had been such an innovation as this gas car. "It was a three-cylinder, four-cycle engine," says Mr. Maxim,—“no brake, no reverse, and the carburetor a nightmare. Fortunately there were jounces enough to keep the engine from stalling.” In another year the car was running to New York and Boston and the great Pope Hartford, of which some are in service today, was born. “Those first miles,” Mr. Maxim declares, “were filled with adventure and the spirit of conquest.” His father, Sir Hiram S. Maxim, had been the first to make the airplane fly, in England in 1890.

Could the promoters have had their way, Hartford might

have been the Detroit of today, but much ready capital was needed and there was more that was idle in the vicinity of Detroit. The days of the colonel's products at other plants, in addition to the Pope Hartford—cars like the Pope Toledo of Toledo, the Pope Tribune of Hagerstown, Pennsylvania, and the Pope Waverly of Indianapolis,—are conspicuous in the annals of the automobile. But the early days of the automobile industry in America were feverish; some reviewers maintain that the rivalry to improve on the foreign models and adapt them to the rougher and longer roads of America was too strenuous though the final outcome was meritorious.

The Pope Manufacturing Company had a capital \$22,500,000 when in 1904 the Pope Motor Company was organized, \$1,000,000 capital, with the colonel as president, his son Albert L. Pope as vice president and Col. George Pope as treasurer. Of the parent company Albert L. Pope was first vice president, Col. George Pope treasurer and C. E. Walker and Wilbur Walker second vice president and secretary respectively. After four years the motor company's name disappeared from the Hartford records and in 1916 the record of the main company read: "George Pope, receiver." This was due largely to the attitude of outside stockholders and also to the fact that western competition in completed cars was becoming keen. There was a somewhat similar story in Springfield and Bridgeport, and New England was to learn that her share in the new industry would be the furnishing of "automotive parts," in which ingenious Hartford continued to excel. The Westfield bicycle plant—formerly the Lozier—went at a low figure and was built up to its present capacity by the Walkers. The main Hartford plant went to the neighboring Pratt & Whitney Company and was to know few days of idleness.

With all his activities, Col. A. A. Pope made time for promoting the cause of good roads, arousing the legislatures and Congress. While his home was near Boston, he was in Hartford much of the time and the Pope Park he bestowed will preserve the memory of him as one who gave much thought to the recreation and pleasure of the public as a whole. He died in 1909. Col. George Pope was a cousin of Albert A. Pope. At twenty he was a captain in the famous colored regiment of Colonel Shaw of Massachusetts in the Civil war and a year later was lieutenant-colonel. He came to Hartford in 1890 as president of the Hart-

ford Cycle Company. After a few years he went to New York but returned and was conspicuous in the work for the new bridge. Four terms, or till his death in 1918, he was president of the National Association of Manufacturers and a worker in the cause of good roads. He won the coveted honor of an election to the Albany Burgess Company.

Fifth in descent from Gen. Israel Putnam, George H. Day was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1851. After the Pope company took over the Weed plant he continued in charge as vice president and general manager and was instrumental in having the headquarters of the company removed here from Boston in 1894. In 1899 he went into other enterprises and did much to develop the manufacture of automobiles. When the American Bicycle Company combination of concerns was planned and much capital sought, the Pope company joined with the others, Col. Albert L. Pope as manager. On the organization of the Columbia Vehicle Company Mr. Day was made president and general manager. This position he resigned to organize the Association of Licensed Automobile Manufacturers, licensed under the patents of George B. Selden who himself had put forth little that was practical but who won his contention that in his patents of 1879 he had covered some of the essential ideas. The Electric Vehicle Company, holding exclusive rights to the patents, sublet them to other companies while the patents were good, and in the days before Henry Ford assumed his attitude. Mr. Day continued for some time as general manager of the association but in his later days, and until his death in 1903, his time was devoted to his duties as member of the boards of oncoming enterprises like the Underwood. In the presidency of the Electric Vehicle Company he was succeeded by M. J. Budlong.

The Hartford Rubber Works, which continued to grow and is now a chief part of the national organization of the United States Rubber Company with its nearly 20,000 square miles of rubber plantations in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, had been started by John W. Gray, a Hartford rubber merchant, in 1881. Robert W. Thompson of England had patented rubber tires in 1847, and in the early '70s they began to be seen on expensive carriages in this country, but it was only as if they had come to prepare the way for the bicycle and the automobile. Gray's company began making solid tires in 1885. When the

Hartford Rubber Works Company was incorporated in 1888, its capital was \$20,000. The Pope company in 1892 increased the capital to \$200,000. There was reorganization as the Rubber Goods Manufacturing Company in 1899 and the first solid motor-tire was made there. From then on it brought out one improved tire after another, enlarging as the fast increasing business required. After its acquisition in 1917 by the United States Rubber Company, it was enlarged still more and kept on as the Hartford Rubber Works Company, lessee of the United States Rubber Company and with its United States royal cord tire as its chief product. The first use of fabric was suggested and worked out by Charles D. Rice, now of the Underwood Typewriter Company.



OLD RAILROAD ROUNDHOUSE, HARTFORD

Removed to make way for the State Arsenal and Armory, dedicated in 1909

XXXI

ERA OF PARKS

REVIEW OF THE TIMES—PARTICULARLY AS TO POLITICS, BANKING AND
TRANSPORTATION—SPLENDID GIFTS FOR NEW SYSTEM OF RECREA-
TION GROUNDS—GLIMPSES OF SOCIAL LIFE.

The period which, in lighter vein, is sometimes called in general history the "Roaring Nineties" found Hartford County still conservative, undisturbed about the future but steadily planning for betterment, especially in assimilating the new groups that were fast coming in. Standards were to be readjusted but ancient traditions to be so respected that newcomers should adopt them for their own—if the land of Hooker were to be shared with them. They were welcomed and encouraged as home-builders, but the reason for Hartford's being Hartford must be made to appeal to them. If any place in America should impress them with what constitutes free government and how only it can be maintained, this one should.

Local pride was cherished still more effectively and appreciation of high standards was promoted by comradeship or, when called for, Good Samaritanism. Parks, transportation, local government, social affiliations, churches, schools, humanitarian endeavor, worked together, under the inspiration of men and women who were building well.

A gratifying incident in 1891 was an exchange of courtesies with England's old Hertford itself. As earlier related, Hartford was Hertford's namesake. Hertford had been the home of Rev. Samuel Stone and he had attended church at the ancient St. Andrew's Hall Church. That church was now raising a fund for building St. Nicholas Hall in the parish. Rev. Dr. Walker of the Hooker and Stone church, the First Church, heard of it and secured a good contribution to send across the water, while local industries participated in the bazaar which was held. In his address at the formal exercises, United States Minister Robert Lincoln referred to Samuel Stone and his coming to America and said of Hartford that it was one of the most prosperous towns in

the United States and was remarkable in this respect that its influence was greater all over America than that of any town ten times its size. The old bond between the borough of Hertford and this capital was formally renewed on this occasion and, as will be seen, was to be made still stronger in 1914.

Hartford's influence in the nation, to which Mr. Lincoln had made reference, was being thrown on the side of greater stability and equanimity.

The federal treasury was low and the action of the second Cleveland administration in selling government bonds to strengthen the gold reserve was causing the voice of the West to be heard in its first challenge to the will of the East. This the first cry, wafted across the Mississippi from where Mr. Bryan was entering into politics, was for free coinage of silver. Hereabouts the need of better financial reurn for agricultural products was bringing farmers together in more and stronger associations for studying the problems. There were the energetic State Grange with its branches in every farming town and the Dairymen's Association, and in 1891 the Farmers League held its first annual meeting at the Capitol with George F. Chapin of Enfield as secretary and H. H. Austin of Suffield, Hartford County's representative on the executive committee. Its purpose was to take a more radical position than that of the grange; the members demanded oleomargarine legislation, the transfer of federal fund from the scientific department of Yale to Storrs School and that senators be elected by electoral boards, as in the case of the President. The days of legislative panaceas for sundry ills were coming on, tramps were trudging the highways; Coxey's Army was forming for its march out of the West for Washington. But Thompsonville was being made a port of delivery and, like most of the East, Hartford County was not losing its industrial impetus.

The free-coinage bogey—the ratio of 16 of silver to 1 of gold—was to be given battle power under Bryan at the democratic national convention in 1896, but the spirit of New England was to be well exemplified on October 31 of that year when, under the marshalship of Gen. William B. Franklin with a staff made up of the foremost citizens, the streets of Hartford were filled with marching men from every shop, office and hillside, called forth by the ringing editorials of a united press, all without regard to

political faith. The "Boy Orator of the Platte," with his "cross of gold" went down, and Maj. William McKinley came in as President. The county stood 24,489 for McKinley to 9,726 for Bryan—in a corresponding vote of 110,285 and 56,740 in the state. Hartford was to be represented in official Washington by John Addison Porter, editor of the *Hartford Post*, as private secretary to the President.

Within the state Capitol during this decade the corrupt-practice and anti-lobby laws were enacted, the first good-roads bill was passed, and registration, examination and licensing of doctors was made compulsory. The constitutional amendment to increase the number of senatorial districts from twenty-four to thirty-seven was defeated, but the seeds were sown for the constitutional convention of 1902.

The Law and Order League, paid for by subscriptions and from a little income for detective work, under the secretaryship of S. P. Thrasher, was emphasizing the need of something more than local constabulary but was not in full approbation among those who felt that their power was not well established. The outcome, in 1899, was the formation of the state police, beginning with two officers and eight men, Thomas F. Egan as superintendent.

When Luzon B. Morris of New Haven, who had been declared governor by the Senate but not by the court, had triumphed at the polls in 1892, the Hubbard Escort was in its full glory. It had been formed by Hartford democrats in the days of Governor Hubbard and long continued as a political and social organization. Its annual dinners brought together the leaders of the party in the state, and republicans as well as democrats listened (or read) with respect. Governor Morris was succeeded by O. Vincent Coffin, republican, a Middletown banker, in 1895 and he by Lorrin A. Cook, of same faith, a Winsted manufacturer, in 1897. All of these were men of sound financial judgment which perhaps was what was most needed in the changing times of the visionary and uncertain. Ernest Cady of Hartford held the office of lieutenant governor when Mr. Morris was chief executive, and Joseph L. Barbour was speaker of the House in 1897.

Speaker Barbour (1846-1915) had added to his prestige of wit and forensic skill by the phenomenal feat of carrying every ward in Hartford and with the largest plurality ever given. Born

in Barkhamsted in 1846, he had made his way in the world. After finishing his studies at Williston Seminary, he taught school (in Meriden) and came to Hartford in 1867 as night editor of the *Hartford Post*, then owned by David Clark. When Isaac Bromley, later of *New York Tribune* fame, bought that paper and was the editor, Mr. Barbour was the associate editor, a pair of exceptional humorists. Entering his brother's office in New Britain, he forsook the press for the bar in 1877, soon had run the clerkships of the Legislature and had been prosecutor in the police court. Of his stuttering he made a virtue; in his public speeches there was no trace of it and he everywhere was in demand. To prevent possible interruption of orderly thought in his office, he caused the chairs for his visitors to be fastened to the floor.

The representative in Congress from this district in 1891 was William E. Simonds (1842-1903) who was born in Collinsville, of ancient English ancestry, and was graduated at the New Britain Normal School. In the Civil war he was a lieutenant in the Twenty-fifth C. V., promoted for bravery. He made patent law his specialty after graduating at Yale Law School in 1865 and in 1891 had become United States patent commissioner. Several of his books on patents were recognized as standard works. The one year he was a member of the Legislature he was speaker of the House. In Congress he aided in the passage of the first international copyright law.

Mr. Simonds' successor in Congress was Lewis Sperry (1848-1922) who served two terms and refused to run again. Descendant of an agent of the Earl of Warwick and one of the New Haven colonists, his ancestors migrated to what is now East Windsor Hill, of which Mr. Sperry's beautiful farm home was one of the distinctive features. His class at Amherst was '73. He began his law practice in the office of Waldo, Hyde & Hubbard, and formed partnership with Lieutenant-Governor George G. Sill in 1876. He was representative from South Windsor that year. When the office of county coroner was created in 1883 he was the first in the county to hold it and he continued in that capacity till elected to Congress. In the House he was one of the sixteen democrats who opposed the Wilson tariff bill—in which course he was applauded by the democratic *Hartford Times*. When he returned to his practice he formed partnership with George P. Mc-

Lean, now United States senator, and Austin Brainard. In his later years he practiced alone and for many years was counsel for the Aetna Life and also for the bridge commission, of which he was a member. In the Constitutional Convention he played a prominent part and after the new draft had been rejected at the polls he made a codification of the 1818 Constitution, embracing all amendments. This in turn went through the regular course but was not accepted by the people.

Of special interest in the politics of the time was the reelection of General Hawley as United States senator in 1899. The term "Old War Horse" applied well to this veteran of war and political campaigns. He had held high position in the Senate since he first appeared there in 1881. Connecticut was appreciative of the worth of long service in that body, but more than that, it loved the rugged, out-spoken man. He was a friend with everybody except those whose principles he mistrusted or who politically opposed him and his supporters. He was on in years but still a hard worker as his record in the recent war times had shown. At this session of the Legislature two candidates appeared in the field against him. One was former Governor Bulkeley, the other Samuel Fessenden of Stamford—a third veteran of the Civil war, a member of the Republican National Committee, speaker of the House in 1895, state's attorney and deservedly popular. It was he who originated the phrase, "God Almighty hates a quitter." Hawley was within one vote of winning on the first ballot. On the seventh, Bulkeley threw his strength to him and he was elected. Bulkeley's turn came six years later, just before the general's death. But much was to transpire before those days.

The mayors of the century's final decade were: Henry C. Dwight, 1890, William Waldo Hyde, 1892, Leverett Brainard, 1894, and Miles B. Preston, 1896 and 1898. Town and city governments were consolidated in 1895 and the city was extended to the town limits. Wires were ordered put under ground, sewage disposal and systems were being discussed everywhere, the first real building ordinance was passed and asphalt pavement was laid on Main Street, the completion of which was celebrated with a grand bicycle parade in October, 1896. In the high school, in 1895 Principal Douglas' resignation was accepted and Edward H. Smiley was named to succeed him.

Financially, banking institutions which from 1800 had been

the backbone of local enterprise were changing to meet the new requirements, with never a thought, however, of the tremendous changes that were to be necessitated at the end of only one more generation. To particularize for 1891: The Aetna National, 1857, capital \$525,000, A. G. Loomis president; the American National, 1852, \$600,000, Rowland Swift president; the Charter Oak National, 1853, J. F. Morris president; the City Bank, 1851, \$440,000, Gustavus F. Davis, president; the Connecticut River Banking Company, 1825, \$250,000, Samuel E. Elmore, president; the Farmers and Mechanics, 1833, John G. Root president; the First National, 1857, \$650,000, J. H. Knight president; the Hartford National, 1792, \$1,200,000, James Bolter president; the Mercantile National, 1854, \$500,000, James B. Powell president; the National Exchange, 1834, \$500,000, John R. Redfield president; the Phoenix National, 1814, Henry R. Redfield president; the State Bank, 1849, \$400,000, George F. Hills president; the United States Bank, 1872, \$100,000, Henry L. Bunce president; the Connecticut Trust and Safe Deposit Company, 1871, M. H. Whaples president; the Hartford Trust Company, 1868, \$300,000, Ralph W. Cutler president; the Fidelity Company, \$50,000, Edmund A. Stedman president; the Security Company, \$200,000, Robert E. Day president; the Loan and Guaranty Company, \$100,000, William L. Matson president; and the savings banks—the Hartford Dime, 1870, Alfred E. Burr president; Mechanics, 1861, Ward W. Jacobs president; Society for Savings, 1819, John C. Parsons president, and the State, 1858, Gustavus F. Davis president. The total of savings banks deposits was \$21,250,000.

The Hartford & Wethersfield Horse Railroad Company was being encouraged by the producers of electricity (the Hartford Electric Light and Power Company and the Hartford Electric Light Company were consolidated under the latter name in 1896) to try trolleys, success of which was being attested in one or two other communities. In 1892 trolleys were actually running from the car barns on Wethersfield Avenue to Wethersfield and the plan was put through for electrification of a line from East Hartford Church to Glastonbury. The people celebrated, yet some felt that the wires were a source of great peril. And most inauspiciously, the end of a broken wire in the street near the church caused the death of one man through delay in getting the power turned off. The privilege of running even horse cars

across the Connecticut River bridge was long a subject of heated discussion but was finally granted while the temporary structure was in use. Thus one could ride from City Hall to Glastonbury in an hour for 15 cents. The company finally built its own power house, below State Street, and has maintained it till 1928.

It was not long before Hartford was the center of a network of trolley lines with two lines to Springfield. Most of these were separate and independent lines and merchants in Hartford found their business increasing fifty-fold. By what was known as the "Tucker grant," the Hartford company had to pay into the city treasury 2 per cent of its income perpetually for the privilege of using the streets, in addition to maintaining the pavement between rails, refusal to comply with which agreement recently caused litigation and a victory for the city in the Supreme Court. The stock of most of the companies was quoted at high figures at the time New York, New Haven & Hartford railroad, during the administration of President Mellon, acquired the main part of them in common with the other lines around the state, and they became the Connecticut Company. Today the management is in the hands of federal trustees appointed at the time when the widely consolidated interests of the railroad were un-consolidated by action of the government. The service now is supplemented and widened by electric buses.

In connection with the main points already told, there were many incidents, throughout the '90s and later, in the problem of the bridge. One notable one was in 1892 when a man named Dupre built a sloop above the bridge and demanded the opening of the draw which then was out of order and was closed, looking to the building of a new draw and hopefully of a new bridge. The incident was seized upon to open up the whole subject of up-river navigation. The government sent Col. D. C. Houston to hold a hearing. People to the north argued strongly that future possibilities should not be cut off by a drawless structure, and in this the street board, the bridge commission itself, Mayor Dwight and the Board of Trade were in accord with them. Of course that must mean a new bridge for the old one was too feeble to endure the strain of operating a draw. Its capacity was only eight tons; fifteen years previously a load of stone had broken through; streets cars were now passing over it, and altogether there was cause for alarm. The government's attitude was that

there should be a draw, even though few sloops should come that way; but this certainly implied a stronger structure. Mr. Dupre and his boat were instrumental in arousing sentiment and in preparing the public mind for what must come. The bridge was officially condemned in 1894.

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Neither for newcomer nor for posterity can one convey a worthy impression of the chief events or institutions of his community by taking them out of their settings. Nor yet may the full value of changes and developments from time to time be apparent without the background of other local activities. A bundle of twigs or a bunch of tulips tied tightly together sacrifice rather than conserve the fine in nature; there must be suggestion of the marvel and beauty of growth.

So with the parks which have brought Hartford so much of her fame. They began with the old South Green, a commons from earliest times. Village Street Green was designated in 1834, one-sixth of an acre of comely trees. The story of the evolution of Bushnell Park from a railroad scrap-yard in the '50s is enjoyed most by those who search out the contemporaneous life of the city, as has been given in these pages.

And now was to come a remarkable fulfilment of visions long entertained by the more thoughtful citizens—now, in the '90s, and like the Atheneum improvements and the philanthropic institutions, out of a community beginning to throb with industry and also with what industry was bringing, by way of population, by way of getting about and by way of income. One senses the need and likewise the joy of fulfilment only by noting the preceding and subsequent content.

Because of the rush of events it sometimes is forgotten that in 1891 the park commissioners were perfecting a plan for a chain of parks around the city—one at the south end, one on the north branch of Park River, and one in the north part. They estimated the cost of from 250 to 500 acres would be about \$500,000 and prophesied that the worth to the city would be at least \$5,000,000. Arguments were about to be made unnecessary.

Much of the credit for the remarkable park era of the '90s is due to the Board of Trade which, as has been noted, was organized in 1888. It had not magnified industrial and commercial de-



THE HARTFORD GOLF CLUB, HARTFORD



ONE OF MANY WALKS IN THE ROSE GARDENS, ELIZABETH PARK,
HARTFORD

velopment to the forgetfulness or detriment of aesthetics and whatever might tend toward the betterment of Hartford as a city to live in. High valuation was placed upon the city's natural assets and upon reminders of the historic and literary past. The members of the board were representative of that large body of citizens who, for another thing, took pride in the reputation that Hartford stood pre-eminent for its fine and carefully kept lawns. To bring their organization more efficiency under the law, they incorporated in 1893. At that very time—and perhaps with the co-ordination of his close friend Henry C. Robinson—Charles M. Pond was being impelled to confer with just such an organization.

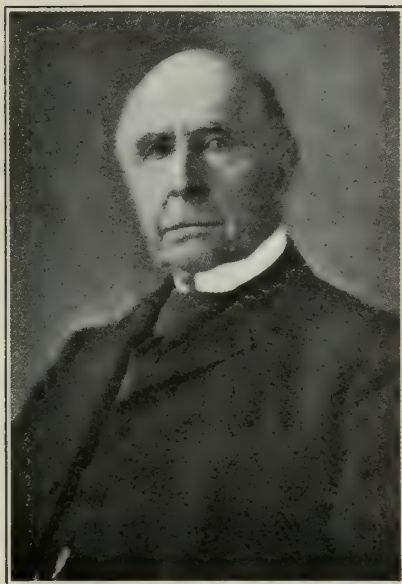
Mr. Pond (1837-1895) was a son of President Charles F. Pond of the New York, New Haven & Hartford road and grandson of Caleb Pond, once one of Hartford's well known financiers. He himself was treasurer of the road for several years and in 1870 was treasurer of the state. He had served as representative and senator and he had organized the Hartford Trust Company. He had married Elizabeth Aldrich of New York, his own birthplace. During her lifetime their home had been the sightly and beautiful Prospect Hill farm, the acres running well back from Prospect Avenue, on the high land west of the city, into West Hartford. This estate had been willed to him by his father. Soon after the incorporation of the Board of Trade, Mr. Pond wrote to President J. M. Allen on the subject of more parks and his plan to give the city his own land of ninety acres, to bear the name of his wife. Terms of a will were drawn up in conferences with Rev. Francis Goodwin, Leverett Brainard, Judson H. Root, Henry C. Robinson, Charles E. Gross, Frederick S. Brown and J. B. Bunce who were the board's Committee on Public Affairs. Mr. Pond died August 30, 1894. Relatives contested the will but a compromise was effected by which the city received the land and in addition \$105,000 to make it what it is—one of the most beautiful parks in the country and with a rose garden which national committees of floriculturists have several times declared ranked first.

It was after reading Mr. Pond's will that Colonel Pope conferred with his counsel, Mr. Gross, concerning another large park, saying that "much of the success of any manufacturing business depends upon the health, happiness and orderly life of its employees and in a like manner a city thrives best by caring and

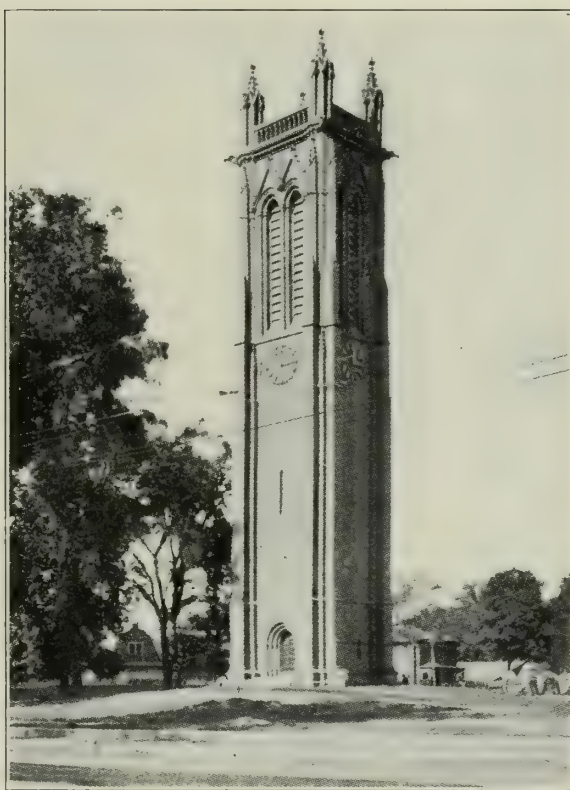
providing for the wellbeing of its citizens." As has been said, the colonel was then acquiring the Weed plant which had been making his bicycles under contract and, with eye to the future, had bought much other open land, including the Bartholomew farm south of Park Street and near its junction with Laurel Street. This farm he would give to the city, but in order that his employees on Capitol Avenue might get the full benefit, he would make a condition that the city add the land along the south and east side of Park River from the farm to Capitol Avenue, where the Pope memorial fountain now stands. That land was then an adjunct of the property of the Watkinson Juvenile Asylum and Farm School, of which Rev. Francis Goodwin was president; of the Hartford Orphan Asylum and of the Hartford Real Estate Improvement Company of which J. L. Howard was president. Members of the Board of Trade were in consultation, the proposition was given to Mayor Leverett Brainard and the city approved.

But this could not be brought about until the park board was reorganized. It was then under the control of the city government with no independent power. An amendment to the city charter was secured by which the board obtained more freedom of action and, with the mayor as a member ex-officio, self-perpetuating. For the most part the new members were the same as the old; they were Francis Goodwin, Sherman W. Adams, Gurdon W. Russell, Rev. Edwin Pond Parker, Rev. William DeLoss Love and Herman T. Hull.

On the day the Board of Trade held its special meeting to arrange for the charter amendment, Mrs. Elizabeth H. Colt, widow of Colonel Colt, expressed to her counsel, Mr. Gross, her desire to aid the board in its work for parks which eventuated in her providing in her will that the city should have all her land from Wethersfield Avenue to the Connecticut River excepting one piece which had been sold by one of her agents and which the city obtained by purchase. The Colt residence, Armsmear, was reserved as a home for the widows of Episcopal clergymen and others. The gift, which was formally presented to the city in 1916, after Mrs. Colt's death, included the statue of Colonel Colt near the lake, the other valuable statuary and the gardens. Many tennis courts and baseball diamonds, a skating rink and pavilion



HENRY KENEY
(1806-1894)



KENEY MEMORIAL TOWER, HARTFORD

and other features have been provided so that it is one of the chief recreation resorts in the city.

On the eve of the announcement of the gift of Elizabeth Park and just after Colonel Pope's gift, the public learned that in his will Henry Keney had provided for one of the largest parks in New England. Henry Keney (1806-1894) was the son of Joseph Keney who came to Hartford and set up a grocery store near the present corner of Main Street and Ely Street, in which business Henry succeeded him with Alva Gilman as his first partner. In 1830 his brother Walter (1808-1889) succeeded Mr. Gilman and the one sign, H. & W. Keney, remained over the door till Henry's death, which marked the end of the oldest mercantile establishment in the state. At different times, Ebenezer Roberts and J. N. Goodwin were in the firm, and after Walter's death, William Tucker and H. H. Roberts when the firm name was Keney, Roberts & Co. Henry was vice president of the Hartford Fire Insurance Company in 1885, and also of the Farmers and Mechanics National Bank and of the Hartford Carpet Company. His investment of \$216 in the Hartford Fire in 1841 was worth over \$80,000 in 1891 and cash dividends had been \$125,000.

The will gave large sums to Trinity College and to all the leading charitable and philanthropic institutions of Hartford, with the residuum for the purchase of a park in the north part of the city. A large piece of finest woodland extending to the Windsor town line and known as the "Ten-Mile Woods" was bought, together with pasture-land, a total of 673 acres, and turned into a driving or country park. The committee of the Board of Trade designated to devise the park system consisted of Rev. Francis Goodwin, H. C. Robinson and Charles E. Gross. Mr. Keney also gave the old homestead with the direction that the trustees should erect a suitable memorial to the mercantile business so long conducted there—according to the reading of the will. A stately clock tower was erected, surrounded by an acre of park.

The dream of a great circle of parks, accessible to people of every section of the city, had been almost realized within a short period. To help in its completion and especially to place something near the more congested part of the city, the park board bought land along the river north of the great bridge and established Riverside Park. It is where the Indian village was when

the settlers came and covers part of the "Soldiers Field" given to the men who went out for the Pequot war.

Then in 1901 the last possible link was added, by purchase, when the whole of two miles of meadowland and the slope from Wethersfield and Maple avenues, in the southern part of the city, was taken for Goodwin Park. Here are some of the finest elms in the Connecticut valley, great groves of trees, lakes and a public golf course as also at Keney Park today. Despite his protests, the board named the park after its president.

Rev. Francis Goodwin (1839-1923) was a son of Major James Goodwin. After beginning in the drygoods business, the memories of his mother's teachings caused him to enter Berkeley Divinity School where he was graduated in 1863. He had served as rector of Holy Trinity Church of Middletown, in charge of Trinity Church in Wethersfield and as rector of the Church of the Good Shepherd in Hartford when in 1878 he was chosen first archdeacon of Hartford. This position he held till 1888 when he resigned to join with J. J. Goodwin in the administration of his father's estate. This involved the care of a large amount of real estate, some of it undeveloped, and thereby brought him a fuller appreciation of the possibilities in beautifying the city. His work for the Atheneum, of which he was president, has been noted; he also was a trustee of the Watkinson Reference Library and president of the Watkinson Farm School, and had been a member of the park board since 1881. He was the father of William B., Charles A. and Rev. James Goodwin.

Besides the major parks which have now been described, the city is dotted with smaller parks and playgrounds. To mention the more prominent: Franklin Green, at the junction of Franklin and Maple avenues, was laid out in 1876. Rocky Ridge Park, twenty-eight acres, is along the crest of the old trap-rock quarry, near Trinity College, with a sweeping western view and furnishing opportunity to study glacier-scarred rocks. Lafayette Square is at the junction of Washington, Lafayette and Buckingham streets; on it is a statue of Columbus, given by the Italian-American citizens who now are desirous of having the name changed to Columbus Square while others would retain the name Lafayette, have the Columbus statue moved and a reproduction placed there of the equestrian statue of Lafayette, made from the model which the famous sculptor, Paul Bartlett, gave to Connec-

ticut, his native state, after he had completed the statue given by American school children to be set up in Paris. Tunnel Park is some more than half an acre at the junction of Main Street and Albany and Windsor avenues, under which run the main tracks of the New York, New Haven & Hartford road which leased the property to the city for a nominal sum, beginning in 1874.

Campfield Memorial Grounds will increase in historic interest as time goes on. Since it was dedicated in 1900 it has been visited by thousands of veterans for the last time but in future generations thousands of newcomers will visit it and will recall the story of Connecticut's share in the Civil war. At Webster and Adelaide streets, on the ridge overlooking the Connecticut valley, it marks the field where in earlier times the militia regiments held their encampments and where, in the '60s, seven of the Connecticut regiments were assembled and prepared to go to the front. The details of those unforgettable days are given in this history's section on the Civil war. In 1893 the Legislature appropriated \$1,000 to save a part of the famous field and also an appropriation to each regiment that would erect a memorial on any battlefield where it had fought. Subsequently it was agreed that, for the regiments so desiring, the appropriations should be given for a memorial in Connecticut, and it seemed fitting that the regiments that assembled here make a memorial common to all. Uniting as the Campfield Monument Association, the veterans responded generously to the call. John C. Barker, the owner, gave this portion of his property, through General Gilman. It was decided to erect thereon the bronze statue of Gen. Griffin A. Stedman, a Hartford man of Revolutionary ancestry who began as a lieutenant and was brigadier-general on the day he fell in 1864. The statue is the work of Frederick Moynihan of New York, the pedestal by Stephen Maslen of Hartford. The city gave the park-like effect to the grounds. In 1923 a tablet was placed here in memory of Maj. Thomas McManus of the Twenty-fifth, C. V., who was active in securing this memorial.

Sigourney Park Square, originally a part of the town farm and lying between Ashley, Sigourney, Sargeant and May streets, was declared a public square in 1895.

The Washington Street Triangle was laid out in 1900 at the junction of Retreat Avenue and Washington and Vernon streets. Charter Oak Memorial is a gift from the Society of Colonial

Wars, in 1906, near the spot where the famous Charter Oak stood, at the junction of Charter Oak Avenue and Charter Oak Place, marked by a granite monument. Mrs. Augusta C. Pease, widow of Zena Pease, presented the land to the society, through its president, James J. Goodwin. Among the numerous playgrounds are the Harbison, given in 1913 by John P. Harbison, opposite Ward Place, and the George H. Day, given by the Boulevard Park Company in 1917 and named by the Park Board in honor of one who was much interested in playgrounds. The Windsor Street playground is the latest addition to the list.

The total official valuation of parks and playgrounds in 1927 was \$7,088,000, Keney Park leading with \$2,500,000 for the land and \$25,000 for the buildings. In the '90s when four great gifts came so closely together, one could hear in some quarters the remark that the taking of so much property from the tax list and, in any instance, the imposing of the cost of maintenance would put a burden on the city that would be excessive if not unwarrantable. It is estimated today that the increased valuation of property in the vicinity of the parks themselves has covered the difference in taxes several times over and that the institutions have yielded profit beyond computation. Nevertheless, the time has come again when suggestion of other parks or memorials is met by an argument that money should go for the materially practical and for necessities.

As the city was fortunate in having the advice of the eminent landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, when Bushnell Park was laid out, so also it was fortunate again in having the services of Theodore Wirth when it acquired Elizabeth Park, and again when George A. Parker came here to be superintendent at what time Keney Park was being prepared, and subsequently to be superintendent of all parks till his recent death. Mr. Parker, who was exemplary in all lines of citizenship, was born in Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire, in 1853 and had had much experience on private grounds and public estates before being called here.

Under wise management, the parks were being beautified by other gifts. In 1897 John J. Corning of New York gave the fine Corning fountain which was placed by the park board in Bushnell Park in such position as to heighten the effect of the Capitol itself as viewed from Asylum Street near the railroad station by those coming into the city by train. The work, commemorative of the

Indians in the days when Hartford was settled, is one of the best examples of the genius and skill of J. Massey Rhind. Around the thirty-six-foot lower basin, he placed warriors and hunters, in bronze, and around the upper basins graceful Indian maidens, topping the whole, at a height of thirty feet, with a noble hart crossing a ford. The fountain is set in a mass of flower beds. The name Corning goes well back into the history of Hartford. In the First Church there is a memorial window in honor of three deacons by that name, in successive generations beginning with Ezra Corning. John B., the father of the donor of the fountain, was the son of Deacon George and was himself a member of the South Church and instrumental in forming the Pearl Street Church, now the Immanuel Congregational Church of Farmington Avenue. At one time he was in the drygoods business here. Interesting himself in real estate he became the owner of much valuable property on the south side of Asylum Street. Both of his sons, John J., who was a banker and broker in New York, and Frederick E., who lived in London, were born in the house still standing on Pearl Street. Mr. Corning died in 1896.

The figurehead of Admiral Farragut's flagship *Hartford* was given to the city through Commander Philip Hichborn, chief constructor of the navy, and was placed in the Capitol with fitting ceremony including a parade of which the navy veteran Francis B. Allen was marshal. Also Dahlgren guns from the *Hartford*, procured through Senator Hawley, were mounted on the terrace in front of the Capitol. The old commons at the south end of Main Street, long known as South Green and once the favorite place for circuses, was given the name of Barnard Park in honor of the great educator whose home was across the street.

The city water system withal, delighting with its supply of pure water, not only was kept free from possible contamination by the purchase of surrounding territory but was made to vie with the parks in beauty. To this feature of the park board's work Ezra Clark (1819-1896) gave much of his thought and energy. President of the board in 1854 and from 1882 till his death, it was during his time that the chief part of the building of the works was done and he planned the park-like effects. He saw the completion of No. 6 reservoir and promoted the petition for the right to take in Salmon Brook in Granby which was

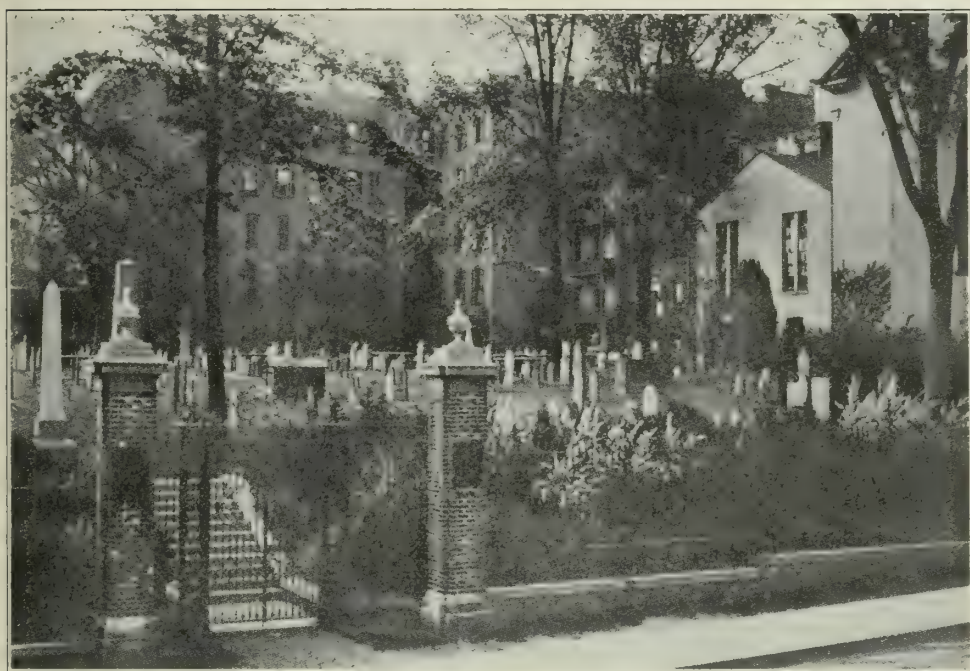
granted by the Legislature in 1897. In business Mr. Clark was a member of the successive iron and steel firms of Watkinson & Co., Clark, Gill & Co., and Ezra Clark & Co., was president of the National Screw Company and held many positions of trust. He was the father of Charles Hopkins Clark, long the editor of the *Courant*.

One vile spot in the very heart of historic Hartford had come now to appear to all to be a burning disgrace. It was Gold Street, formerly known as Nichols Lane. Gold Street extends for a mere half block from Main Street at the corner by the Center (First) Congregational Church to Lewis and Wells streets to the west, on the bank of Park River, the eastern boundary of Bushnell Park, and connecting with Jewell Street for direct route to the railroad station. The disreputable buildings along the north side, crowded with a shiftless sort of humanity and allowing only from fifteen to thirty feet for roadway, backed against a rude wall marking the southern line of the ancient cemetery where sleep Hooker, Haynes, Stone and others of the first settlers whose names are familiar in American history,—in the rear of the beautiful edifice of the church they founded. As elsewhere described, it was the second of the settlement's burying grounds and the only one till 1800; no interments had been made there since 1846; shut in as it was, it seldom was visited and the old stones were in disarray. On clotheslines over the cemetery waved the variegated "washings" of the denizens of the rookeries.

That the conditions were intolerable it required but a few words from the pastor of the church, Rev. Dr. Walker, to reveal. Mayor Brainard called the matter to the attention of the Common Council in his annual message. Ruth Wyllys Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution, under the leadership of Mrs. John M. Holcombe, gave the citizens an opportunity to assist, and the Herculean task of cleaning up was accomplished by 1900 when the restored grounds were placed in charge of the park board. The street was widened to the church line, the cemetery and its stones were made to bear evidence of care and respect, the wall was replaced with a handsome iron fence with an appropriate gateway given by two descendants of Governor John Haynes, and a bronze tablet was placed near it by the D. A. R. in commemoration of what Emily Seymour Goodwin Holcombe had done. The



ENTRANCE TO KENEY PARK, HARTFORD



THE ANCIENT CEMETERY

Here lie the remains of founders of the Connecticut Colony and framers of the world's
first written constitution



city government decreed that there should be no more burials there except of Mr. and Mrs. Holcombe.

Today the grounds are adjoined by the beautiful "Center Church House of the First Church of Christ," given in 1908 in memory of Francis B. Cooley by his family, Mrs. Cooley, Francis R. Cooley, Sarah Cooley Hall, Charles P. Cooley and Clara Cooley Jacobus—one of the most useful institutions in the city—and altogether it is impossible for modern Hartford to conceive what the surroundings once were.

Out-door recreation was becoming more general, for both sexes. Bicycle clubs were formed not only for racing but for trips into the country, hitherto so far away. And golf was taking a strong hold. The Hartford Golf Club was started in 1896 with a made-over barn on Kenyon Street for a clubhouse and the eastern part of Elizabeth Park for part of the links. The surveyor's rod already was busy there and the club pushed westward to its present location on the hill north of the park. When its fine new building was burned it rebuilt on a still more comprehensive scale in 1909. Today it is again feeling the march of residential progress and extends its grounds farther to the north and west. Distance was being rapidly eliminated as a factor in 1899, when automobiles were coming on in greater numbers, and one of Farmington's stately mansions was made over into clubhouse of colonial design for the Country Club, with hills and meadows for the golf links.

Looking into the future—with faith—the Twentieth Century Club was organized in 1892. Its purpose was somewhat suggestive of that of the old lyceums. Not from the platform in a cheerless hall but at the dinner table in a well-lighted room speakers from abroad as well as from home delivered not lectures but talks on the glowing topics of the hour. As it began, so it has continued, with increasing strength.

Down by the river, the surprisingly few who appreciated the boating possibilities which Hartford still does not value at their full worth—this Rhine-like river opening the way and inviting on to the superb Long Island Sound and all New England's coast—the surprisingly few were establishing the Hartford Yacht Club which later was to have its attractive clubhouse across the river instead of near a coal dock where the original one was. The

Canoe Club was not long in following. Till a fire dismantled it the yachtsmen also maintained a house near the river-mouth, at Fenwick. Caldwell Colt's famous yacht *Dauntless* lay off Essex, the elm-shaded hamlet as quaint today as when the British burned its shipping in the War of 1812. The boat was the scene of many boatsmen's parties and eventually gave its name to the club of Hartford and other men who made one of the choicest and most historic old houses, close by the riverside, their own.

Something besides a clubhouse was dedicated on staid old Prospect Street—the "Ministers' Lane" of Hooker's day and until these '90s the place of residence for several of the leaders in Hartford history. The dignified home of Mrs. Edward Perkins, who was building on Forest Street, had given place to the dignified Hunt Memorial, to be one of what now is "Club Row"—the Hartford Club, the Hunt Memorial, the Elks, the Knights of Columbus. The dedication was also the observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the Hartford Medical Society which was conceived in 1846 but not organized till later. One of the founders of the society was the greatly revered Dr. Ebenezer K. Hunt. His widow left to the society \$20,000 to realize her husband's ideal when in 1889, after the society had been chartered, a building fund was started. The gift was conditional on the society's providing a site. It was provided with zest. George G. Williams and his wife, Jeanette Hunt Williams, contributed \$20,000. The address of the occasion was delivered by President D. C. Gilman of Johns Hopkins, that institution which was the first in America to depart from the beaten path of the classics and introduce laboratories. In his address he spoke of Hartford's distinction "for its sagacious instruction of the deaf and dumb, for its wise treatment of the insane, for its discovery of anesthesia, for its excellent hospital, for its advocacy of sound legislation and wise sanitary regulations." In 1912 the club built a library addition.

A number of patriotic, fraternal and social organizations had their inception in this decade. Prominent among them were Ruth Wyllys Chapter, D. A. R., in 1892; Martha Pitkin Wolcott Chapter in East Hartford in 1898; the Republican Club in 1894; the Society of Mayflower Descendants in 1896; the Society of the War of 1812 in the same year; the Woman's Club in 1896; the Young Italian American Association, courts of the Foresters of



THE TOWN AND COUNTY (WOMEN'S) CLUB, HARTFORD
Formerly the residence of Theodore Lyman, Woodland Street



PROSPECT STREET CLUB HOUSES, HARTFORD

Left to right: Hartford Club portico (faintly); Hunt Memorial (Hartford Medical Society); Elks; and Knights of Columbus



America and of the Independent Order of Foresters, Olympia Camp of the Modern Woodmen of America and others.

Altogether, approach to the close of the century was marked by peaceful, happy increase of wealth and population. Certain high financing here as elsewhere, which our story has led us to anticipate somewhat in one line of industry, had not begun to have effect. Throughout the country districts fields were smiling with good harvests—barring an occasional drought year—and farmers in organization were studying to meet more effectively the fast growing demands occasioned by the rapid increase of their closest markets, the industrial cities of the state. In common with the nation as a whole, industry had felt the benefit of a protective tariff so strong that at this moment the wiser statesmen were discussing the plan of reciprocity with certain other more advanced nations. In retrospect one sees that at no period was there more evidence of the benefit of long-continued peace; the war cloud on the horizon was noticed by none of the busy people.

Socially, there was—looking back upon it—a rather humorous breaking of old traditions, a possibly awkward adaptation to new conditions, but beneath all that, a warmth of heart and hospitality. In the merry circle of “all hands round”—as the “prompter” of the older days would “call off” at the country dances—it was necessary, as it were, to drop the hand of the next one “on the right” long enough to let in a new arrival. This could not be done in New England without a moment of cool surprise, but forthwith the enlarging circle swung on as merrily as before. Social oddities there were, as in each generation since the days of the exclusive tavern balls. The ancient but ever up-to-date *Courant* appointed a society reporter, whose name was known only in the innermost sanctum, to furnish a column each week. “Pendennis”—for that was the name under the Thackeranian paragraphs—was lamenting that there was “abroad in this otherwise courageous town a dread and fear in regard to giving dinners.” And: “Our present methods of entertaining in public halls is attended with considerable embarrassment from the fact that matrons do not matronize and patronesses do not patronize.” The chaperones went about the hall, having good times by themselves to the neglect of their proteges.

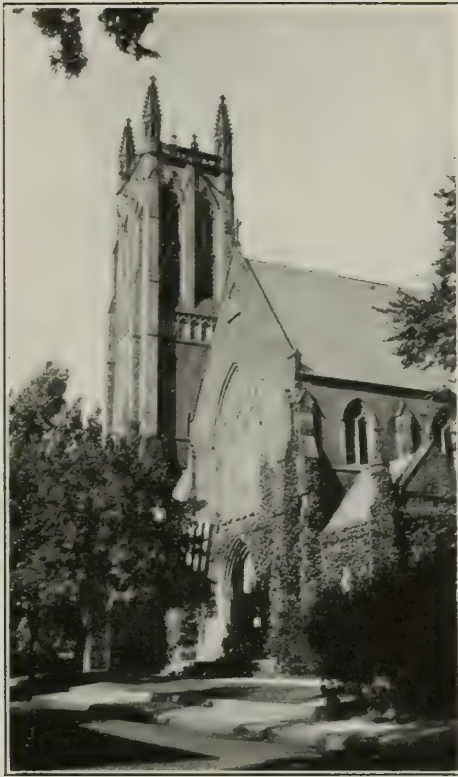
Dancing parties called “germans”—copy-readers never knew

whether to capitalize the word—were long the vogue, where first the ladies and, next dance, the men took “favors” from the table and using them as a symbol of faith went along the room-sides, each selecting his or her companion for that particular waltz or schottisch. As soon slap both man and lady in the face as “cut in” on a dancing couple at any dance. Amateur theatricals, as reported in the press, brought in large sums for charity. Women’s big hats in the theater were a constant target for “Pendennis,” safe in his (or her) disguise. Then in April, 1898, said “Pendennis” of a “sound of revelry” as incongruous as that before Waterloo described by Byron: “Very rarely are there crowded together so many entertainments as have been given and are to be given last week and this for local charities and enterprise. It is somewhat bewildering to the public-spirited person who wishes to patronize everything. The flurry will pass by, however, and we may be sure that everything is good and deserves attention.”

In church architecture, graceful spires of colonial days were giving place to Gothic towers, indicative of a medieval influence. One that was pleasingly suggestive of Old World design was the rebuilt and enlarged brown-stone edifice of the popular Trinity Episcopal parish on Sigourney Street, consecrated in 1899, six years after Rev. Ernest DeF. Miel had come as rector. From the organization in 1859, a devoted membership had given constant evidence of its respect and love for the church and it had been blessed with generous support. Increasingly necessity has always meant added beauty, as exemplified by the rectory and the chapel and parish house, memorial to Lucy Morgan Goodwin. Chimes were later placed in the tower.

The Pearl Street Congregational Church, feeling the pressure of business in the center, sold to the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company its edifice built in 1852, removed to the corner of Farmington Avenue and Woodland Street and there in 1899 dedicated a new home which took the name of Farmington Avenue Congregational Church. This was during the pastorate of Rev. William DeLoss Love. The Park Congregational (Doctor Burton’s) sold its edifice at the corner of Asylum and High streets, where the large Capitol office building now stands, and the two congregations were united in 1914, as the Immanuel Church, under the pastorate of Rev. Dr. Charles F. Carter.

In 1894 another name was added to the list of distinguished



TRINITY EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
SIGOURNEY STREET, HARTFORD



IMMANUEL CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, HARTFORD



clergymen. Doctor Walker felt compelled at last to yield to the weakness of flesh and was made pastor emeritus, but his activities were only intermittently diminished and his pen was not idle. To assume the duties relinquished, Rev. Charles M. Lamson was called. Doctor Lamson (1843-1899) on his mother's side was a descendant of Capt. Aaron Cook who was prominent in Windsor's early history. Educated at Williston Seminary, an instructor at Amherst and a student of theology at Halle in Germany, he had been pastor in Brockton, Worcester and St. Johnsbury, and already was prominent among the New England clergy. Amherst gave him the degree of doctor of divinity. His peculiar qualities were well demonstrated when he was chosen to be head of the American Board of Foreign Missions. For a considerable time the board had been torn by party strife and the outlook was dark. Doctor Lamson's conservatism appealed to one party and his broad sympathies to the other with the result that lasting peace was restored and his name was revered. His years here were too brief for him to make the deep impression on the community altogether which most of his predecessors had made, but the devotion of his parish was well expressed in the memorial services at his death.

Among the people of foreign extraction the church interest that was marked in the '80s was continued. The Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church was dedicated in 1891; the German Catholic Church of the Sacred Heart in 1892; the German Evangelical Lutherans and the missionaries of LaSalette were organizing at the same time; the Roman Catholic Church of the Immaculate Conception was begun 1894, and also the Danish-Norwegian Congregational; the Rumanian Synagogue was built on Market Street; in 1898 the Italian Catholic and the following year the Swedish Methodist Emanuel began their edifices.

XXXII

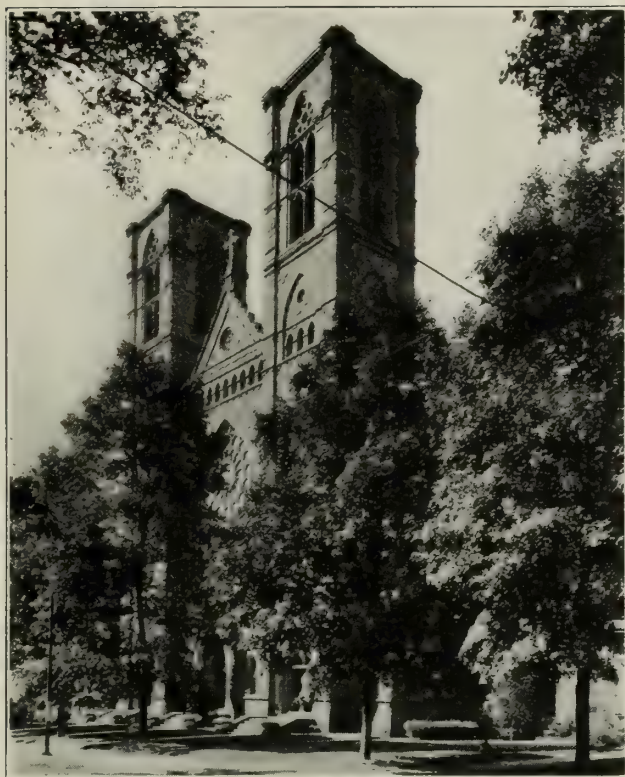
COMBINED MORAL STRENGTH

ST. JOSEPH'S CATHEDRAL CONSECRATED—ST. FRANCIS HOSPITAL—UNITING FOR BATTLE AGAINST VICE—PROGRESS OF Y. M. C. A.—THE OPEN HEARTH.

For the average man who dwelt in Hartford in the '90s there is not much either in personal recollection or in compilation of activities to make him appreciate that the country as a whole was experiencing a tremor which many thought would disturb the very foundations. The purchasing power of the dollar was decreasing, the cry of the far West was growing louder, sectionalism was more apparent and there were actual grounds for grave apprehension felt elsewhere. Our local history for this period loses much of its force if, by narration of sundry details, it does not show the existence of a firm faith—not worked up for the occasion but as a kind of inheritance,—a kind of inheritance which newcomers were accepting for their own. Religion was a holding power. Discouragements there had to be in individual churches and sects, but a review of the entirety from the present point of vantage reveals the actual progress.

The leaders in the Roman Catholic diocese sought everywhere the best for their followers; nothing was too good for them. Men who had been laborers, and especially the children of the earlier comers, had profited by the privileges and advantages this country offered. The mass of them had been thrifty and sober-minded. Their places in manual labor were now being filled by new immigration and from different countries. Every year it was more possible for the leaders to plan advancement in keeping with the spirit of the whole community. The growing cathedral on Farmington Avenue and the planting of a hospital were marks of this.

The consecration of St. Joseph's Cathedral, in the town of Thomas Hooker, had a significance not fully appreciated by thousands from all parts of the state who thronged the completed



ST. JOSEPH'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL,
HARTFORD



ST. FRANCIS HOSPITAL, COLLINS STREET ENTRANCE,
HARTFORD



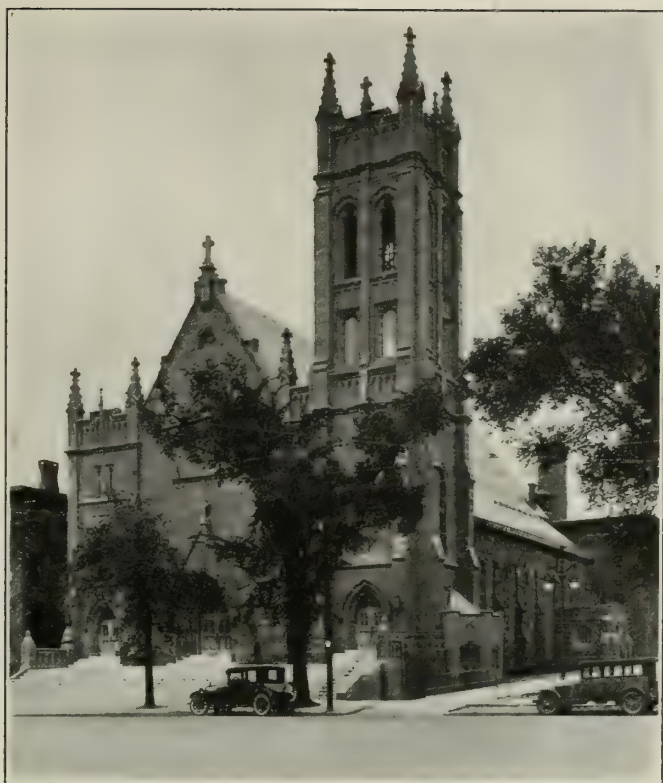
splendid structure on May 8, 1892, nor by the other thousands of on-lookers. It was a significance to be comprehended only by contemplation of history since the June day in 1636 when Hooker emerged upon the banks of the river out of the wilderness. The steps of progress since Bishop McFarland conceived the idea and in 1872 bought part of the old Morgan property as a site for cathedral, episcopal residence and convent and since his successor, Father Galberry, broke ground in 1876 and the basement was dedicated in 1878, have been noted. The building had been publicly opened on the return of Bishop McMahon (1835-1893) from Europe in November, 1891. This was the bishop who, born in New Brunswick, educated in Rome and with a record of chaplain service in the war, had been appointed vicar-general by Bishop Hendrickson when Providence became a separate see in 1870, and he received the degree of D. D. from Rome. After service at New Bedford, Mass., he had been chosen for the see at Hartford to succeed Bishop Galberry and had been consecrated in 1879. The cathedral had been his first work, but while putting it through he had organized forty-eight new parishes, dedicated seventy new churches and established sixteen convents and sixteen schools. The cathedral, built by plans from P. C. Keeley of Brooklyn, N. Y., was erected largely by the sacrifice of his own income and the voluntary contributions from all parts of the diocese. These consecration services in themselves, attended by distinguished clergy from various places and by a multitude of people, were most imposing. Spires were to be built above the massive towers but at the time for them, tests made of the underlying stratum of ground forbade. The chimes were installed in 1914.

Three years later the Roman Catholic Church of the Immaculate Conception, on the corner of Park and Hungerford streets, was dedicated, today one of the largest churches in the city.

The times called for another hospital. Busy industry and swifter transportation were claiming their victims; typhoid, diphtheria (especially in Parkville, the southwestern suburb out beyond Glenwood which the new factories were giving strength to) and other ills which were to find their masters in the next generation were working havoc seemingly to be perpetual. The Ladies of Charity, encouraged by Bishop Tierney, inaugurated a hospital campaign, a location was secured on Woodland Street and in 1897 St. Francis Hospital was opened under the charge

of the Sisters of St. Joseph with Sister A. Valencia superintendent. Five months later, in the first annual report, Dr. John O'Flaherty, president of the medical staff, which included some of the foremost physicians of the city, said: "The wisdom and need of such an institution I think is established beyond any question of doubt, from the loyal support and endorsement it has received from the majority of the profession in our city and from those in surrounding towns in the county, and as it is not intended to interfere in any particular way with the work of the older hospital, but is supplying a long felt void in our city, I feel assured that it will grow in favor and receive the support and endorsement of the profession at large, and the approval of the vast majority of the best people of our city and state." Doctor O'Flaherty had the evidence of this before his death in 1904. The hospital was incorporated in 1899 and the Training School for Nurses was started. By 1900 another building was ready for use, in 1901 it was included among the hospitals entitled to receive state appropriation and in 1906 a new building was completed, increasing the accommodations from the original thirty patients to 120 and with a number of private rooms.

Inspired by the bishop, and after his death in 1908 by Bishop Nilan, ably seconded by Chancellor John G. Murray, by all the clergy and a progressive directorate, more buildings were erected, the Russ and Taintor properties on Woodland Street and the Wolff property on Collins Street were secured for better accommodation of nurses and internes, in 1917 the large wing was ready for occupancy, and in 1920 the fine extension, 212 by 50 feet, was completed, giving an Ashley Street entrance hardly less effective than that into the administration building on Collins Street. When the hospitals of the country were standardized, St. Francis ranked in Class A, an attainment which itself tells of the amount of devotion and hard work on the part of the supporters of the institution. In 1926 the Woman's Auxiliary was formed, with Anna Prior Emmett president, to help make the burden lighter. In the hospital's first five months 314 patients received treatment; in the year 1926, almost 10,000. Mother Valencia was still treasurer and Dr. John F. Dowling was president of the large staff. There were fifteen free-bed funds, and the Frank C. Sumner, Mary W. Case, Silas Chapman, Jr., and John Ahern invested funds.



ST. PETER'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, HARTFORD
Church and buildings on homestead grounds of Dr. Henry
Barnard



CHURCH OF THE SACRED HEART, HARTFORD



Bishop Michael Tierney (1839-1908) came with his family from Ireland to Norwalk. Educated at St. Thomas' College in Montreal and at Troy, he entered the priesthood in Providence. Later he was located at New New London, Stamford and Hartford (St. Peter's parish) where he built St. Peter's Convent and was in charge of the school and chapel of the cathedral. He went to New Britain in 1883 where he built a fine church on Main Street, and was recalled here to be bishop in 1894. His death was deeply felt by the entire community.

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Periodically, special effort was being made to overcome sundry evils springing from intemperance and indifference to moral standards. The city ranked well among other cities but it was felt by the public-spirited that it should rank better. Thomas E. Murphy, the magnetic temperance lecturer, devout believer in personal influence, held a series of interesting meetings in 1893, the effect of which was encouraging. The times had developed another energetic worker but of a somewhat different type,—Arba Lankton, one whose field was limited to the railroad trains and the street corners. He was known by the traveling public as "Hartford's pop-corn man," and his basket of bags vanished quickly when he hurried through the car aisles or cried his wares on the streets. He had begun his open-air meetings as early as 1856 and continued them till he caught his death-cold in 1905. Of the society he formed he himself was all of the officers. Into it he turned pretty nearly all the money he acquired, including not a few subscriptions, to use in his warfare upon alcohol and tobacco, his chief ammunition being his own little leaflets and his membership cards and pledges which were signed by thousands. Each year's published report showed an exact balance of receipts and expenditures with surplus zero. Always on the move, oblivious to laughter or ridicule, he was respected alike by the men of affairs and the dregs of humanity, and not a few became better citizens through his influence.

It was in 1894 that a group of prominent citizens came together, confident that the desired improvement in conditions could better be brought about by organized work. At a meeting at which the first City Club of Hartford was formed—not for

social enjoyment—Lieutenant Governor Ernest Cady presided and Archibald A. Welch was secretary. The signers of the constitution and by-laws were such men as William Waldo Hyde, Arthur L. Shipman, Charles Hopkins Clark, Charles E. Gross, James P. Andrews, John M. Holcombe, Wilbur F. Gordy, Archibald A. Welch, Louis R. Cheney, John M. Taylor, George C. F. Williams, Professor F. S. Luther (later president of Trinity College), W. I. Twitchell, Col. William C. Skinner and others whose names are conspicuous in Hartford's up-building. Like the "Committee of Five" in the churches, they gave themselves to research and study, and while as an organization they did not continue down the years, their ability from that day to this to advise and assist in the various features of uplift then being inaugurated was much greater.

The Charity Organization, in 1890, was development from the needs of the hour. It has been seen that Hartford fared better than many other cities in the period of national discontent that was coming on and which both natural conditions and erroneous legislation were to engender. Hartford began to analyze the problems as soon as they appeared. And one of them was how to aid intelligently instead of wastefully as was the first tendency. Expenditures of city and individuals for out-door relief were running on into large sums, and children in families who could present orders and have them filled, without investigation, were growing up to think that that was the way to get a living. Col. Jacob L. Greene, president of the Connecticut Mutual Life, was president of this organization of careful students of the situation.

In coöperation was the "Committee of Five," headed by Rev. John J. McCook. Going exhaustively into the subject, he gathered the statistics which showed that the United States was expending more per capita on unorganized giving of alms than any other nation, that Connecticut led the United States in this and that Hartford led Connecticut. The report of the committee became a textbook in the study of charity in public institutions.

Of the many places where the record of Professor McCook's career might properly be given in the history of the last forty years, this may be as suitable as any, for it was here that his zealous endeavor for his fellowman very distinctly began to attract the attention of a wide public. He was of the family known in Civil war times as the "fighting McCooks," so many of them were

active in the war. Born in New Lisbon, O., in 1843, he was a brother of Gen. Anson G. McCook of that state, and he himself left his books at Jefferson College to go out as a lieutenant in the First Virginia, U. S. V. When he returned to his studies, it was at Trinity where he was graduated in 1863. After a course in medicine, he decided to study for the ministry and, graduating at Berkeley Divinity School in Middletown, he was made priest in 1867. That school gave him the degree of D. D. in 1901 and Trinity that of LL. D. in 1910, at which college he so long was a professor. Following a year as rector of St. John's in Detroit, he accepted the position of rector of St. John's in East Hartford and continued as such till his death in 1926. In addition to his devotion to his parish and his progressive work which endeared him to Trinity, he was never sparing of his energies for advancing the interests of his local communities and of the state. He was president of the Trinity Board of Fellows from 1915, for several years chairman of the High School Committee in Hartford, president of the Board of Directors of the Connecticut Reformatory in 1895-7, was one of the commissioners on penal legislation and during the World war was a member of the State Council of Defense.

The plan of organized charity was so successful that in 1894 David I. Green (1864-1925) was called here to act as superintendent. He was born in Independence, N. Y., was graduated at Alfred University in 1885 and obtained the degree of M. A. at Johns Hopkins. Especially fitted for this position he continued till 1918 when he accepted the position of professor of economics at Kenyon College.

The United Jewish Charities of Hartford was organized, with similar and most effective intent ever since, in 1891. The Roman Catholic churches found solution for some of their problems and a means to greater efficiency when the Ladies of Charity was organized in 1897 in connection with St. Francis Hospital. The first Board of Charity Commissioners was appointed by Mayor Miles B. Preston in 1896 and William W. Stillman, clerk of the Board of Selectmen, was appointed superintendent, continuing in office till his death in 1925.

For the benefit of needy widows George Beach established a home on Market Street with the idea that it should be self-supporting. In 1895, legacies having been received, another building

was erected on South Hudson Street. Five years later the Beach family offered a site and coincidentally funds were received for a memorial to Maria Kelsey of Hartford. In addition to the Market Street home there soon were the George Beach Home on South Hudson Street and the Kelsey Memorial on extensive property on Wethersfield Avenue—all in charge of trustees under a corporation consisting of the rectors and wardens of Christ, St. John's and Trinity Episcopal churches.

A very notable addition to this kind of institution was made when in the mid-'90s the Roman Catholics built St. Mary's Home on the beautiful West Hartford farm where Rose Terry Cooke was born.

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century the allurements for the young were many and bold. Compared with today, there was less wanton expenditure, less contempt for the conventional hours for sleep; but, taking the mass of youths as a whole, there was less ambition,—less opportunity and less disposition to get beyond the grammar school grades or the apprenticeship in the factories. Saloons, before the days of higher license fees, were so numerous as to embarrass merchants and their patrons. There were gambling dens and brothels around the center of the cities, and "road houses" on the outskirts. Two low-class vaudeville houses in the '80s nightly drew carousers. Such conditions were not uncommon throughout the country, and the better element in every city was grappling with the problem. Hartford was one of those where thoughtful men and women sought to get at the roots of the evils.

One who has known the Young Men's Christian Association and kindred organizations only of today can with difficulty imagine the real motives of many who gave their aid in the '90s. The principle was that of attraction instead of compulsion and of stirring enthusiasm rather than prescribing regulations. The Hartford "Y", whose beginnings we have traced, had played its part quietly but effectively, according to its means, since its first meetings in the First Church lecture rooms, its house on Prospect Street and its rooms on Asylum Street. Now it was to be put to the test; it was to enter upon an era when it should become with certainty an indispensable feature of the community its citizens were determined Hartford should be. The great encouragement came when Gen. Charles T. Hillyer gave the land upon which

the present buildings stand at the corner of Ford and Pearl streets. And in his memory in 1892, his son, Appleton R. Hillyer, and his daughter, Clara E. Hillyer, with a gift of \$50,000—the second of the family's many benefactions—established Hillyer Institute for a manual-training and trades school, the beginning of the exceptional educational department of the association today. The fund for the original building was raised by public subscription, Frederick K. Fox, a well known grocer, giving \$5,000, and it was ready for occupancy in November of 1892. The rooms were thronged with men and women, leaders in the city. Col. Charles A. Jewell presided; Daniel R. Howe made the speech of presentation. Colonel Jewell who was president of the association from 1881 to 1891 and from 1897 to 1904, succeeding Charles E. Thompson, was always generous in his support, and the family name is borne by the auditorium in the main building. Mr. Howe, a foremost financier and man of affairs, was president from 1904 to 1913 and was likewise constant in his interest. There will be other chapters of the story of the association within the scope of this history and still others within the scope of future histories.

General Hillyer (1800-1891) was the son of Col. Andrew H. Hillyer of Granby, whose ancestors were among the earliest colonists. After conducting a store in Granby for some time, Mr. Hillyer came to Hartford in 1853 where he organized the Charter Oak Bank and was president of it till 1879 when he was succeeded by his long associate as cashier, J. F. Morris. He was also connected with other financial institutions and became the wealthiest man in the town. Active in the militia from young manhood, he was adjutant-general from 1840 for six years. In the Civil war he served on the local war committee and was offered the colonelcy of the Sixteenth C. V., but declined because of age. Company B of the Twenty-second adopted his name because of the interest he showed, and after the war the Hillyer Guard was one of the leading companies in the newly organized National Guard. He believed in the future of the West, attesting his faith with a large amount of capital. In Illinois he bought at less than one cent an acre 60,000 acres of land that was in the possession of the Bank of England. His donations to other institutions besides the Y. M. C. A. were liberal.

Among the bequests of the decade which were to help on these

various promotive enterprises were those of Mrs. Mary J. Keeney, Mrs. Susan Clark and of Lucy Morgan Goodwin, sister of Junius S. Morgan, wife of Maj. James Goodwin and mother of Rev. Frances Goodwin. Mrs. Goodwin was born in West Springfield in 1811 but at the time of her death in 1890, Hartford had been her home for many years and Hartford had enjoyed her beneficence, to be continued after her own constant and varied activities had ceased.

Back in the mid-'80s a group of young men formed St. Paul's Guild of Christ Episcopal Church and among other activities started a reading room at the corner of Main and Morgan streets. Believing that they could go farther into the "East Side" they opened another room on Front Street in 1888. They rejoiced in the comfort and pleasure evinced by the unfortunate men who came there every night. A superintendent was engaged, partitions were torn down and room was furnished for that Gospel Mission work which was much in vogue then, encouraged largely by the Moody and Sankey meetings. The name Open Hearth was adopted. To make it mean more the institution, incorporated in 1893, provided lodgings and furnished meals in tents erected near the house, and then provided work for men to do by which to earn their fare. Endowments came, including one of \$10,000 by the will of Mrs. Mary J. Keeney; there was a men's Bible class and frequent entertainments were given by young folks from the "West Side." Women and children came with the men till provided for in another way.

To continue the story so interestingly begun: By 1892 the demand for more room was met by buying the historic old Barnabas Deane house on Grove Street, said by antiquarians and artists to be the city's finest specimen of colonial architecture then standing. At the opening, in April, 1892, hundreds of people gathered to admire the wide grounds, the wood yards, the lodging rooms, the quarters in the large barn, and the children's playgrounds. It had become the day of the genuine "tramp;" any unfortunate who wished to rise above that class found his opportunity here. So many improved the opportunity that in 1908 a brick building, St. Paul's Hall, with dormitory, reading room and baths was erected on the grounds and was dedicated by Bishop Brewster. Superintendent John H. Jackson reported that the previous year 50,000 lodgers had been accommodated and meals

furnished at a total cost of less than 2 cents for each man—a wonderful saving over the cost of maintaining a city lodging house, and this only a part of the good work. By the time of the World war, there were few unemployed; the hall was used by the Italians, for Americanization work and as a reading room. The property was sold to the Hartford Club, to be cleared for a greatly needed parking space, and with the proceeds a former saloon and residence building on Sheldon Street near Colt's factory, was made over for an up-to-date "hearth," to which the brick structure readily lent itself. There was abundant space and facilities were up to date. Charles DeLancey Alton, Jr., the president, the whole Board of Trustees and Superintendent Herbert F. Baker felt that they were ready for any need should need again develop as in the '90s. The public must now be called upon to assist in the enlargement, even though it is made necessary not by local conditions of industry.

In the early '90s some of the women, chiefly of the Episcopal churches, interested themselves in the women of the "East Side"—in what today would be called "social welfare." Superintendent B. N. B. Miller of the Open Hearth assisted. Rooms were secured on Front Street in 1891, which were given up for others on Temple Street the following year and Hartford's Shelter for Women was well on in its noble work. The need for the work decreased in time, the locality was being required for great mercantile business and in these later years the Shelter removed to Ann Street. There Gray Lodge was established, not for the friendless but for girls getting a start and having only small income. It is in charge of Miss Harriet T. Johnson, and must soon be enlarged.

The feature of the work which gave the institution its name is carried on, under these better conditions of the times, by the Woman's Aid Society on Barbour Street, which was organized in 1878 and chartered in 1881, by women many of whom also were interested in the original Shelter. The men who have aided included Rev. Francis Goodwin, Wilbur F. Gordy, J. G. Calhoun and Atwood Collins.

As just said, the children were not be lost sight of, in the crowding of the Open Hearth. "Social welfare" was all-embracing. For the benefit of the younger boys and girls, this energetic group of women, drawing still others to their ranks, secured a quaint little brick house on North Street, just off the Valley rail-

road tracks where the street and the then muddy river bank were the only play ground. The seemingly out-of-place brick house may have been a relic of those times when the great wharves were built near here and did not draw trade. The women transformed it and its small yard into a paradise for the little ones of the crowded tenements, and North Street's Social Settlement in 1899 took its place among the institutions which Hartford is proud of. Two women whose names must always be associated with that work because of their devotion were Miss Mary Graham Jones and Miss Catherine Howard. President Newton C. Brainard's letter issued in 1927, describing the need of a supplementary building, says: "Hundreds of boys and girls have come from the crowded tenements in the neighborhood to take what the Settlement has had to offer—games, classes, play in the gymnasium and playground. In such numbers have they come and keep coming that the settlement itself has grown almost as crowded as the surrounding tenements. From cellar to attic, every corner of the building is used every hour of the day and evening. But the walls cannot be stretched to receive all who would come." The site for the new building had been bought with the aid of far-sighted citizens of and for Hartford before this opportunity for others to give was set forth by the former mayor

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A study of the names of the people who were prominent in all these good works reveals that a large proportion of them were of Hartford County ancestry. Pride in such ancestry on the part of people outside the state as well as within was evidenced by the meeting here in 1899 of the Grant Family Association, for membership in which 4,000 living descendants of Matthew Grant of Windsor were eligible, including the family of General Grant. The site of the old homestead and also of the homestead of Admiral Dewey's ancestor, the stone marking the first English settlement in the colony and many other points of interest were visited. Addresses were made at the Allyn House by Jabez H. Hayden of Windsor, Rev. Dr. Roland Grant and Secretary and Treasurer Frank Grant of Hartford. The story of this ancestry is given in the Windsor section of this history.

Town and city coterminous and suburban residences being

built in the adjacent towns, a wide territory was becoming practically one community, and already the question was being raised whether the original Hartford boundaries should not be restored by bringing in East and West Hartford. The first petition of that sort was presented to the Legislature in 1894, by the residents of the section just over the West Hartford line, which is Prospect Avenue. It was opposed by West Hartford as a town, as like propositions have been opposed in these present days when that town has its advanced form of government and improved civic conditions. Elizabeth Park was mostly in West Hartford, also the new golf club, and Farmington Avenue and Asylum Avenue were receiving attention which intimated the residential extension so soon to come. Parkville was beginning to build over the line and Elmwood to be like a part of it. Altogether the boundary physically was being obliterated. And yet it was but a few years since a Hartford man, only a little ahead of his time, had been ruined by buying and holding for a rise a considerable acreage on Farmington Avenue east of Prospect Street where now a beautiful residential section is fighting inch by inch the encroachments of business.

Referring to the homes being built in various parts of the city, Secretary Woodward of the Board of Trade wrote: "Every year skilled mechanics, conscious of capacity and desirous of independence, colonize on their own account. By a law of nature, under given conditions, cognate virtues tend to flourish in well defined groups. We look for energy, temperance, industry and self-restraint in men eager for a career and dependent upon themselves. Our local history illustrates over and over the certainty with which men of this stamp succeed."

In many places in the business section the old was being torn down to make place for the new. The Catlin building on the northwest corner of Main and Asylum streets and the Melodeon building to the north of it—once the Fourth Congregational Church—were among those to go. A board of arbitrators was deciding that the New England railroad should build a station, beyond the tracks west of the New York, New Haven & Hartford's double-deck station, and cover it with iron. The Connecticut Mutual Life had bought the Pearl Street Congregational Church in order to extend its large building westward. The Travelers was putting a third story on its building on Prospect Street. The

Society for Savings was replacing its structure on its original site of Pratt Street and the Unitarian Church was erecting a store and office building on the same street. In the factory district much building was being done.

The stores were an index to the wide spread of built-up area. The Business Men's Association was organized in 1898 with Dwight N. Hewes as president and in membership increased from forty to over 500, in five years. President Hewes was succeeded by Rufus H. Jackson, business manager of the *Hartford Times*, who, before his death in 1906, was also president of the state association. He was succeeded in office here by Irving C. Treat, a former Rockville man, of the firm of Clapp & Treat who still conducts a large hardware business on State Street, and he by Normand F. Allen of the Sage-Allen drygoods firm, followed by Isidore Wise of Wise, Smith & Company, and he by Foster E. Harvey of Harvey & Lewis, the opticians—marking the friendly relations that continue today between the large firms.

It also was marking a period when one particular generation of business men was succeeding another. Leverett Brainard (1828-1902) was still in advisory capacity, and his son, Newton C. Brainard, was to keep up traditions by being the city's chief executive in the '20s. Leverett Brainard was born in Colchester in 1828. He was the first secretary of the City Fire Insurance Company in 1853. In 1858 he was a partner with Newton Case and James Lockwood in the printing and publishing house of Case, Tiffany & Co., with which he was identified till his death, the name changing to Case, Lockwood & Brainard in 1868. He succeeded Mr. Case as president in 1890. With all his important business affairs he gladly gave of his time to serve in the Legislature in 1884 and as mayor from 1892 to 1894. His business interests included directorship in several banks and insurance companies, in the Hartford Hospital and in the Willimantic Linen Company till its absorption by the American Thread Company. He was president of the Hartford Paper Company, the Burr Index Company and of the Printers' Employers' Association. His wife was a daughter of Judge Eliphalet A. Bulkeley, president of the Aetna Life Insurance Company, and therefore the sister of Hon. Morgan G. Bulkeley who succeeded Thomas O. Enders in that presidency in 1879. His son, Newton, is now the president of Case, Lockwood & Brainard.

Mr. Enders (1832-1894), who lived across the line in West Hartford, from the time he came here as clerk in the Aetna Life in 1844 was of those who took part in public affairs. He was representative in the Legislature in 1889 and 1891, from West Hartford. Withal, as president, he was putting the United States Bank on firm footing after a time of stress. Mr. Enders was a native of Glen, N. Y. How great was Senator Bulkeley's interest and participation in public affairs, the general history of his times attests.

Henry C. Dwight (1841-1918) was a name conspicuous through this period. Born in Northampton, Mass., he was captain in a Massachusetts regiment in the Civil war. In the wool business here, he was associated with E. N. Kellogg, Austin Dunham and his sons and with Drayton Hillyer till he organized the firm which came to be Dwight, Skinner & Co. He served in both branches of the Common Council and was elected mayor in 1890. In the South School District he labored earnestly as a member of the committee, of which he was chairman from 1900 till his death, and the old Wethersfield Avenue School was named in his honor. In 1897 he was president of the Mechanics Savings Bank. On Governor Harrison's staff he was paymaster-general and he was active in various patriotic organizations.

The death of Richard S. Ely in 1894 removed one of the older generation, who spent much of his life in New York but kept up his interest in the old family mansion on North Main Street (he was a son of William Ely) and in local concerns. He had a beautiful summer residence, Deercliff, on Talcott Mountain and was one of the earliest breeders of Jersey cattle in America. Robert Allyn (1849-1896), owner and proprietor of the Allyn House with John J. Dahill as manager, was a son of a former mayor, Timothy M. Allyn, who left a large estate on his death in 1881. He had succeeded his cousin, Robert J. Allyn, at this famous hostelry in 1889.

William M. Corbin (1835-1894) was a man of public affairs in addition to being a manufacturer and banker. A native of Union, he was a shoe manufacturer when he removed to Hartford in 1881. At different times he served in both branches of the Legislature and was sheriff in 1884. In 1887 he saved a serious banking situation in Stafford Springs and became cashier of the First National Bank there. Also he was president of the

Central Woollen Company. He was the father of William H. Corbin, the present executive vice president of the Chamber of Commerce, former tax commissioner, long active in manufacturing and in school affairs and likewise in promoting Yale interests. Henry Eurotas Hastings (1861-1894) was interested in many concerns here and elsewhere and owned much valuable real estate. He came here from India where he was born, son of the president of Jaffna College, and made his home with his uncle, Dr. P. M. Hastings. He was especially concerned in banking and in the jewelry business, establishing the firm of Hansel, Sloan & Co., after buying the interests of Dwight H. Buell's heirs. His mother, Anna Cleveland Hastings, sister of President Cleveland, lived next to him on Elm Street.

Frederick S. Brown (1822-1894) was town and city collector for sixteen years. Previously he was in the cigar business. When chairman of the park commission, he set out the scion of the original Charter Oak which flourishes today just south of Trumbull Street bridge. Henry Kohn (1839-1917) furnished an illustration of the opportunities this country offered. Born in Bohemia he came to Rockville in 1865 and later removed to Hartford after he had built up a reputation as a jeweler. Here he established the well-known business of his house in the heart of the shopping district, now conducted by his sons, and another store in Newark, N. J.

Caldwell H. Colt, son of Col. Samuel Colt, widely known owner of the yacht *Dauntless*, died in Florida in 1894. He had not resided in Hartford for several years. He was commodore of the New York and Larchmont Yacht Club. The death of Benjamin Bliss in 1896 recalled the days when the drygoods firm of Benjamin Bliss & Co., predecessors of C. S. Hills & Co., (at the present location of Albert Steiger, Inc.), was one of best known in the state.

Seth Talcott (1831-1894), born in West Hartford, organized the firm of Talcott & Fuller, druggists, later Talcott Brothers when his brother George became a member, and then Talcott, Frisbie & Co. as Edward C. Frisbie succeeded George when he died. Seth Talcott was still the senior member of the large wholesale house at his death. The business was continued for several years by his son, Charles A. Talcott.

Joseph W. Dimock (1801-1892), born in Rocky Hill, is best

remembered by his activities in real estate. He was one of the first manufacturers of clothing to sell at wholesale. He traveled extensively by stage in the South, placing his products. Stephen Goodrich (1836-1893), a native of Simsbury, built up a large wholesale and retail drug business and assisted in organizing the State Board of Pharmacy. He was a director in the Farmers and Mechanics National Bank and the Orient Insurance Company and was for some time state bank commissioner. Samuel Coit (1822-1896), engaged in local developments in his later years, built the block of houses on the west side of Sigourney Street when that seemed a long way from the center. He was born in Plainville and in his earlier career had been interested with Bridgeport capitalists in developing in Washington Territory a silver-steel mine with a large plant in Bridgeport to make up the product. That proving unsuccessful he joined with George M. Bartholomew in a Virginia mining enterprise and lived in Washington till 1892 and then for a time in Texas. Erastus Phelps (1806-1891), born in Marlborough, was the builder of some of the finest residences and business blocks in the city, his activity covering a period of fifty years.

XXXIII

'NINETIES' INDUSTRIES AND CALLINGS

INVENTIONS THAT DRAW SKILLED WORKERS AND INCREASE PRESTIGE—
MORE CONCERNS OF WIDE REPUTE—MEN OF PROMINENCE IN BANK-
ING AND INSURANCE.

The real and lasting wonder of the '90s had to do with electricity, but that series of local achievements is best reserved for consideration at the dawn of the coming century. What it was coming to mean in the way of bringing a new line of manufacture may be taken up here. A suit brought in 1891 by Charles G. Perkins, who had concerns bearing his name here and in Manchester, against the Edison General Electric Company for infringement of an 1881 patent on a switch, was the first thing to draw general local attention to the awakening of a mighty power. Three years later, the court decision being adverse, the Manchester factory was closed, but Mr. Perkins was establishing the Perkins Electric Switch Company here, together with Waterhouse, Gamble & Co., under the same management, to make a still better switch than had been made in Manchester, patented by Addison G. Waterhouse, and also the Perkins lamp. That business was continued on Woodbine Street till removed to Bridgeport by the Bryant company of that city.

Just as that concern was leaving came from Kansas City— attracted by the reputation for workmanship—the Hart & Hege- man Company, founded by Gerald W. Hart and George S. Hege- man to make the first surface switch. Albert H. Pease became associated with them. In 1898 Mr. Hart established the Hart Manufacturing Company to make many new kinds of devices. Proceeding under the same name, the original company grew beyond the capacity of even a much enlarged factory, a branch in the south part of the city was built and the company became the largest in the business. Another chapter belongs in the period of 1927.

John H. Trumbull (now governor) and his two brothers, all of them electrical experts, were drawn toward the new industry



SHOPPING DISTRICT, HARTFORD, LOOKING NORTH FROM "GOODWIN'S CORNER"



SHOPPING DISTRICT, HARTFORD

Main Street, looking south from near Morgan Street. Christ Church Cathedral on the right



in 1899 and left here to build a shop in Plainville where today the governor is at the head of one of the best known plants in the land, specializing on the "T" safety switches. And the governor, as will be seen, is one of those who takes time from his regular business to do public service. The demand of the electrical concerns for porcelain caused the Hartford Faience Company, makers of high-class pottery and tiles, to devote their attention to turning out porcelain products.

Rufus N. Pratt (1833-1901), who was born in Vermont, was in the leather business and came here in 1870, began a line of casting and brass- and iron-valve business under the firm name of Pratt & Cady which is foremost in the trade today. On the reorganization in 1898 Mr. Pratt resigned but continued as a director. The plant has been doubled several times. Mr. Pratt also formed the Johns-Pratt Company for the manufacture of electric accessories, including asbestos brakes and packings, which after a most successful career was merged recently with the Colt's Patent Fire Arms Company.

Pratt & Whitney, which owes its development if not its origin to the local demand for the most accurate tools and machines, especially for the production of firearms and lathes, had outgrown the site of the Sharps Rifle Works which it took over when P. T. Barnum removed the latter to Bridgeport, and was building its large addition across Park River on Capitol Avenue. Its foreign business gradually became tremendous, including such contracts as those for equipping armories in China and Japan. Many army officers and technical engineers from those countries have been most cordially received here, to make study of Pratt & Whitney methods. One of the company officials on being asked by a newspaper man if they were not afraid that thus those nations would be enabled to establish works of their own and this foreign business be lost, replied: "Not at all. We have nothing to conceal from anybody in any part of the world—it tends to extend our trade. If they can do the work better than we can, they may undertake it. It's the workmen who count, after all. I don't think those in Hartford can be excelled." Eventually Pratt & Whitney became a part of the great combination known as the Niles, Bement & Pond Company with factories in various parts of the country, and it is today proving to be the chief part. The Pratt & Whitney Aircraft Company—of which more later on—is

an offspring. In time the company took in also the fine buildings which the Pope Company built and vacated.

It was in that summer of 1899 that the busy chapter in the Pope enterprises came, as has been told. The Hartford Woven Wire Mattress Company, which Governor Roberts conducted successfully for many years, at the corner of Capitol Avenue and Laurel Street, was adding another story to its building and was establishing a foundry on Willow Street. The Board of Trade Building has been noted. So rapidly was the district enlarging that Colonel Pope's offer to the Government to provide a branch post office was accepted and the very necessary adjunct was installed in the corner of the building which Hart & Hegeman came to acquire. It still remains at that location—as Station A.

The Smyth Manufacturing Company and the Sigourney Tool Company, under one management, were enlarging on Sigourney Street. John C. Wilson, who in 1897 had been prominent in the rubber industry, became president and treasurer, continuing in office till his death in 1919.

In its way, no less important than the advent of the motor vehicle was the advent of the typewriter. There was constant demand for something better, and something better came when John M. Fairfield, one of the most enterprising men of the times, formed a company with \$60,000 capital and brought out the "Hartford," delightfully light and easy of action but, as time proved, not heavy enough to stand the wear and tear to which use in every kind of an office and under every kind of hand subjected them. Associated with Mr. Fairfield in this enterprise were such men as P. C. Royce, Col. Lucius A. Barbour, Austin C. Dunham, Josiah Baker, Jr., Francis A. Pratt, M. B. Scott, John Knous and H. D. Clemons. These names by themselves suggest many other industrial enterprises of the day.

The States Machine Company was attracted here from Newark in 1895. The National Machine Company got the contract for making the Daimler motor of 1891. A department of the Willimantic Thread Company came to occupy part of Cheney Brothers' silk plant on Morgan Street.

Secretary Woodward of the Board of Trade was writing: "Cut off in the middle of his career, Colonel Colt did not live to carry out the projects which might have made Hartford a second Essen, but he did live to educate a body of men whose influence direct

and indirect is more felt than ever before." At Colt's, then as always, they were making a variety of modern guns and were drawing to their plant other enterprises. At Pratt & Whitney's they were making the Lee magazine rifle, and Charles W. Sponsel, a Hartford man and an expert under Superintendent E. G. Parkhurst of the plant, was bringing out his rapid fire gun. Then in 1917 Hartford was as near being an Essen as anything in America, unsubsidized, could be.

A graduate of both Colt's and Pratt & Whitney's, where he had worked out a few of his inventions like the still-used catcher's body-protector in baseball, William Gray (1852-1903), born in Tariffville, brought forth one of the greatest inventions of the day. It was the automatic pay-telephone station, that wholly indispensable adjunct of modern life. But the struggle he had to make to secure financial backing was largely the cause of the untimely ending of his brilliant career. Charles Soby had the most popular cigar in town, on Main Street near Goodwin's Corner. Mr. Soby knew what it was to earn one's way. As a boy in Suffield he had made cigars and peddled them to eke out the living for himself and the family of which he early had been left the chief support. By his personality as well as his ability he had gone onward till he was proprietor of a large cigar-making establishment of his own in the city and the store in front of it, was backing the baseball team, and was a bank director and altogether stood high in business circles. He enabled Gray to turn out some of his machines and to exhibit one in the cigar store. Convinced of the practicality of the device, Mr. Soby relieved Gray of further anxiety about capital; today the enlarging plant of the "Gray Pay" and the position its stock continues to hold in the market tell of the reward that both he and Soby received.

E. A. Rusden invented a washing machine to be used in printing and dyeing textiles; it was made at Lincoln & Company's Phoenix Iron Works on Arch Street. The Farnham Typesetter Company was busy with the machine which later was taken up by the Paige Composition Company and, though failing, here was a long step in machine typesetting. And T. Hayward Giguilliot of Savannah, Ga., was here building a flying machine in the secrecy of a little shop. Others were working toward the same end and it was in these '90s, though the rush of the automobile

may have driven it from mind, that prizes were offered for successful results.

Something fully as much desired, in the electrical world at least, was the steam turbine. The great producers of equipment then getting their start had experimented but with no satisfactory results in anything that would not tear up the strongest floor. In the mid-'90s E. C. Terry perfected a design for ordinary uses but progress was slow. It was a "new-fangled notion;" it was the kind of animal of which the Michigan farmer said, "There ain't no such thing." But by 1906 enough favor had been shown, especially by the navy department, to warrant his organizing the Terry Steam Turbine Company—today, with its plant on Windsor Avenue, the largest concern manufacturing exclusively turbines and reduction gears.

John T. Austin invented the universal air chest which provided an unvarying air pressure for organs and revolutionized the manufacture of those instruments. In 1899 the Austin Organ Company was organized with him as president—as he is today—and the original small factory space has developed into the best plant of its kind in America, located on Woodland Street, the largest of pipe-organ companies and the builder of the three largest organs in the country. The organ in the Public Ledger Auditorium, given to Philadelphia by Cyrus H. K. Curtis, the foremost of all organs in this or any other country, was built here.

The joy of bicycle riding never reached its acme till the rider could tell how many miles he had ridden in an hour or a year. What is now a matter of ordinary course with the motor-vehicle rider was then something longed for by the bicyclist. In 1894 Curtis H. Veeder of Hartford satisfied the longing and soon was producing what every rider could afford to have, a little but very accurate one-ounce indicator. The Veeder Manufacturing Company, with name broad enough to cover other ideas Mr. Veeder had in his mind, was formed in 1896 and rooms were rented in the *Courant* Building. Associated with him were Howard W. Lester and David J. Post. To be sure, odometers and speedometers had been used in prehistoric times but they were of comparatively monstrous proportions. The demand for the "Veeder" necessitated the building of a factory on Sargeant Street, and as automobiles developed and constantly there was the call for accurate count of whatever was run off the press or through any

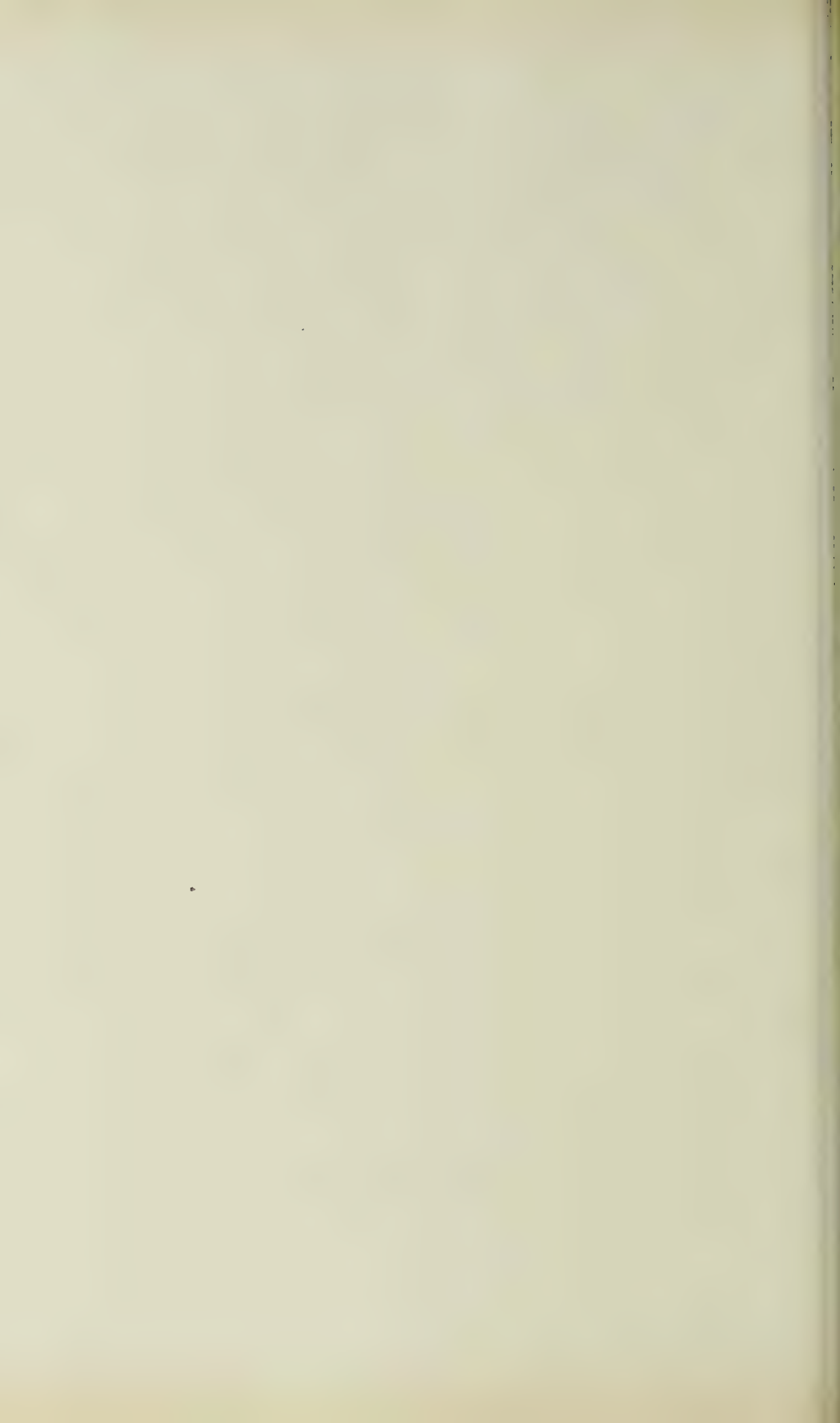


MAIN ROOM OF OFFICE FORCE OF CONNECTICUT MUTUAL
LIFE IN THE '90s

For the same in 1928 entire large buildings are required. Formerly
much of the space was rented



SKYLINE FROM THE RIVER, HARTFORD



machine at twentieth-century speed, and also in the war times for the closest possible adjustments, enabling an aircraft gunner for example to know precisely how many cartridges he had in reserve, the inventions of Mr. Veeder were a boon. Also to meet the requirement of a finer way for determining standards, Mr. Veeder devised the tactometer, which was welcomed by the United States Bureau of Standards, by electrical manufacturers and by men working in laboratories. The discovery of the "Veeder metal" was a further aid to science.

One cause of building activity in this period was the eviction in 1892 of a number of young concerns from the Fred C. Rockwell property between Sheldon and Charter Oak streets, to make way for occupancy by Ira Dimmock of the Nonotuck Silk Company of Northampton, who had bought it for his own purposes, chiefly the manufacture of twist. The property was known as the old American Machine Company. Among the concerns then occupying it were the Capewell Horse Nail Company, previously mentioned, which was about to move into its very modern plant on Governor Street; the Perkins Switch Company, the Aetna Machine Company, the Hartford Lumber Company and J. B. Merrow & Sons.

This last named, which built its extensive plant on Laurel Street, was founded by Joseph Battell Merrow (1819-1897) in the town of Mansfield at what is now known as Merrow. Mr. Merrow's plant there was the first knit-goods factory in the country. Mansfield was the place of his birth and at the time he undertook to supercede the knitting needles of the housewives, his was only one of the many mills that had sprung up along streams throughout the rural districts. But his proving to be a staple product and his machinery ingenious, he was able to come nearer sources of supplies and the market and removed to Hartford. Here he and his sons, Joseph M. and George W. Merrow, developed the Merrow Machine Company, turning out besides elaborately knitted and embroidered goods, sewing machines for use in making the heavier garments. After their father's death, the sons continued the development still further, with extensive market abroad as well as at home.

Patrick Garvan (1836-1912) was another who was enjoying the prime of his business career in those days. On coming from Ireland at an early age, his home was in East Hartford till 1894,

when he removed to Hartford. He had been a contractor and builder but also was interested in the paper industry. Buying out his partner in that, E. J. Carroll, he proceeded to develop the large concern on State Street and to become identified with several large mills. In East Hartford he had held positions of trust, including the treasurership of the Raymond Library, and had served in both houses of the Legislature. In Hartford he was one of the first park commissioners and later the president and had special charge of the development of Riverside Park. In 1905 the business became P. Garvan, Incorporated, with himself and his sons, Thomas F., Edward and John S., as stockholders. He was one of the incorporators of the Riverside Trust Company and a trustee of the Society for Savings. He was president of the Catholic Club and he gave the chapel at Mount St. Joseph Seminary in memory of his wife.

William Rogers (1833-1896) was one whose career was devoted to the silver-plating business which his father William and his father's brother Asa were the first to make possible. They began in Tariffville, removed thence to Meriden and then came here and formed the Rogers Brothers Manufacturing Company, out of which evolved the William Rogers Manufacturing Company. The son William went to Meriden, so the goods of the Meriden Britannia Company also bore the name of Rogers. Retiring from that concern, he went with Simpson, Hall, Miller & Co., in Wallingford in 1878, and that company used his name. After a disagreement he left there but the name yielded him \$10,000 a year. Many expensive lawsuits over the name Rogers were carried through the courts.

Ernest Cady (1842-1908), of colonial ancestry, who with R. N. and Francis A. Pratt established the great plant of Pratt & Cady, had been in mercantile business in his native town of Stafford and in Norwich and, in the Civil war had served in the navy, came to Hartford in 1878. It was four years later that the concern for making water valves and brass and iron castings located its plant on Capitol Avenue. Also Mr. Cady was director in the National Machine Company and a trustee of the Society for Savings. He was elected lieutenant governor on the democratic ticket in 1892 and was candidate for governor at the next election. He retired from manufacturing in 1898 but continued as president of the Eastern Consolidated Oil Company.

Another of the men of this period whose names live after them in the business they established was William Henry Wiley (1821-1892), who came to Hartford from his birthplace, Wakefield, Mass., while yet a lad. In the early '60s he engaged in the manufacture of shoes on Asylum Street and later founded the firm of W. H. Wiley & Son, which long was a leader in the manufacture of overgaiters, leggings and slippers. His son was J. Allen Wiley, who succeeded him as head of the concern, which eventually became Wiley, Bickford, Sweet Company, now of Worcester, Mass.

One who was especially devoted to school interests and who was chairman of the committee of the South District for twenty-eight years, during which four large buildings were put up, was Hugh Harbison (1833-1903). Of Irish birth, he came here with his family in 1849 and on the death of his father had to act as head of the little group. He went to the Colt factory in 1856, after having been clerk in a store and an employee at the Grove Car Works. Beginning as a bookkeeper he was promoted till he held the office of secretary and treasurer throughout the trying time of the Civil war and until he resigned in 1891 to devote himself to looking after his own estate, which included much realty. He was one of the founders of the First Presbyterian Church but later became affiliated with the South Church. He was a director of the Travelers and of the gas company, of which his brother, John P. Harbison, was the energetic president. Also he was a trustee of the Mechanics Savings Bank. Mayor Alexander Harbison was another brother and his partner in the grocery business.

In the early part of the decade, Jotham Goodnow (1819-1892) was succeeded in the presidency of the Aetna (fire) by William B. Clark. Mr. Goodnow, a Massachusetts man by birth, had had bank experience in Rockville and New Haven when he came here to accept the secretaryship of the Aetna. On the death of Lucius J. Hendee he was made president.

William B. Clark (1841-1927) was the son of A. N. Clark, for forty years owner of the *Courant*. After graduating at Gallup's College Green School on Trinity Street, Mr. Clark began his insurance career with the Phoenix Fire Insurance Company in 1857 and became secretary in 1863. In 1867 he was called to the position of assistant secretary in the Aetna. When Secretary Goodnow

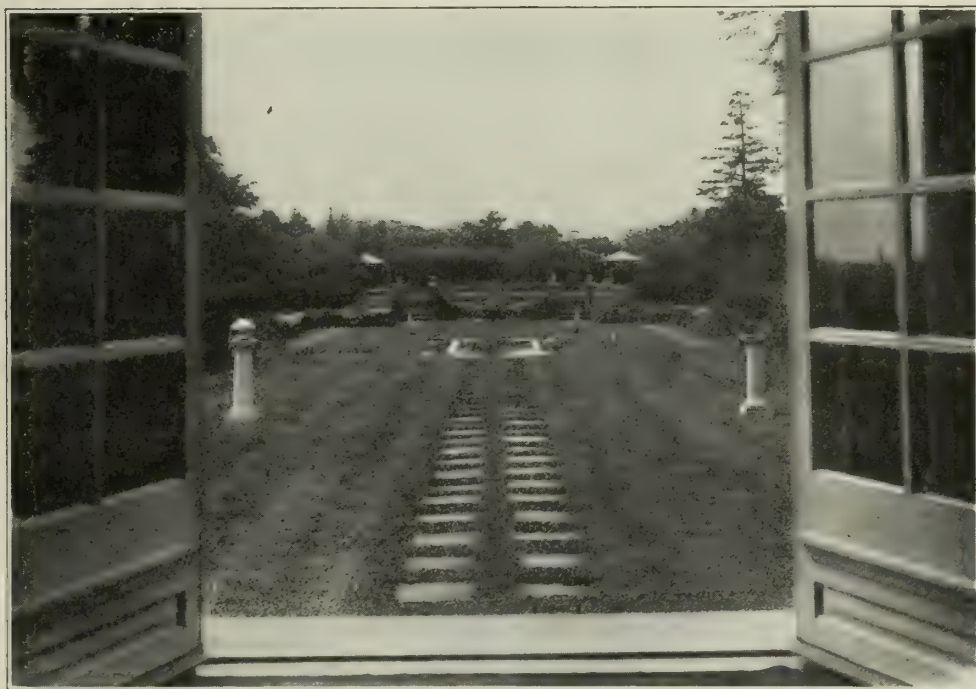
was made president in 1888, Mr. Clark was chosen secretary and in 1892 he succeeded to the presidency. This record of seventy years in fire insurance, at the time of his death in 1927, was the longest of any official then in the business. Few could boast of so large a circle of friends. He served as water commissioner nine years and his council was sought in many civic affairs. He also had held the position of president of the National Board of Fire Underwriters and at his death was the oldest director of the Travelers. He evinced particular interest in the Hartford Retreat and the Hartford Hospital.

The medical profession and the social life of the city suffered a severe loss in the death of Dr. W. A. M. Wainwright (1844-1894) in 1894—an indirect result of alarm caused by frequent burglaries. In talking with friends at the club about the number and boldness of the burglaries, the doctor declared that it seemed to be necessary for every man to get his revolver in shape to meet intruders. That afternoon he took out of its case a long-neglected revolver to clean it. Apparently an old cartridge in it jammed and he was fatally wounded. He was the son of Bishop Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright of New York. After graduating at Trinity College he studied medicine and became one of the most eminent and esteemed physicians in Hartford, winning high honors in the medical associations and in hospital work. He was surgeon on the staff of the Governor's Foot Guard. His wife, Helene Bartlett Talcott, was a descendant of Governor Haynes and of Governor Talcott; indeed, there were eight governors among the ancestors. His son, Jonathan M. Wainwright, an officer in the Spanish war, became an eminent surgeon in Scranton, Pa.; another son, Capt. Philip S., served in the World war and is now captain of Troop C and lives in Hartford with his sister, Mabel Wyllys Wainwright, on Forest Street, their residence standing on ground that was allotted to Governor Haynes as one of the original proprietors.

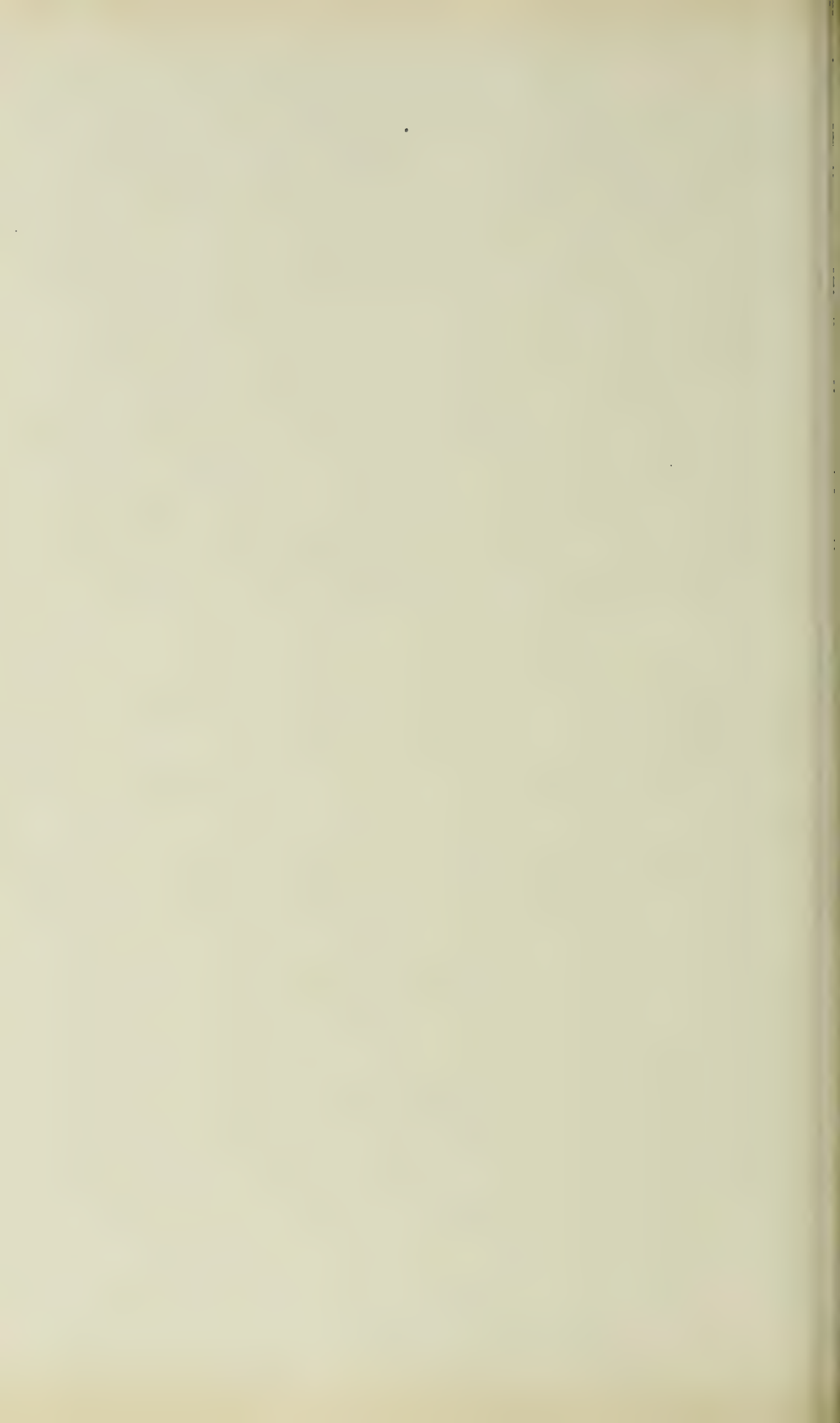
Dr. Charles W. Stiles, who lived here several years, a son of Samuel M. Stiles, secretary of Morgan G. Bulkeley, was among those who were to contribute much to make the close of the century the beginning of a remarkable era for mastering disease. Born in Spring Valley, N. Y., in 1867, he came to Hartford to live at an early age. After a year at Wesleyan University, he



RESIDENCE OF DR. GEORGE C. F. WILLIAMS, HARTFORD



ITALIAN GARDENS OF DR. GEORGE C. F. WILLIAMS, HARTFORD
Showing Pool, Pergola, Sunken Road and Terrace



went to the College de France in 1886 and thence to other institutions of learning on the Continent, which honored him with degrees as did also the American institutions on his return to this country. In 1896 he was the youngest man to receive the distinction of election to the French Academy of Medicine. He lectured in the leading medical schools, did research work for the government, was scientific attache at the embassy at Berlin, and as scientific secretary of the Rockefeller Commission for the Eradication of the Hook-Worm Disease (1909-1914), he practically changed conditions of life in the South, even as other scientists were changing them in Cuba and Panama. At his home in Washington he takes time to write books and reports which are invaluable contributions to zoology.

Among the more prominent men at the bar, four may be named as representing the types of the judiciary, in the forensic disputation, in corporation practice and in fiduciary trust and public service. William Hamersley was imbued with the qualities of all these types. He was born in 1838, the son of William J. Hamersley, at one time editor of the *American Mercury*. He studied at Trinity and at Harvard Law School and began practice in 1859. In 1863 he was councilman, and president of the board in 1867. He was city attorney when he was appointed state's attorney, which position he held twenty years. In 1878 he was on the committee that framed the practice act, in 1886 he was chosen representative on the democratic ticket, and in 1893 he was appointed to the Supreme Court, where he remained till he reached the age limit. He lectured on constitutional law at Trinity, of the trustees of which college he was a member. He received there the degrees of M. A. and LL. D. He was one of the founders of the Connecticut Bar Association and took part in forming the American Bar Association. When the State Library and Supreme Court Building was turned over to the state, he was one of the State Library Committee.

William C. Case (1836-1901) was of Granby birth, son of Dr. Jairus Case, and was graduated at Yale in 1857. His son, William S. Case, likewise a Yale graduate and also a man of marked literary ability, followed him in the profession of law. The firm of Case, Bryant & Case was doing a large business when it was dissolved on the youngest member's being appointed judge

of the Court of Common Pleas. William C. Case had an office in New Haven for twelve years but spent most of his time here. Elected as a democrat, he was representative from Simsbury in 1869 and 1870, and elected as a republican, he was representative from Granby in 1881 and 1884, serving as speaker in the former year. In 1902 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention. William S. Case rose to be justice of the Supreme Court, continuing till his death in 1921.

Theodore M. Maltbie (1842-1915) began practicing law in Granby, going thence to Thompsonville and then coming to Hartford, where he formed a partnership with Charles H. Briscoe and later with William C. Case and Percy S. Bryant. In his later years his son was in partnership with him under the name of Maltbie & Maltbie. He was representative from Granby twice and was state senator and member of the Constitutional Convention. In 1871 he was deputy insurance commissioner. Mr. Maltbie's son, William M. Maltbie, was graduated at Yale in 1901. He rose rapidly in his profession and was appointed a justice on the Supreme Court bench in 1925. Among other positions of honor which he has held is that of private secretary to Governor Holcomb.

John Caldwell Parsons (1832-1898) was a son of Judge Francis Parsons, long prominent in the middle part of the century. He was named after Maj. John Caldwell, a leader in the formative days at the beginning of the century. At Yale he was graduated with the class of '55 and after studying law he entered the office of his distinguished great-uncle, Chief Justice Thomas S. Williams. Developing his corporation practice, he became, like his father, a councilor in insurance matters and trust organizations. He was president of the Society for Savings and director in insurance and trust companies and also in the School for the Deaf and the Industrial School for Girls. As a member of the First Church, he gave many evidences of his devotion to its work. He presented the memorial windows in honor of Major Caldwell, Reverend Doctor Hawes and Chief Justice Williams. In 1875-77 he was major commanding the Governor's Foot Guard. He was the father of Col. Francis Parsons, vice chairman of the board of the Hartford National Bank and Trust Company.

John H. Brocklesby, Trinity '65, was a son of Prof. John Brocklesby of that college, was for twenty-five years a practicing



JOHN C. PARSONS
(1832-1898)



PARSONS THEATRE, HARTFORD



lawyer, for a considerable time superintendent of schools and, appointed by President Cleveland, succeeded Ezra B. Bailey of Windsor Locks as collector of the port.

In insurance, banking and social circles, the loss was deeply felt of Edward M. Bunce in 1896. He had entered the employ of the Phoenix National Bank when his father, John L. Bunce, was president of it, and had become cashier when he was chosen secretary of the Connecticut Mutual Insurance Company, where his success and popularity had made him a prominent figure.

Occasion to review the excellent work the Hartford Public High School was made when Principal Joseph Hall died at his post. No secondary school in the country stood higher. Most of the sons desiring to fit for college went to the school in those days before private schools had gained fame and numbers and before the overcrowding of the local school had changed history. Mr. Hall, who had come to the school in 1863 and had been vice principal, until, on the death of Samuel M. Capron, he had succeeded to the principalship in 1874 and was not made emeritus till 1893, had signed 1,041 diplomas, or an average of about sixty each year, which in that day was a proud figure. Mr. Hall was born in Ashfield, Mass., in 1828, in the ninth generation from Elder Brewster, and was graduated at Williams College in 1849. Brown and Trinity gave him the degree of M. A. He taught in several places, including the Connecticut Literary Institution, before coming to Hartford. While here he served on city commissions and in other ways evinced his interest in public affairs. He was the father of Dr. Joseph B. Hall, medical director of the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company.

Charles L. Brace, who died in 1890, was one whose career brought credit to the home of his childhood. His father, J. P. Brace, a well known educator and writer, came here from Litchfield and for a time was editor of the *Courant*. The son was graduated at Yale in 1846 and went abroad to make special study of reformatory institutions and all practical charities. On his return he founded institutions in New York, including the Children's Aid Society. He died in Switzerland.

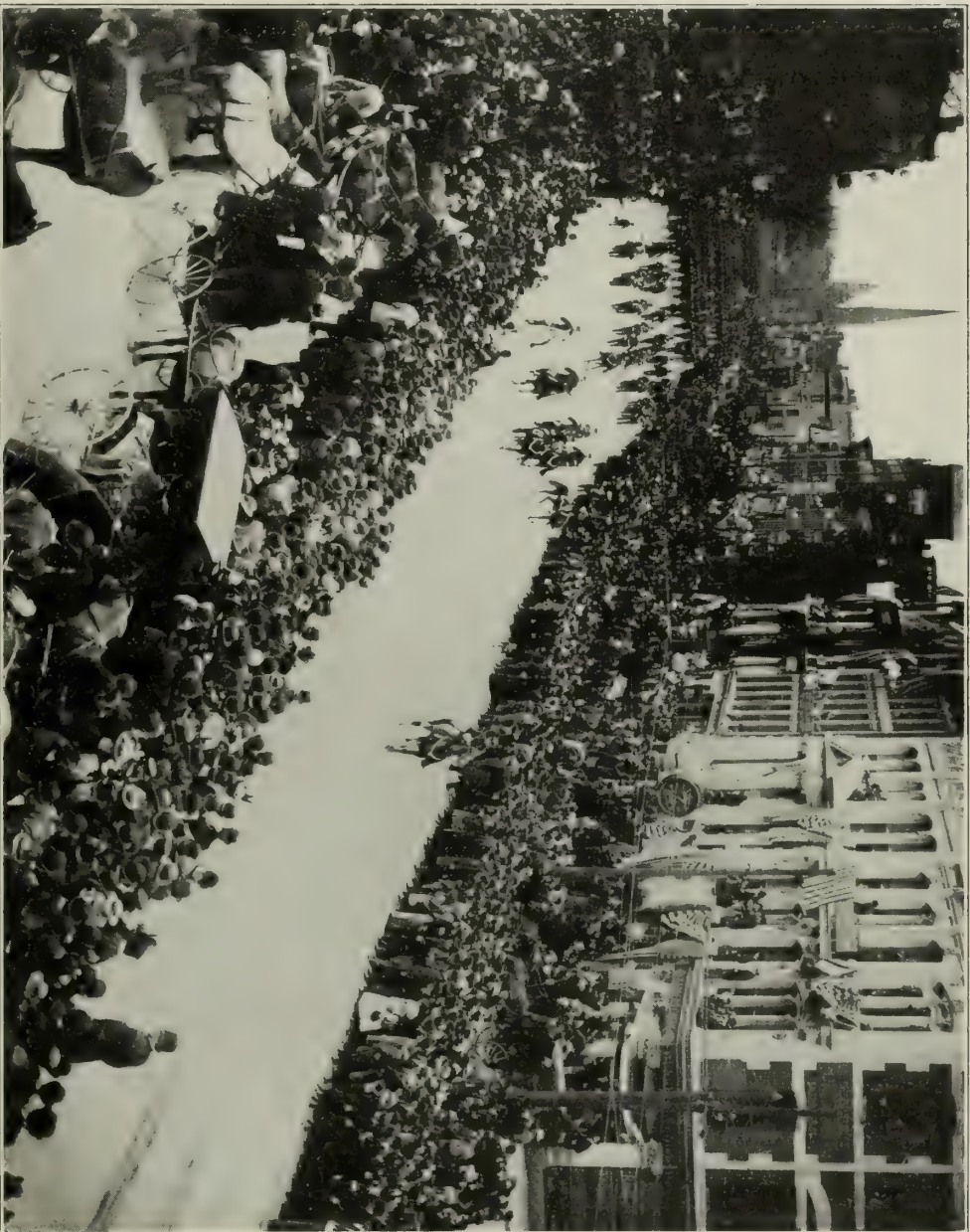
XXXIV

WHEN THE "MAINE" WAS SUNK

CRITICAL PERIOD OF UNREST—SUDDEN CONCEPTION OF WIDER HORIZON
AND EXPANSION—HARTFORD COUNTY REGIMENT'S CALL TO DUTY.

This running story of the last two decades of the nineteenth century, with portraits of men, best presents the general conditions with which the remarkable twentieth century was to open. The set-back to the country's "Silver Kings" and the re-establishment of a better monetary basis and at the same time the over-developing combines in industry and the wild financing of some of the railroads had added fuel to the flame of sectionalism rather than otherwise. Cartoonists in the daily press had come in to sting. Especially were they adding bitterness to political contests and, through the so-called "Hearst papers"—of which the *New York Journal* was then the only one of fame—were stirring to frenzy the more excitable element against the "bloated capitalists"; the seeds were being sown industriously for the assassination of President McKinley. The cry was that the rich were getting richer and the poor poorer, and the Federal Senate in particular seemed to be regardless of what any possible grounds for such criticism might mean. Now the cry of the West was that New England, which with men and capital had done so much to build it up, was narrow-minded, selfish, provincial,—a cry that has not yet subsided. The South, while enjoying the benefits of northern capital, abominated the protective tariff and the talk of "infant industries;" its citizens were still sensitive, still dreaming of the old plantation days—still setting the example in hospitality especially for bodies like the First Regiment, C. N. G., the Governor's Foot Guard and the Putnam Phalanx, always messengers of good will when they went on their southern excursions.

Undoubtedly it was the period to try to capture the dollar so long elusive; undoubtedly there was jealousy and envy even in a community like that which we have been studying; therefore undoubtedly it was a time, under a free government, when the lower



FIRST INFANTRY, CONNECTICUT NATIONAL GUARD, LEAVING HARTFORD TO MUSTER IN AS
FIRST CONNECTICUT VOLUNTEER INFANTRY, FOR SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, MAY 4, 1898
Passing reviewing stand (left) at old State House. On right—first pillared building, the Phoenix National
Bank; second pillared building, the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company

passions could be aroused—a time when effort could be perhaps too eager and when the slower-moving could nourish disgust. For such a period in a nation's history, one is likely to get an exaggerated notion if first he has not taken, here and there, a cross-section of an individual town to study, especially a town in an old agricultural region where industry, invention, art, the church and humanitarianism work together.

At best—it must not be forgotten in this analysis—there was little thought in the nation, in the county, about anything outside the United States. Practically the last acre of “home” soil had been taken up or was being put in reserve for some purpose inscrutable to the average man; the whirl was all within the old boundaries. There was, generally, only a mild interest in, let one say, what Spain was doing in Cuba. The newspapers had not adopted screaming headlines; one had to read unilluminated columns to get the news; magazines and weeklies were still comparatively few, and special writers, well informed, were only beginning to coax the public appetite, much less create the hunger that characterizes the present day.

One morning, February 16, 1898, the *Courant* came from the press with a heavy two-column headline over a “double-ledged” dispatch that the pride of the new navy, the battleship *Maine*, had been blown up at 10 o'clock the previous evening in Havana harbor, with 800 officers and men aboard her. The first words of the commanding officer, Captain Sigsby, were: “Withhold judgment till we can investigate.” Thousands of that morning's readers throughout the state hurled anathemas at the publishers; they had exploited a fake, for such a thing could not be, and when readers rushed for the New York papers that came in on the early train, there was not a line about this in them. Before later editions arrived, the *Courant* office was beset with indignant citizens who, as the old saying was, considered the *Courant* as next to their Bible.

The explosion which took such heavy toll was from the outside. And America for nearly a hundred years had given no thought to peril from the outside. The week's flurry over the publication of a stolen letter in a Cuban paper, in which the Spanish minister De Lome had criticised President McKinley, had just subsided, with De Lome's resignation. The government had pressed its representations to a limit beyond which it was unthinkable that

such a powerful nation would have to go. That was the judgment of most of those who had read the papers at all. Now the marching song of "Cuba Libre" was heard in the streets. America had entered upon an era of expansion, brief though it was to be.

Of course, following precedent, the nation was wholly unprepared for war, except that the sailors did know considerable about gunnery, thanks to the persistence of Theodore Roosevelt, assistant secretary of the navy. Soldiers were few, equipment was scanty. Lessons taught by previous wars and the Indian campaigns had been forgotten the day after. In certain of the states, as in Connecticut, a national guard had been brought to fair state of efficiency while in others the chief object had been unique costuming, balls and convivial excursions. The efforts of leading guardsmen to have the government take hold and build up a uniform and dependable "second line of defense" was not to appeal to Congress till some years later.

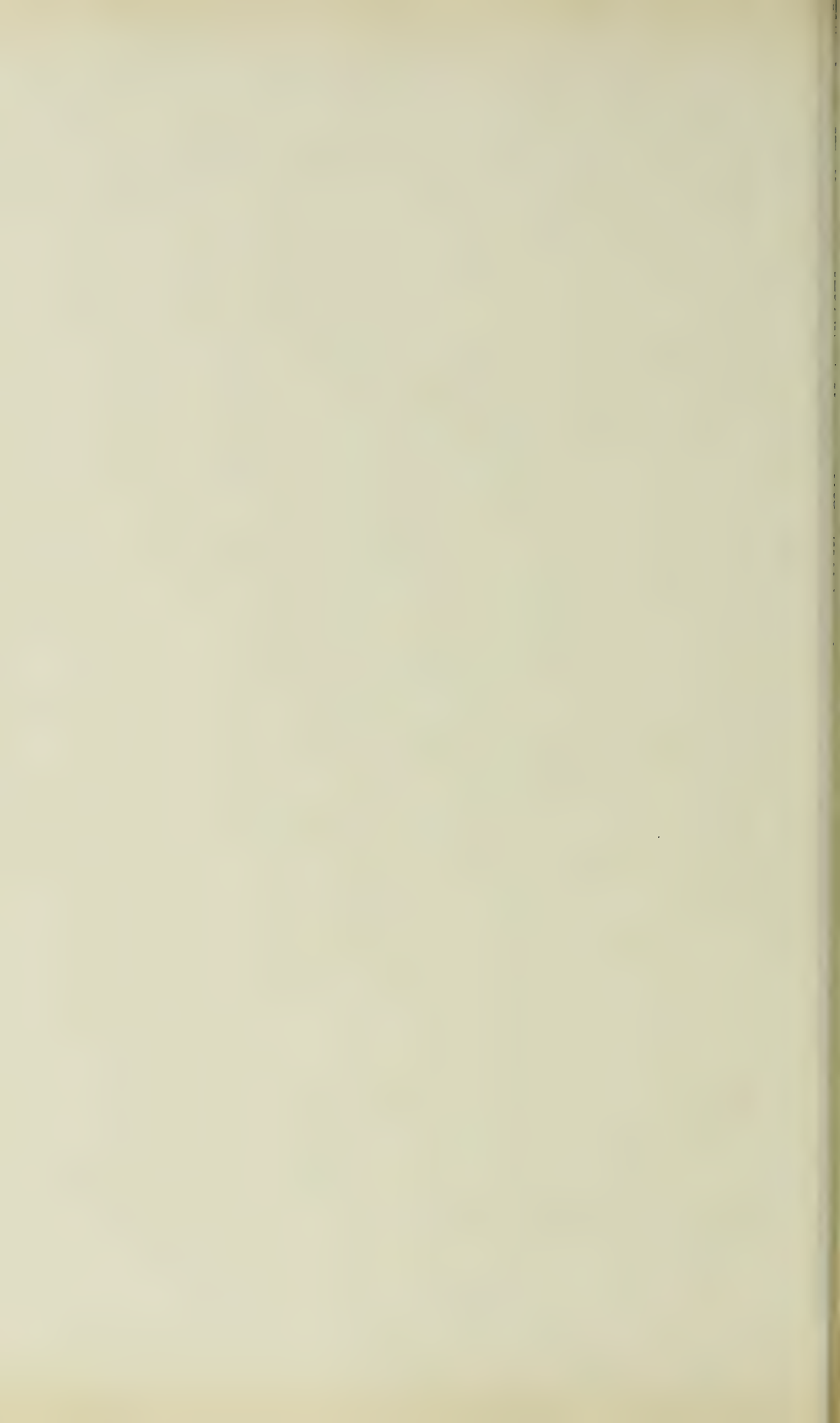
Connecticut had two good regiments of ten companies each, and two medium regiments, a light battery and the beginnings of a naval militia, organized two years previously; also a signal corps. The regular establishment called for twelve companies to a regiment, in three battalions. Throughout the country, there was lack of uniformity in many other particulars. State troops, in which the Government had no interest whatever, further than making observations, could be called out by the President only for defensive duty, and then for a period not to exceed three months. Nationally there had been little advance beyond the conditions of 1812, but many of the states had gone forward, independently and peculiarly. And among these brief riot duty had been the main thought; consequently there had been no discrimination against men with families dependent upon them, nor yet against those who physically could not endure extensive field service. And it was upon such organizations—not by right to take because of having helped train, but purely as volunteers for a brief period, precisely as Washington had to get his—President McKinley must now depend to eke out his little body of regular soldiers. There was grievous maladministration in that short war, as naturally as in any of its predecessors.

In all, the President called for 200,000 such volunteers, on a hastily devised plan by which they should come in as organized at home, having been granted furloughs from their states for two



COL. CHARLES L. BURDETT

Commander First Connecticut Volunteer Infantry in Spanish-American War; acting brigade commander. Killed in a fire in New York, 1902



years. At the first call, for one infantry regiment and artillery, April 28, the First and Second regiments were ready, with maximum strength. Col. Charles L. Burdett of the First, being the ranking colonel of the brigade, the Hartford County regiment was chosen by Governor Cooke in a competition which was vigorous. As time was taken by Adj.-Gen. George Haven to put the state camp ground at Niantic in good condition, the troops did not report there till May 4. The regiment's departure from Hartford, escorted by the Grand Army posts, the Foot Guard, and the Putnam Phalanx, through the most crowded streets Hartford ever had seen, was made a memorable occasion. The Common Council adopted patriotic resolutions and voted \$500 for band instruments for the regiment. Cheney Brothers of South Manchester gave each volunteer from their employ—as nearly all the members of Company G were—an insurance policy for \$2,000; Colonel Pope gave his men policies for \$1,000, and all the local concerns held positions open to the men against their return within reasonable time.

When physical examinations made it necessary to recruit 20 per cent more, and when on May 25 came the second call for expansion to twelve companies of 106 men each, difficulty was encountered. The Danbury company of the Fourth Regiment and a company raised in Meriden were assigned to the First, but still many recruits were needed. A large proportion of the men in the old regiment were skilled artisans and mechanics; those who were single remained with the colors; those who had dependents were freely excused. To fill the quota it was necessary to take many men with no training. Many were eager to improve the opportunity, but here as around the country it was found at this critical moment that men whose judgment had been respected were intimating to possible recruits that, in a cause like this—not very imperative, it was just as well to let the “other fellow” leave his position if he had any and shoulder the gun. The rosters of the twelve companies reveal the presence of many members of the oldest families and also of many of foreign birth or descent; in one company a number of the men could speak English with difficulty. Dewey's victory at Manila seemed to promise an early ending of the war. Outside of the National Guard, enthusiasm was more or less superficial; the lack of preparedness and the painful inefficiency of the Government's military system were

depressing. It is well that history record the facts that proper comparison may be made with 1917.

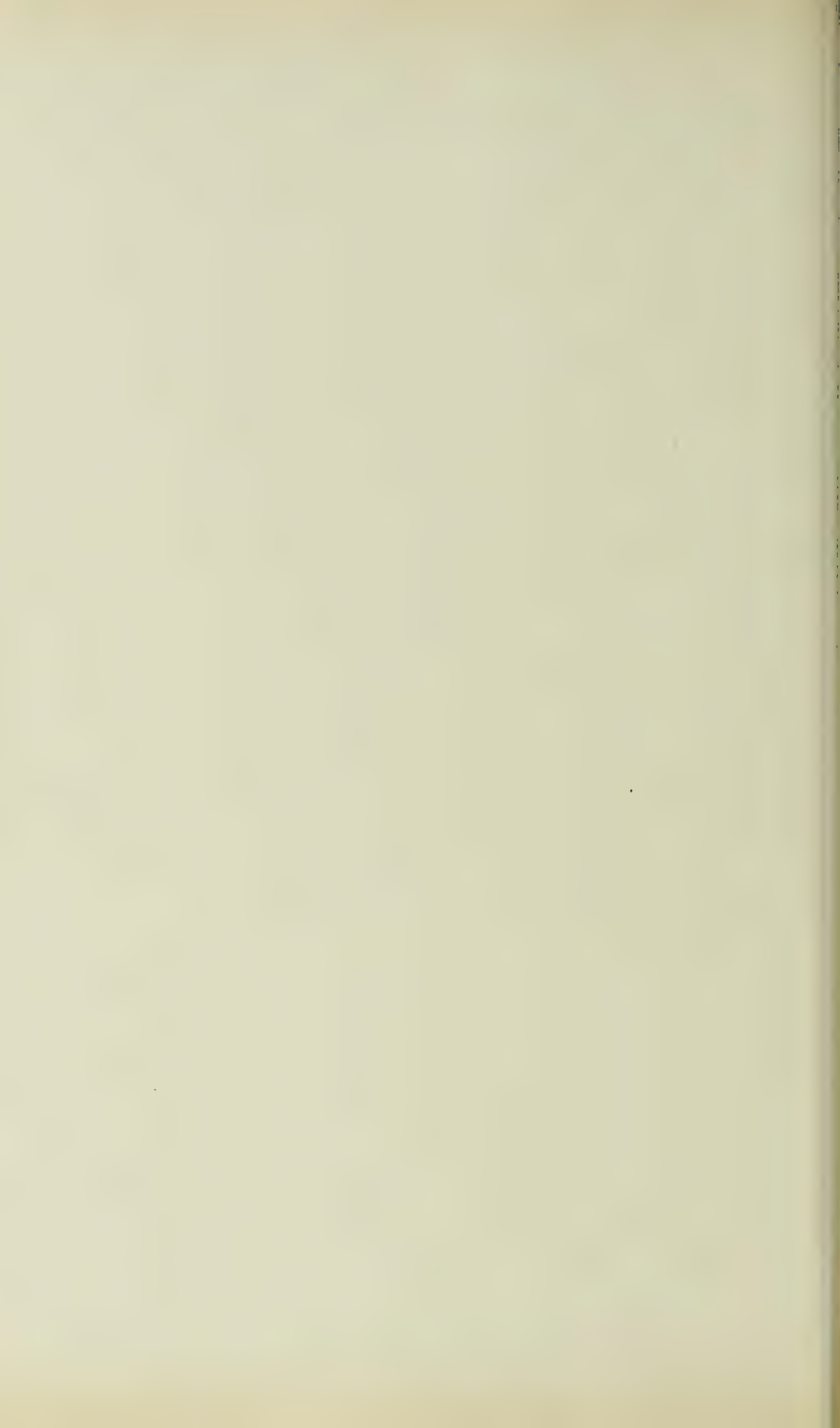
The regiment was mustered in May 17 and 18, after days of almost continuous snow and rain. The whereabouts of Cervera's fleet being unknown, panic seized dwellers along the Atlantic coast. The regiment was broken up for duty from Maine to Long Island. Capt. Andrew G. Hammond, a Hartford man, graduate of West Point and captain in the Eighth United States Cavalry, was made lieutenant-colonel in place of Henry S. Redfield, who was compelled to resign because of physical disability. The companies were dispatched as follows: C to Fort Constitution, New Hampshire; F and K to Fort Preble, Portland, Me.; E and I to Plum Island; B to Gull Island; the remaining companies and headquarters to Fort Knox, Bucksport, Me. (on June 10), where, on July 4, Alderman Hansling and Councilman Countryman, on behalf of the Hartford Common Council, presented a stand of silk colors. The hardships of making camps in rough places, without proper tools and with tents that were rotten, were lightened by the jokes that were heard over the fact that there was not a round of ammunition in New England except what Lieutenant-Colonel Redfield had bought with the pay that had been given him, nor a fortification worthy of the name. Foundations for fortifications were being dug at Plum and Gull islands. Prof. W. Lisenard Robb of Trinity College, electrical expert of the Hartford Electric Light Company, had been called by the Government in charge of submarine defense in the Sound and to supervise the laying of signal wires.

Though Washington knew there would be no need of it, Colonel Burdett resorted to every means to have the regiment reassembled and removed to a point nearer Cuba. In this he was finally successful and the regiment went to Camp Alger, near Washington, July 18—1,362 officers and men, assigned to the First Division, Second Army Corps. An early trip to Porto Rico was counted upon, but vainly. Bad sanitary conditions compelled removal of camp to Dunn Loring, Camp Alger, on higher ground, but with only one pump for the regiment and for the Third Virginia, soon joined by the other regiments of the First Division. There was only one small stream for bathing. Heat was unmerciful, tents small and few, and many slept in the old cornfield furrows. The very day, August 2, that Colonel Burdett



BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD SCHULZE

Fifty-four years in federal and state military service. Private, U. S. A., 1867; held successive commissions in C. N. G. to Brigadier General by special act of Legislature in 1907; retired in 1921



was assuming command of the Second Brigade, in compliance with orders, the War Department was ordering new formations (the First in the Fifth Brigade), to go with General Wade to Porto Rico. Before the expedition could be prepared, or on August 12, the protocol was signed and there was to be no more fighting.

The excitement abating, even rugged constitutions yielded to the general attack of typhoid fever. In a few days hospitals were so overcrowded that Connecticut victims were sent to the Hartford Hospital. Late in August it came the turn of the regiment to prepare for muster out. Because of the prevalence of typhoid, a thirty days' furlough was ordered and then the command was sent to Niantic for change of climate. After a thirty days' leave, it was mustered out at Hartford and New Britain October 31, demoralized by the fever, for which many men were being nursed in the Hartford and New Britain hospitals.

The tour of Federal duty ended, the regiment, with numbers reduced to peace footing, was returned to the National Guard. As the state was unable to uniform and equip it, there were no drills till the following May. On the 18th of that month, a field day was held in Colt's Meadows, with a parade in the afternoon and the presentation of the colors to Governor P. C. Lounsbury to be placed in Battle-Flag Corridor.

Colonel Burdett resigned in November, with a strong tinge of reproach in his letter to the regiment for the way the command had been treated by the Government, and was succeeded by Maj. Edward Schulze. Colonel Schulze served with such efficiency that on his retirement in 1907 he was given the rank of brigadier-general by special act of the Legislature. Col. John Hickey of South Manchester, who had seen service in the Philippines after the Spanish war, succeeded him. Colonel Burdett, who lost his life in a hotel fire in New York in 1902, was at one time a partner of Congressman Simonds and afterwards had his own office, dealing mostly in patent law. He was active in politics and served in the Common Council. He joined the National Guard (Company K) in 1880 and was made engineer and signal officer of the brigade in 1883 and colonel in 1892, succeeding Charles B. Erichson of New Britain. Also he was one of the most prominent wheelmen of the state. He was born in Nantucket, Mass., in 1848.

General Schulze came to this country from Germany at an early age and served in the United States Army on the plains, after which he made his home in Hartford, as a carpenter and builder, later supervisor of that line of work at the Capitol. Joining Company A of the First in 1872, he served continuously until his complete retirement in 1921. After his retirement from the coloneley, he continued as inspector-general, then as assistant adjutant-general. In the World war he was General Burpee's chief of staff, and at his retirement he was again assistant adjutant-general. The length of record of military service is said to be unexcelled in the United States.

The headquarters and company commanders of the First Connecticut Volunteer Infantry in the Spanish war were:

Colonel, Charles L. Burdett; lieutenant-colonel, Andrew G. Hammond; majors, John Hickey (South Manchester), Edward Schulze; adjutant, Jonathan M. Wainwright; quartermaster, Arthur H. Bronson; battalion adjutants, Patrick J. Cosgrove, Frank E. Johnson; surgeon, Thomas F. Rockwell (Rockville); assistant surgeons, Richard S. Griswold (killed later in the Philippines), John B. McCook; chaplain, Henry H. Kelsey. Capt. Charles W. Burpee, retired, as volunteer aid, acted as instructor of the guard during the period in Niantic.

Captains of companies: A, James C. Bailey; B, John F. Moran; C, Martin Laubscher (Rockville); D, Sidney M. Leonard (New Britain); E, Abraham L. Hauerwas (New Britain); F, Charles W. Newton; G, Joel M. Nichols (South Manchester); H, William E. Mahoney; I, Charles H. Moore (New Britain); K, Herbert H. Saunders; L, Charles B. Bowen (Meriden); M, Vincent M. King (Danbury).

Albert P. Day of Hartford did excellent work at Niantic as commissary-general on the governor's staff.

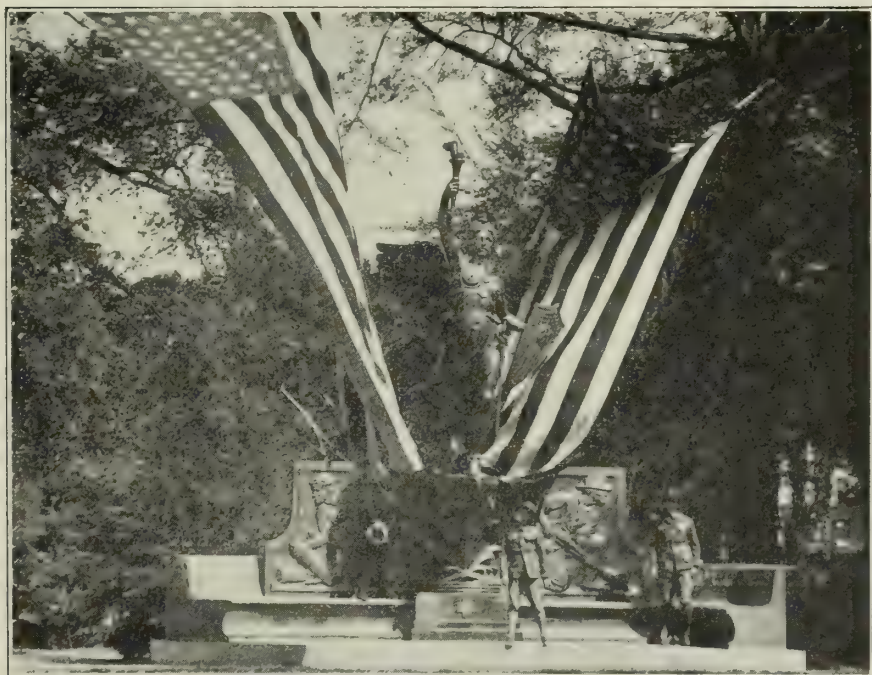
The First Division and Engineer Division (New Haven) and the Second Division (Hartford) of the Naval Battalion assembled at Niantic June 6 and 108 enlisted men were taken into the service. All the officers received commissions in the navy, one of them with rank higher than in the militia. The men were assigned to the *U. S. S. Minnesota* at Boston till mustered out in October. Of the Hartford officers, Lieut. Felton Parker was detailed with Lieutenant Commander Arthur H. Day of New Haven to go with the men; Lieut. (J. G.) Herman F. Cuntz and Ensigns



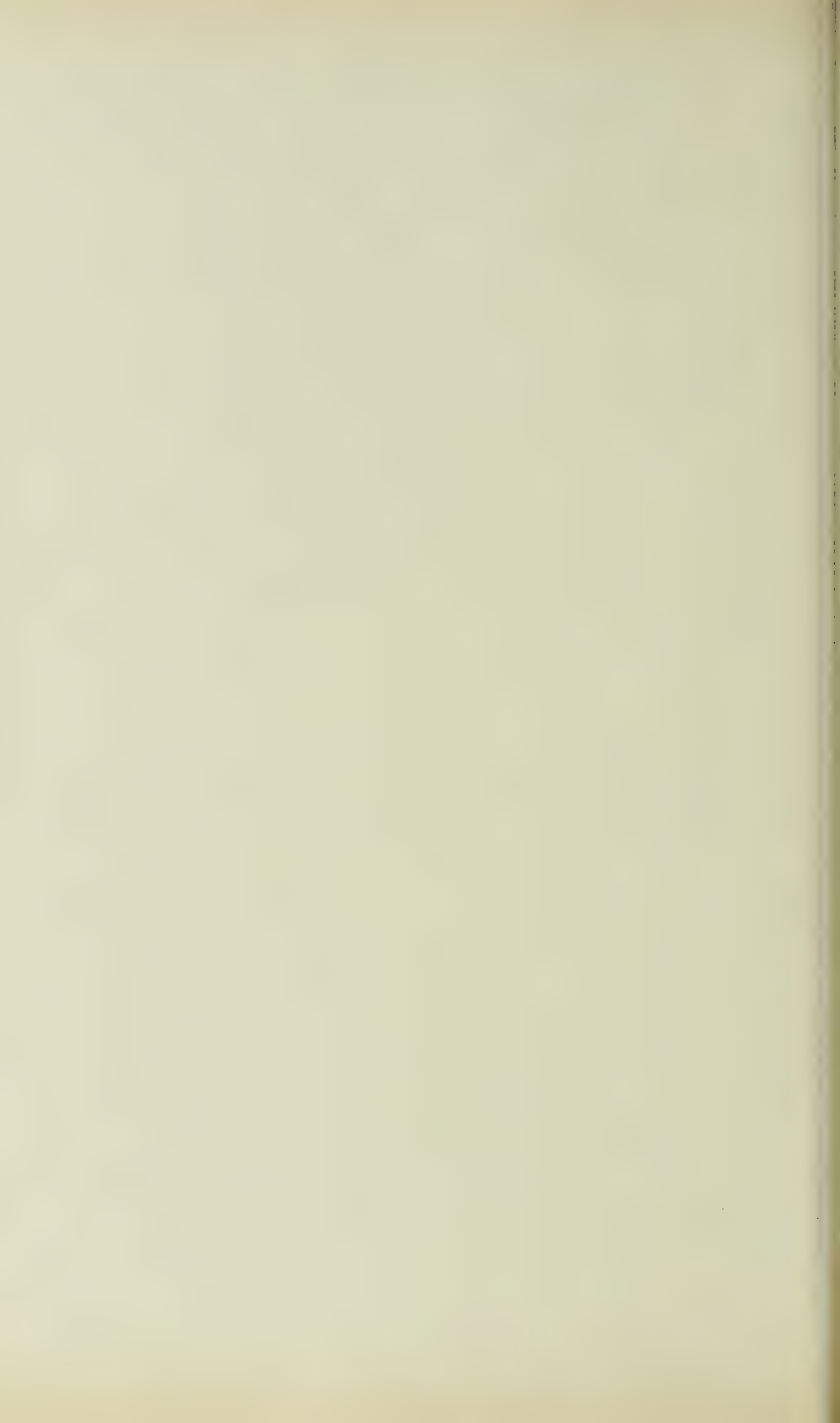
(Courtesy 43d Div. A. S.)

BRIGADIER GENERAL GEORGE M. COLE

Enlisted in National Guard in 1884; Lieutenant Colonel Fourth U. S. V. Infantry in Spanish-American War; Adjutant General of the state since 1901



UNVEILING SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR MEMORIAL, BUSHNELL PARK,
HARTFORD, MAY 22, 1927



Louis F. Middlebrook and Lyman Root were detailed respectively to the *Sylvia*, the *Enquirer* (and the monitor *Jason*), the *Elfrida* (and the *Rainbow*). Quartermaster Walter H. Allen as cadet served on the *Dolphin*.

Officers of the National Guard in volunteer service, at large, were: Col. Lucien F. Burpee (Second Regiment), later a resident of Hartford, on staffs successively of Major-General Miles in Porto Rico, Major-General Wilson in organizing the Army of Occupation of Cuba, honorably mentioned for distinguished service in Cuba; Lieut.-Col. George M. Cole (Third Regiment), later a resident of Hartford, lieutenant-colonel Fourth U. S. V. I. (Immunes) in Cuba; Capt. William C. Dwight, major and paymaster, U. S. V.; Maj. John Hickey, South Manchester, captain U. S. V. I., Philippines, to 1901; Assistant Surgeon R. S. Griswold, assistant surgeon Twenty-sixth U. S. V. I., in the Philippines, major surgeon 1901, killed in action 1901; Capt. Howard A. Giddings (Brigade Signal Corps), captain U. S. Volunteer Signal Corps, acting chief signal corps officer, Seventh Army Corps; Lieut. Philip E. Fairfield (Brigade Signal Corps), sergeant-major Signal Corps Battalion, Seventh Army Corps, died at Jacksonville, Fla.; Corp. Theodore Gruener, First Regiment, Company K, second lieutenant Forty-sixth U. S. V. I. in the Philippines.

One of the noblest types of the volunteer soldier was Ward Cheney of South Manchester, who went out as a private in Company G of South Manchester, passed examinations and became a lieutenant in the regulars and was first lieutenant and acting adjutant of the Twenty-sixth, U. S. A., when he was killed in the Philippines in 1901. He had graduated with high honors at Yale in 1896 and had a brilliant career before him when he enlisted in the ranks.

First Lieut. Walter G. Penfield of East Berlin was also in the regulars. Maj. James B. Houston of Thompsonville was in the Paymaster's Department, and John K. Bissland of Enfield was paymaster's clerk in that department. A number of the county men served in army or navy in the campaigning after the war, and several were in the expedition to put down the Boxer uprising in China.

In the navy were Rear Admiral Francis M. Bunce, who had served since 1862, and Lieut.-Commander Harry S. Knapp of

Hartford and Lieut. Roger Welles, Jr., of Berlin. Robert W. Huntington of Hartford, serving since 1861, was colonel of marines. William Sheffield Cowles of Farmington was commander—naval aide to the President at the close of the war. In the army Col. James B. Burbank was serving. He was born in 1838, son of David Burbank of Hartford. Late in the Civil war, in which he was adjutant of the Twentieth Connecticut and received brevet of major for bravery at Gettysburg, he went into the regular artillery. In 1904 he was promoted to be brigadier-general.

Burdett Camp, No. 4, United Spanish War Veterans, organized in 1902, was to keep alive the memories of that distressful summer, and in May, 1927, one of the most beautiful memorials in New England was to be placed in Bushnell Park near the Capitol. A city commission, with an appropriation of \$25,000, had the matter in charge. Evelyn B. Longman Batchelder of Windsor was the sculptor. An exceptionally forceful and graceful bronze figure, the "Spirit of Hartford," wings extended, stands on the prow of a vessel suggestive of the marine victories, which rests upon a marble semicircular base on which are sculptured appropriate figures. The address on that occasion was by Dr. Orestes Ferrera y Marin, the Cuban ambassador. President Archibald A. Welch of the park board presided. The unveiling was by Mrs. Nathaniel G. Valentine, wife of the war captain of Company K, who recently had died.

XXXV

PHYSICAL FORCES OF NEW CENTURY

LEADERS IN DEVELOPMENT OF ELECTRICAL POWER AND DEVICES—
TRANSFORMATIONS WROUGHT—INSURANCE AND ITS CAPABLE MEN.

Throughout the nation, the quick subsidence of the patriotic flame of '98 was due to sundry reasons which do not greatly concern the Hartford County entity, where through it all there had been a more even keel. One reason, however, there was in common. The scientific and industrial items at the century's close were coming together at what we see now was an astonishing rate to make the opening of the new century even a greater epoch than was dreamed of by those whose trumpets blared and bells rang in the first hours of it. The war had been an interruption to the gathering of mighty forces of progress which could not be delayed for a discussion of the aftermath. Dewey's achievement was relegated, except for history, and the money refunded for the noble arch to be erected in his memory in New York; Bryan's recrudescence brought forth another "sound-money" demonstration, but his real attack this time was upon "imperial expansion," which was something to become less and less a subject of conversation in Congress and by the fireside as time wore on; the impulse was for internal expansion in the new ways hitherto not conceived of. One happy effect of the unpreparedness and the volunteer system of the war was the demonstration of a truly united North and South, an effect most encouraging to internal expansion.

The horseless era already ushered in, the new century was to witness the full dawn of electrical power, the mightiest of all the forces of material progress. And thanks largely to Austin C. Dunham, this city was to continue one of the foremost in the progress, one which demonstrated possibilities of its own conception and one to which scientists turned for experimentation with their conceptions.

This narrative has touched upon items in the early development, cherished a few years later because of their primitiveness. Mr. Dunham had been referred to by his associates in bank and industrial directorates as a dreamer and had smiled, as though conscious of what he should see with his own eyes. It was as though he beheld not only the transformation of night into day and of limited shops into constantly expanding factories, but also the scores of shops that inventive geniuses would create to meet the many individual requirements of the new power. As President Angell of Yale summarizes it from the layman's standpoint, "The story of electricity in modern life is a romance unequalled in history."

Mr. Dunham (1833-1917), born in South Coventry in 1833, son of Austin Dunham, who was interested in the cotton business and who brought his family here in 1835, eventually building the homestead on Prospect Street which was torn down in 1911 to make way for the Morgan Memorial, was a profound student of economics and public affairs. On his mother's side he was descended from Judge Jesse Root, who figures so prominently in the history of the late eighteenth century. With his father in the cotton business, he continued till the dissolution of the concern and also was in the wool business. When he bought the electric light company it was a bankrupt concern and wise men shook their heads. William Wallace of Ansonia had built the first dynamo in this country in 1875 and had made the first arc light. Attempts by the local company to utilize the ideas which were the subject of ridicule were unsuccessful when in 1881 Mr. Dunham turned his mind to it, a charter was obtained and \$20,000 was subscribed by such eminent citizens as Morgan G. Bulkeley, Leverett Brainard, George S. Gilman, H. P. Frost, C. B. Erwin and Henry Stanley of New Britain, Burdett Loomis, H. C. Judd, J. H. Root and Sylvester C. Dunham. They had faith in Mr. Dunham and made him president of the company, an office he was to hold for thirty remarkable years. In 1883 the capital of the company was increased to \$80,000. It was six years after that before commercial lighting was added to street lighting.

Several of Mr. Dunham's friends will recall the evening they and their wives were invited to his home on Prospect Street for dinner and to behold the effect of a house completely lighted by electricity. The guests were enjoying the occasion to the full

when in a twinkling they were plunged in utter darkness. Undismayed by the chaff and imperturbable as ever, Mr. Dunham telephoned a single word to the "trouble department" and the chaffing gave place to still greater astonishment over the quick restoration of every light to duty.

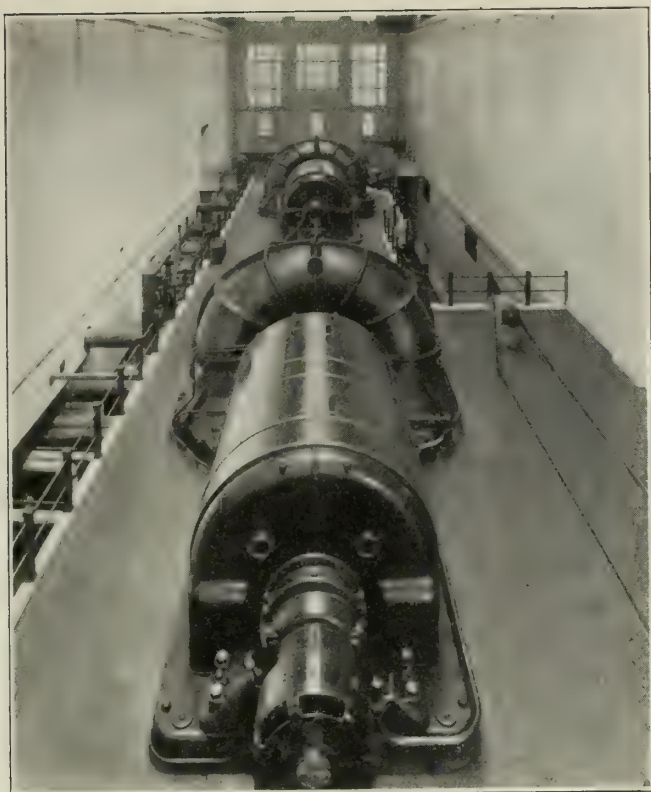
Already Mr. Dunham was studying the possibilities of using water power to supplement steam, with the result that the subsidiary Farmington River Power Company, in 1889, built a dam at Rainbow—the first hydro-electric station in the East. The local station was then on Kilbourn Street. To this the first transmission line in the country, 11,000 volts, eleven miles, was constructed. This attracted the attention of electrical engineers all over the country, but before the sensation had begun to subside another was provided by the installation of the first storage battery, in 1894. To Mr. Dunham's mind there was economic waste in creating abundant power which should lie idle through daylight hours, and it was one of the great strides forward when it was demonstrated that the night requirements could be met by accumulating the power in the daytime. Thus one stride was to follow another. The next was the introduction of the steam turbine. Westinghouse, General Electric, all the great concerns knew how greatly such a thing was needed, but the trouble was that in operation they tore up the strongest iron floors. General Electric had abandoned the experiments when Mr. Dunham heard of a turbine at the Westinghouse plant in Pittsburgh, and hurried down there and bought it. The mere transportation of it was almost an unparalleled feat, but it soon was on its bed at the new Pearl Street plant. (New York was not to be ahead of Hartford even in the name of its electric street; a tumble-down hovel made way for the beginning of the great headquarters of today.) This the first turbine was proving its worth—with a little exercise of patience—in 1898, or five years before the 5,000-kilowatt unit was set up in Chicago to claim place in history as the father of them all. After the Hartford turbine had served here and also at the Dutch Point plant, it was retired in 1908 and, covered with the glory of being the most important instrument in the development of electrical service up to that time, it was given to the Westinghouse museum. From those days on, the famous electrical concerns looked to Hartford to try out the results of much that was

being done to astonish the whole world of science. Courage and skill combined were needed.

So great was the increasing demand for power in 1898 that a new dam and power-house were built on the Farmington River at Tariffville, twelve miles from Hartford. Thus at the opening of the "century of marvels," the Hartford company, with a 7,000,000 capacity, was prepared to meet all then conceivable demands. Capital was increased to \$1,050,000, but merely on the way to present contemplated \$30,000,000. Dividends had been paid since 1894, and each increase of capital had and has meant benefit to those who had ventured so much and also to consumers. From the beginning the principle has been that consumers should share. And that has proved wise business. In 1900 the company had acquired the Hartford Light and Power Company. In 1903 the price to consumers had dropped from 20 to 15 cents a kilowatt hour; in 1905 to 13 cents; in 1906 to 11 cents; in 1910 to 10 cents; in 1914 to 8 cents; in 1922 to 6 cents; in 1923 to 5½ cents, and in 1927 to 5 cents—with a plus-area charge of 5 cents per 100 feet of lighted area after 1922, and a consumers' dividend of 40 per cent on October bills in 1926 and 1927. The value of the stock was running up to 410.

Mr. Dunham's conception that power could be furnished to factories was considered to be in the realm of the ideal but not practical because of the expense. The proposition to furnish it at a reduced rate which should make the cost actually less than that of steam worried his stockholders. But, dreamer though they called him, he was by nature the most practical of men. Power was being stored in the daytime; power could be employed in the daytime. When the truth of his words had been proven at Billings & Spenser's and when the Rubber Works had relegated its own plant, it was not long before the town was wholly made over and the Age of Electricity was supplying the chief handmaid of industry and of personal comfort. No corner of factory, store or office was too dark to work or read in; intricate machinery requiring close light was no longer impracticable, and the power to run giant cranes or drop-forges, or sewing machines or typewriters responded instantly to the touch of a button.

It was but a day (in retrospect) before another increase in capacity became imperative. The Dutch Point plant—at the historic riverside and with all that ingenuity could devise—had



TWO 20,000 KILOWATT ENGINES IN THE SOUTH
MEADOWS PLANT OF THE HARTFORD ELECTRIC
LIGHT COMPANY



NEW SOUTH MEADOWS STATION OF THE HARTFORD ELECTRIC LIGHT
COMPANY

Where the first and only mercury vapor engines are used



reached a maximum of 83,000,000 kilowatts, by patching and coaxing, in 1920. The hoped-for had come and already was of the past. A new plant was rising, just across Park River to the south, the property including the site of the 1633 Dutch fort. Itself a marvelous engineering feat, performed under the direction of present Vice President Townsend H. Soren, who had come here from the General Electric, it was opened in the presence of Governor Lake, Mayor Newton C. Brainard and other dignitaries and eminent electrical engineers. Since then it has been a place that European engineers come to study, for it is a marvel in proficiency and cleanliness.

Samuel G. Dunham, who with his many interests had shouldered the presidential responsibilities of his brother Austin on the latter's retirement in 1912, was succeeded by Samuel Ferguson, of distinguished family, his father being Rev. Henry Ferguson of Trinity College, eminent for his learning and his philanthropy, and he was bringing to the office fruits of learning and careful research, backed by a board of directors and officers unexcelled in their regard for the public welfare. Immediately the new plant, looking over at its still youthful but antiquated sister, was possessed of a new attraction. This was an invention that promised to cut the fuel bill in half if it came up to expectations. It was the mercury-vapor boiler, and toward this first test all eyes were directed. When it is said that there were many doubting Thomases, the reader must bear in mind that not all was such plane-sailing as this Hartford narrative would seem to indicate; millions had been sunk in the feverish effort throughout the country to learn how best to utilize this greatest beneficial wonder since fire was brought to earth. Whatever in solar heat or radium or in the air above or in the bowels of the earth may come to supersede it, it cannot be robbed of the romance of this era nor yet of the credit as distinctive as is that of steam, of the water wheel, the propeller or of fire itself. Of the vapor boiler, Mr. Soren in 1923 put the result in a few words thus: "It is remarkable that this installation involving a new development in every respect should have been successfully operated exactly as originally designed and installed, as, if it were successful, it would mark the greatest advance in the art of producing power that has yet been made in a single step. It has proved satisfactory and we are sure the process itself can be developed to large sizes with

complete success." His statement was conservative; the larger size has now been installed and the dimensions of the plant are correspondingly increasing. At its service, the plant now has coal brought by barges, has mercury-compelling energy, has water power brought in over long cables and has whatever New England, Northern New York and Niagara itself can furnish.

For the company has made connection with various sources. In 1920 it took control of the Connecticut Power Company, whose station at Falls Village on the Housatonic it had used since 1915 to replace the station at Rainbow. The younger company represented a consolidation of six companies—itsself, the Berkshire, Middletown, New London, Thomaston and Millerton (N. Y.) companies. In 1925 the *Hartford* had become associated—for operating purposes only—with the Turner's Falls, far up the Connecticut, and the United Electric at Springfield in the Connecticut Valley Exchange, a step in the broad superpower program of the country in the interests of economy and reliability. When more water at one place makes production more economical than at another, the hook-up is almost automatic, or when emergency calls for sudden increase of product, the demand is instantly met. In 1926 the Connecticut Power and Light Company became a party to this exchange. In this way Hartford is tied in with Northern New England and New York from the Adirondacks and Niagara to the Atlantic, and from the headwaters of the Connecticut to Long Island Sound. The benefits are shared by nearly the whole of Connecticut. The light that illumines the Capitol dome is precisely of the same source as that in the most remote alley of New Britain or Manchester or on the hillsides of Granby or Enfield, to speak only of Hartford County.

Austin C. Dunham lived to enjoy much of this triumph, indeed to indulge in other fond interests. He had tasted success in other undertakings, like the Dunham Hosiery Company, with mills in Windsor and in Naugatuck; the Rock Manufacturing Company of Rockville (woolens), of which he had been president; the Willimantic Linen Company, of which he had been the head; the Austin Organ Company, of which he had been a founder; the Automatic Refrigerating Company, the first of its kind; the Aetna and Travelers insurance companies, of whose boards he was a member, and also of the old National Exchange Bank. And he also was trustee of the Watkinson Juvenile Asylum and Farm School

and of the Watkinson Library, and president of the Hartford Hospital. Nothing did he enjoy more, however, unless it was writing on economics or his "Reminiscences," or visiting Thomas Edison, than sitting and talking with a workman or out in the country with a farmer. One of his latest economic ideas he put into effect by purchase of a large tract in Newington, where he introduced Edison's theory of concrete houses for families who wanted land enough for a cow and chickens and yet be near enough to manufacturing centers to follow their trades. In 1916 he transferred this property to the Connecticut Agricultural College. Winters he spent South and died in St. Petersburg, Fla., in March, 1918. Among the enduring monuments to his name is the Dunham Laboratory of Electric Engineering which he gave to Yale in 1912, fully equipped.

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Hardly less important in universal progress at the opening of the century was the culmination of effort to make of the typewriter an instrument available for every office and then for private use. The schools are being the last to awake to the necessity of training the young to use the machine, but we of 1928 can see how it has become an essential adjunct of every business and profession. The glimpses we have caught in the preceding pages of the development of the manufacture have made it necessary to record at this point only the complete achievement of ingenuity, skill and capital. It was a long time from Latham Sholes of Milwaukee, who in 1867 had devised a machine that would put the letters of the alphabet upon paper by movement of the fingers. By the rate of later progress it was a long time since Franz Wagner, in 1894, had put forth a really practical writer with the imprint of the machine-impelled letters constantly visible. The Underwood Typewriter Company, of which John T. Underwood and Dewitt Bergen continued as president and vice president from the inception, were back of him. When their Wagner Typewriter Company passed the stage of experiment, it was made a part of the Underwood plant at Bayonne, N. J. The importance being realized of skilled mechanics and also of close contact with the makers of most delicate machinery, Charles D. Rice appeared from Hartford, as has been related, the former Board of Trade

plant in Hartford was taken, and in 1901 the first of the flow of millions of machines was started.

Going back to the life story of Harriet Beecher Stowe, it is hard to picture that the site of this enormous factory today—the largest of its kind in the world—was once the beautiful grounds of the home she had dreamed for years of making. There Mr. Rice continues to superintend the spreading factories from which go the carloads of progress-helping machines to every port in the world, and likewise, in part, the more recent factory in Bridgeport for the “portables.” Over 8,000 employees are loyal to the concern—which means more than “work for.”

But Hartford was to offer room for another, and capitalists like J. Couper Lord, George E. Smith, P. T. Dodge and C. Ryan, drawn for like reasons, even as we have seen, removed from Bay Ridge, N. J., to an exceptional location on Park Avenue, in 1906 so far out but today so far in. There the latest model of factory buildings was erected, with room for that expansion which continues, still under the management of Charles B. Cook, who formerly was with the Underwood and who is a student of employee welfare as well as of employee product. The Royal, writing any language, is at home in any land, and welcome. The plant is the second largest in the world.

In 1905, a second Board of Trade plant, to encourage infant industries and built on Hawthorn Street—near Nook Farm but circumscribed in its area there by the Forest Street Realty Association, made up of residents who incorporated and bought property in defense of their holdings—was immediately taken over by the Arrow Electric Company, makers of switches and other electrical devices. Under the management of Edward R. Grier, the company, which had been incorporated with Charles G. Perkins of the Perkins Electric Switch Company of the '80s as president and Mr. Grier as vice president, gained rapidly in prestige, refusing to be checked by any outsiders who might control elements of the product. It secured the ownership of the Washington Porcelain Company in Washington, N. J., whence it obtains its own supply of electrical porcelain, put in the latest labor-saving machinery, the past year greatly increased its plant and at the same time combined with the Hart & Hegeman plant, making the largest institution of the kind in the country. Each

company retains its identity but they are as one concern. There are nearly 3,000 employees in twelve plants.

Something "new under the sun" was constantly appearing. It has been noted that Austin C. Dunham's workings in electricity had brought out, among other devices, the one by which electricity could supply the long-needed means of doing away with ice in refrigerating for large buildings and for cars transporting perishable food supplies. That electricity could turn water into ice was a very important discovery for mankind. The Automatic Refrigerating Company, latterly under the presidency of H. Bissell Carey and the management of Maj. Michael F. Owens, found an immediate and grateful market for the product from its factory at the corner of Capitol Avenue and Laurel Street. The company was established in 1903 and came here in 1906, with branches in other cities. For years it occupied alone the field of mechanical refrigerating plants and took the grand prize at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915.

Hiram P. Maxim, leader in the recent automobile era and busy with still more electrical and automobile ideas, knew no limit to his fields. One morning he stopped after shaving to take note of the way the water swirled out of his washbowl and said to himself, "Nature shows clearly enough for any man to see how to manage explosive gas leaving a gun barrel," and soon after, in 1909, was astonishing the dignitaries of the War Department by deceiving them completely as to the location of rifles firing smokeless ammunition not a hundred feet away. The rifles were silenced by his invention. It was a triumph of Yankee genius which attracted the attention of all the nations and would have made of war a different thing had it not been that its perfection and development meant safety for those who used firearms with criminal intent. But guns were not the only things to be silenced; peace had its requirements. And, impressive at the moment, there was the automobile exhaust, then the enginery in factories and in steamships; the practicality of the Diesel engine was increased materially by an adaptation of the Maxim Silencer Company's device, and it would seem that in another decade no harsh noise except thunder and static will be heard.

Nor need ingenuity be applied to new things only; old things could be given a new twist—old things in marketing a product as well as old things that were made. Alfred C. Fuller came here

in 1906 and rented a shed at \$11 a week, an amount that almost discouraged him. Bristles and wire and a cheap hand-twisting machine were his only equipment, the same he had been using in his sister's attic in the hamlet of Somersville, Mass. He had begun the battle of life as a farmhand in Nova Scotia and when the battle failed to turn his way, he sought out his brother, who gave him employment at selling homemade brushes from house to house through the country. When in the course of time he had accumulated \$375, he took over such space as could be spared in his sister's home and, adding ingenuity to the processes of his old machine, turned out such brushes as he thought people would like. He trudged the countryside daytimes and twisted wire and bristles at night. Pattison made his tinpails in Berlin and sold them that way in 1740; Seth Thomas peddled his clocks on horseback; Fuller found the field equally good but the method out of date. In Hartford he organized salesmanship. Hiring a man to do the shop work, he taught others how to approach customers. By 1922 he had constructed the great factory on Main Street, near the Windsor line, the largest plant of the kind; today there are more than a dozen subsidiary plants, 300 branches around the continent and in the West Indies, trained salesmen everywhere, and sales of over \$10,000,000 worth a year.

Significant of the changed tendency of the times was the formation of the Manufacturers' Association of Hartford County in 1904, with Thomas J. Kelley the secretary, as he is now. This stood for the promotion of industry and the better protection of interests of both employers and employees. A state association also was formed, with an office here.

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While Hartford's name was being carried around the world for its industrial and scientific enterprise, at this the opening of the twentieth century it more than ever was deserving of the name of the world's "Insurance City." Courage and fidelity through the disasters of the past had brought their own reward, and in life insurance the principles of the rugged founders were likely to prevail over the spirit of fierce competition abroad in the land. Thus when in 1906 came the severest tests the institution

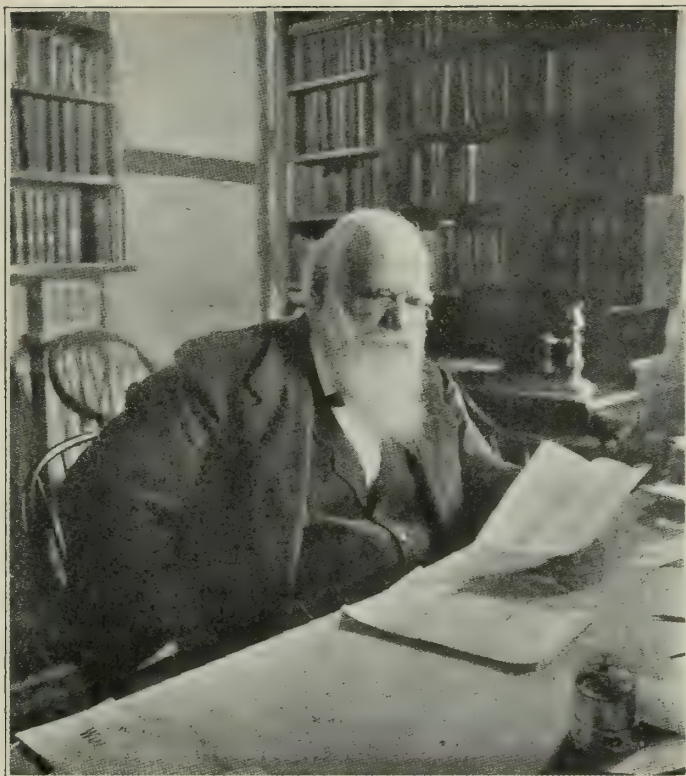
of insurance, fire and life, ever had known, the prestige of the local companies increased rather than otherwise.

By the San Francisco earthquake and fire in April, the loss to American companies meant the loss of all profit from underwriting since 1860 and \$80,000,000 more. Hartford met the blow without a whimper. It meant grief for certain individual stockholders unable to wait for the turn of the tide, but for the rest there was firm conviction that the men at the head of the companies would see to it that there was a return of the tide. The Hartford Fire's board briefly inscribed on the records: "Officers are authorized to borrow \$2,000,000 to settle claims." The reserve was a bulwark. President John D. Browne of the Connecticut was, in looks, character and bearing, something of a composite of what fancy pictures the rugged founders were. He said: "Gentlemen, we shall need about \$2,400,000." The actual figure proved to be \$2,370,740, or more than double the capital. Capital thereupon was reduced one-half and then raised to \$1,000,000, shares at \$100 par calling for \$200 cash; the spirit in which they were taken up was a tremendous encomium. The Phoenix faced a \$1,771,103 loss unperturbed and paid it without controversy, as did all the others. The National, paying \$2,500,000, joined earnestly in preventing what threatened to be a national debacle.

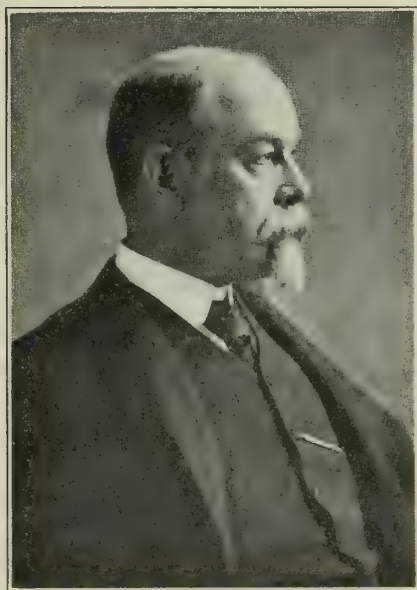
Most conspicuous in the history of the country's life insurance business was the rigid investigation in New York in 1906 by the "Armstrong Committee" of the Legislature, Hon. Charles E. Hughes the attorney. Its prominence and influence was to be credited to the fact that all standard companies do large business in New York State and must comply with its regulations. The attack was directed against certain methods which were as obnoxious to Hartford companies as to any and against certain principles that were open to question. The decision for limiting expense in the field, for segregating non-participating and participating insurance, for keeping out of European territory and for strengthening the personnel of agents had the close coöperation of some of the Hartford officials in the framing, eradicated danger spots and renewed the public's faith.

Death was claiming a heavy toll among the high officials of the companies. The long and varied career of James G. Batterson, recounted in the biographical volume, was terminated in 1901. His life was a romance from the time he was born in

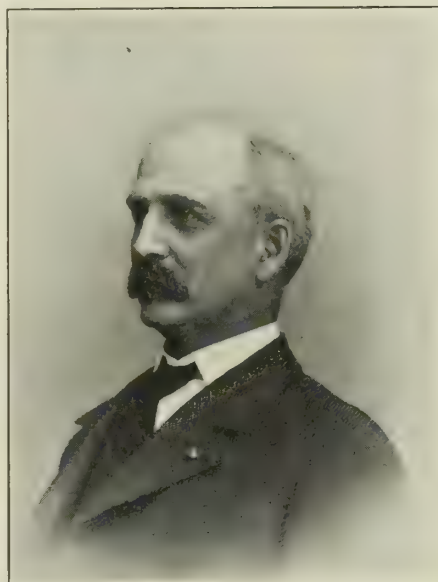
Wintonbury. The Congressional Library in Washington and the Capitol in Hartford are examples of his art in granite. The Steam Marble Works he established in New York were the largest in America. It was in 1863, while traveling in England, that he got the idea of accident insurance, a makeshift for which he found over there. He applied his mathematical genius to the subject and forthwith offered to insure a prominent broker, whom he met at the Hartford post office, for 2 cents, he to pay \$1,000 if the broker were to be killed in an accident on his way home. From that night on, his history was largely the history of the Travelers, chartered in 1863. Such was the popular acclaim that companies sprang up in other places, but comparatively so lacking in background that they soon were incorporated into the Travelers. When Mr. Batterson had surrounded himself with practical insurance men and capitalists like Rodney Dennis (Secretary), G. F. Davis, J. B. Bunce, G. W. Moore, Marshall Jewell, Hugh Harbison, Ebenezer Roberts and G. S. Gilman, he made time to interest himself in public affairs and in the Greek classics, his knowledge of which won him wide reputation. Withal he was encouraging art; he brought out the young sculptor Bartholomew, an example of whose work he gave to the Atheneum. On biblical literature he was an authority. He could gage which way the next town or state election would go and was chairman of the Republican State Central Committee when the normally democratic state gave Lincoln 2,500 majority. During the war he was indefatigable in relief work. When in after years the Constitutional Reform League was formed, Mr. Batterson was made president of it. Time and again, he would drop into a newspaper office, any hour of night or day, sit at the corner of a desk, write out a report of some meeting or transaction and depart as quietly as he had come in. He was like Rev. Dr. Samuel Hart in that and therefore blessed in the memory of newspaper editors. His daughter Mary E. married Dr. Charles C. Beach, and their children, who are also prominent in Hartford life, are Goodwin B., Watson, and Charles E. Beach; a daughter of Doctor and Mrs. Beach married Llewelyn Powell of Schenectady, N. Y. Mr. Batterson's son, bearing his name, became manager of the New York office of the company; his son, Walter E. Batterson, is secretary in the company (fire division), and is now the mayor of the city. Sylvester



JAMES G. BATTERSON
(1823-1901)



JOHN M. TAYLOR
President Connecticut Mutual Life
Insurance Company



JACOB L. GREENE
(1837-1905)
President Connecticut Mutual Life
Insurance Company

C. Dunham was made president of the Travelers on Mr. Batterson's death.

Thomas W. Russell (1824-1901), whose connection with the Connecticut General from its start has been noted, retained his vigor to the last. He was a native of Greenfield, Mass., and began his insurance career as a representative of the Charter Oak Life, of which he was made vice president in 1857. In 1864 he went with the Connecticut Mutual and was secretary of the newly launched Connecticut General ten years, after which he was president twenty-seven years, or until his death. He was active in public life in Mystic, his early home, and also here. For over thirty years he was a deacon in the Park Congregational Church. He was the father of Thomas W. Russell, now in the Connecticut General's agency here. Robert W. Huntington, with both youth and experience as assets, followed Mr. Russell in the presidency.

Jacob L. Greene (1837-1905) was a decided factor in Hartford life from the time he came here in 1870 as assistant secretary in the Connecticut Mutual Life, to the presidency of which he was called eight years later. Colonel Greene looked the part—which he had played well—of an officer closely associated with the great cavalryman of the Civil war and the plains, assistant adjutant-general on the staff of General Custer. He was of Revolutionary ancestry, born in Waterford, Me. With brevet of lieutenant-colonel for his services, he was chief of staff for Custer through his term in command of the Central Division of Texas. After that he was connected with the Berkshire Life Insurance Company till he came here. Outside of his company he was connected officially with the Connecticut Trust and Safe Deposit Company, the Phoenix National Bank and the Society for Savings. As an authority on insurance, his writings carried much weight. He wrote on other subjects also and his monograph on General Franklin at Fredericksburg and his memorial volume on that officer and fellow citizen are valuable contributions to history. As a public speaker the colonel was frequently in demand. He was chairman of the Citizens Committee when President Roosevelt spoke here in 1902, and he officiated at the inauguration of President Luther of Trinity in 1904. He was grand marshal at the dedication of the Soldiers' Memorial Arch in 1886, of the parade in 1904 when the Army of the Potomac and the Grand Army of the Republic were guests of the city, and of the sound-

money parade that same year. Yale gave him the degree of LL. D. in 1898, and Trinity the same in 1904. He was senior warden of Trinity Church and a member of patriotic organizations. His son, Jacob Humphrey Greene, who was major in the Connecticut State Guard during the World war, is secretary of the Connecticut Mutual. President Greene's successor was John M. Taylor.

John M. Taylor (1845-1918) was a student in historical research and a writer as well as an insurance man. Some of his papers were on General Franklin and the Fredricksburg campaign of the Civil war, on Roger Ludlow, on witchcraft in New England and on Maximilian and Carlotta. He was born in Cortland, N. Y., and came here in 1872 as assistant secretary of the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company, after having practiced law in Pittsfield, Mass. He became president of the company in 1905 on Colonel Greene's death. He also was vice president of the Connecticut Trust and Safe Deposit Company and was otherwise prominent in banking. Greatly interested in Loomis Institute of Windsor, he served as its president and he was a member of the board of the Hartford Retreat. He was the father of Col. Emerson G. Taylor, novelist and newspaper correspondent, whose part in the World war is mentioned elsewhere and whose book on the campaigns of the Twenty-sixth Division is of great value.

One whose place was hard to fill was Jeremiah M. Allen (1833-1903), president of the Hartford Steam Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company, prominent in many activities. Of an old colonial ancestry, he was a teacher in his native town of Enfield and in Ellington when he came to Hartford to be steward at the asylum for deaf-mutes. He was one of the Polytechnic Club which devised the plant for the Hartford Steam Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company, of which in 1867 he was chosen the first president, as has been told. How well those principles of prevention, by educational propaganda and by constant inspection, have worked out, the present company is evidence. The propaganda by means of the publication still carrying the name *Locomotive* and the quaint locomotive title head was his idea. In addition to his presiding over the Board of Trade for ten years, as elsewhere noted, he was president of the Y. M. C. A. and developed the mechanical and educational lines there, did much for the Hart-

ford Theological Seminary and designed the beautiful Case Memorial Library, dedicated in 1893. Lyman B. Brainerd succeeded him as president of the insurance company.

Jonathan B. Bunce, whose career was summarized in the account of the reorganization of the Phoenix Mutual Life in 1889, resigned as president of that company in 1904, when he was chosen president of the Society for Savings, but was prevailed upon to remain as chairman of the board. John M. Holcombe, vice president and so long associated with Mr. Bunce in advancing the company, was the choice for his successor.

The changes taking place in insurance were not so conspicuous as those in industry, transportation, commerce and general finance, but they were hardly less radical or significant. The fire companies were approaching a more nearly scientific system and extending their coverage far beyond what even the progressives of the nineteenth century could have thought possible; the life companies were exploring new fields successfully and making their branch, in various ways, more impressive—devising how to make it feasible that more men provide protection for their families, their homes, their business and their fortunes. From the old 4 per cent reserve basis, the life companies had dropped to 3½ per cent and now were coming down to 3 per cent. That was index of the estimate of the most solemnly responsible financiers of the day. They were calculating that a financial cycle of lower interest rates had been entered into; that premiums then charged must be calculated on reserves that always would earn an interest item no less than that at the time of writing the policies; that many of these policies or the special payments under their provisions would run on indefinitely into the future, and that altogether sufficient reserves must be built up to make a 3 per cent earning ample. It was a quarter of a century before larger interest earnings were to cause among conservatives a drift toward the old basis. At that period, insurance, in its energy and comprehensiveness, was to be as little like that of 1900 as the automobile was like the bicycle or gas like electricity.

XXXVI

NEW CONSTITUTION NOT WANTED

SENTIMENT OPPOSED TO CHANGE INSISTED UPON BY MANY IN CONVENTION — CAUSES OF GENERAL CONFUSION — NEW ARMORY — IN CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS.

One does not have to go deeply into the records to find that in the joyous zest of the new living there was not popular will to break with the old, at least in governmental affairs. What with the spirit of change and the opening up of unsuspected vistas, it might seem in retrospection that the beginning of the century was preeminently the time for changing the state's Constitution. But those now living who participated in the effort to bring about the change know that there was no such special selection. Into such error can retrospection lead us. Neither print nor verbal tradition may reveal the fact to the superficial student of history that all these changes in what goes to make up the life of the people, swift as they actually were as items in the history that deals with long periods, were in reality almost imperceptible to the body of the actors on the stage. They jangled their bells and drank their toasts at midnight of December 31, 1900, and then went their ways. They were busy or were absorbed in family or neighborhood affairs.

The murmurings against the constitution of 1818, specifically in the particular of representation in the General Assembly, had their beginnings back when immigration began noticeably to swell the census rolls and what time the drift of population was from country to city. There would be an occasional communication in the newspapers, by "Pro Bono Publico" or "A Citizen," then an editorial in the democratic press—ultimately without regard to party,—occasional reference at state elections, heated remarks on the floor of the House, and finally, in the '90s, a crystallization by men of weight. The chief evil they saw was fundamental, and about as solid as Talcott Mountain. It had to do with popular

representation in the General Assembly. As contention by the cities that they should have larger representation became spirited, the small towns came to feel that their rights were rooted in the historic Constitution of 1639 and a surprising amount of misinformation gained circulation. The document they had in mind provided for four deputies from each of the three original towns, and of all other towns as formed "so many deputies as the Court should judge meet," according to the number of freemen in each. Through early years, when ordinarily there were two from each town, all representation from certain towns was occasionally suspended because of their slender means, and at sundry times recommendations were made for reducing representation because of financial burden on the state. The Constitution of 1818 continued the old principle but insisted that there be at least one representative from each town. In the progress of time towns with two representatives were jealous of their rights, while many in the cities considered the men from the country a necessary check on extravagance, though the towns never voted *en bloc*, however much might be said about the "farmers' vote."

The issue was joined in the election of 1890, when George P. McLean of Simsbury (and Hartford) was elected governor. In his inaugural he put these sentences: "For more than two centuries the fundamental law of Connecticut has been the admiration and inspiration of the representative republics of the world." "Nothing is so destructive of the credit and the general well-being of society as constant modification of fundamental law." "The general plan of our Constitution in its protection against the wrong kind of liberty is, in the judgment of many, better than that possessed by any other state in the Union." Today "it is theoretically possible for less than 20 per cent of the people of Connecticut to elect a clear majority of both branches of the General Assembly and so secure absolute control of the entire state government." The proposal to increase the Senate he considered no remedy for "the real and growing injustice in the apportionment of the representation in the House." "There are at present eighty-seven towns having two representatives and eighty-one having but one." He expressed fear of a constitutional convention and advocated amendments.

The amendments submitted—and rejected—gave increased representation to the larger towns and cities. The Committee on

Constitutional Amendments called for a convention. Rather than have complete failure, the governor favored this and said: "If the small towns ever lose their right of representation in the General Assembly it will be due to their own refusal to so exercise that right that it can be defended by its best friends."

The state voted for the convention, 47,317 to 26,745. The smaller towns were greatly outvoted. Hartford County's vote was 8,205 to 5,373; Hartford City's, 3,846 to 819.

Charles B. Andrews of Litchfield, former governor and chief justice, was president of the convention which assembled January 1, 1902; Frank E. Healy of Windsor Locks was clerk, and George E. Hinman of Willimantic assistant clerk. John H. Perry of Southport and former Governor Thomas M. Waller of New London were vice presidents. It was a distinguished body. The twenty-one eminent lawyers included Lewis Sperry of South Windsor, Marcus H. Holcomb of Southington, Percy S. Bryant of East Hartford, Noble E. Pierce of Bristol, and T. M. Maltbie of Granby. Frank W. Cheney of South Manchester and Edward H. Sears of Collinsville were among the eminent manufacturers. The clergy was represented by Rev. William M. Brown of Bloomfield, who was made chaplain.

Debates were tedious and individual opinion was not much changed. Vice President Perry, in the "History of Connecticut," says of it: "Near the close of the second of the last three days, Mr. Bissell of Suffield proposed the rule of composition for the House and Senate which on the next and final day was adopted by a vote of 88 to 66. It did not differ materially from others which had come to the surface throughout the session and was not satisfactory to many who voted for it, but the members were tired and wanted to go home." It might be added that it was evident that they might as well go, and the decision which previously had been opposed by so many in hope of something better was welcomed as a relief.

The document provided for one representative from every town; two for towns with from 2,000 to 50,000 population; three for those from that maximum to 100,000; those above that to have four and one additional for each additional 50,000. The Senate should have forty-five members from as many districts of as nearly equal population as possible. President Andrews and Vice President Perry favored the document. The chief opposition in

the convention was based on the ground that great expense would result; that failure to make the House the town body with one representative from each town and the Senate the population body would never satisfy the cities, and that the calling of future conventions was made almost impossible by the rule that the request must be approved by a majority of the entire electorate.

With an apathy increased by the fact that this was not a regular election day, the people of the state voted against it by 10,377 to 21,234. This was only 15 per cent of the total registration at the last previous state election, when 79 per cent of the total had voted. In Hartford County those voting were only 23 per cent of the registration, and of them 6,897 were against and 2,635 for. At the state election the county had polled 70 per cent of its possible. Hartford's vote was 1,208 for and 3,949 against; of the total majority against, the cities contributed less than 9,000. In Hartford County the only towns voting yes were Bloomfield, East Granby, Newington, Rocky Hill, South Windsor and Wethersfield. Says Vice President Perry, for the members of the convention who had obeyed the call of the electorate and had worked four and a half months "with marked personal sacrifice": "It was the lack of voting and not the result which grieved them."

The Hartford County delegates to the convention were as follows, the names starred being those who voted against the compromise document: Hartford, Charles H. Clark; Avon, Robert J. Holmes; Berlin, Charles M. Jarvis; Bloomfield, William M. Brown; Bristol, Noble E. Pierce*; Burlington, E. Samuel Gillette; Canton, Edward H. Sears; East Granby, Julius G. Dickinson*; East Hartford, Percy S. Bryant; East Windsor, Howard A. Middleton; Enfield, Thompson S. Grant; Farmington, Amasa A. Redfield (absent); Glastonbury, Henry E. Loomis*; Granby, William C. Case (who died before the convention and was succeeded by Theodore M. Maltbie); Hartland, George W. Miller*; Manchester, Frank W. Cheney; Marlborough, Frederick J. Cooley*; New Britain, Robert J. Vance (absent); Newington, George E. Churchill; Plainville, Aquilla H. Condell; Rocky Hill, Owen R. Havens; Simsbury, Joseph L. Bartlett*; Southington, Marcus H. Holcomb; South Windsor, Lewis Sperry (absent); Suffield, Charles C. Bissell; West Hartford, William H. Hall; Wethersfield, Stephen F. Willard; Windsor, D. Ellsworth Phelps; Windsor

Locks, Thomas L. Healy. For the measure, 20; against, 6; absent, 3.

Governor McLean served two terms, till 1903. Henry Roberts of Hartford, who had been lieutenant governor from 1903, was elected governor on the republican ticket in 1905 and served one term. Everett J. Lake of Hartford was lieutenant governor 1907-09. Marcus H. Holcomb was speaker of the House in 1905 and attorney-general from 1907 to 1910.

The long career of Gen. Joseph R. Hawley ended March 18 of that year (1905), which was fatal to so many others prominent in Hartford life. Never since his first election by the Legislature in 1880 had his position as senator been seriously challenged. Not only was this because Connecticut had observed the wisdom of continuing service in the Senate but because Hawley's name, even before he went to the Senate, had been a household word in every city and hamlet of the state and his wisdom had been availed of in national councils. Moist-eyed veterans, men of high position and men of humble rank, women, children, delegations, individuals, from all parts of the state and beyond, passed by his bier in the Capitol rotunda. Governor McLean's address was a classic. The general's life was so woven into the history of his town and the state as to call here for only the more personal features of it. His birthplace was Stewartsville, N. C., in 1826, but he was of New England ancestry, his father, a clergyman, having gone South on missionary work. The family returned to live in Farmington and then for a brief time in Cazenovia, N. Y., while Joseph was still young. With a diploma from Hamilton College in 1847, he was admitted to the bar in 1850 and became a partner of John Hooker in Hartford. His work in forming the republican party, his energy at the outbreak of the war, his distinguished service as soldier and administrator, his journalistic life and his political career have been followed in preceding pages. The general's first wife was Harriet Ward Foote of Guilford. Her field work in looking after the needs of the soldiers in camp and hospital won reverence for her but undermined her health. The memory of courage and fidelity is faithfully preserved at the Asylum Hill Congregational Church. His second wife, whom he married in 1887, was Edith Hornor of Halsted, England, a woman of distinguished family who had

fitted herself for hospital work and had done patriotic duty in South Africa. She was prominent in various kinds of welfare work in Washington and in Hartford. Of their daughters, Marion married Louis Coudert; Roswell makes her home in Hartford. Margaret Hawley, relative of the general's first wife and adopted into the general's family, has won distinction as a miniature painter.

Strict regard for principle in whatever cause he espoused and with never an eye to financial return was a fetich with the general throughout life. As an all-embracing illustration: An associate on the *Courant* found him fuming at his desk one morning after his return from a long campaign in behalf of a colleague in Pennsylvania. In answer to a query, the indignant senator tossed upon the table a letter from the chairman of the campaign committee enclosing a check for \$1,000 for his expenses. "Well?" queried his friend. "Well!" stormed the senator. "Do you think I would accept money for expenses in campaign work? I never have yet and I'm too old to begin now." With that he thrust the check into a letter he already had written. He was democratic and always solicitous for the welfare of others. Returning in a smoking car from a political rally, late one night when most men of his age would have been in bed, he saw a disgusting sot reeling around the car and finally dropping into a seat near the door, muttering that he must get off at the next station. Without a word the general left his companions and went forward to sit by the fellow. As the train slowed down and the man began to rise, the general who so many years had been a commanding figure in the United States Senate also rose, took the man's arm and carefully assisted him to the station platform. The conductor held the train till the general, himself slow of step, had led his uncouth protege to a place of safety and then said to one of the general's friends, "I never shall forget that sight. But I wouldn't have intruded after the general began to help." As has been said, the Legislature gave Morgan G. Bulkeley the honor of succeeding the general in the Senate.

Theodore Roosevelt was intensely popular during his first term as President and his occasional visits to his sister, the wife of Commander William Sheffield Cowles of the navy, were made the occasions for demonstrations, some of them formal. Herbert

Knox Smith of Farmington was one of the young men intimates who came to be known as the President's "tennis cabinet" and was called to be deputy commissioner of business corporations, in which capacity he assembled statistics in reports which were of very great value and at a time when they were exceptionally useful. Later he was candidate for governor on the progressive ticket, when Roosevelt led the bolt from Taft's renomination.

George L. Lilley of Waterbury, after a term in Congress where he had tried to check torpedo-contract scandals, took office as governor in 1909 and with his family made his residence in the former Pliny Jewell house on Farmington Avenue. He was a man of exceptional business capacity. He died early in his first term of service, worn out by his first experiences in public life.

Alexander Harbison was the first mayor of the city in the new century, succeeded by Ignatius A. Sullivan, William F. Henney (two terms) and Edward W. Hooker in order. Mayor Henney was a lawyer, a writer on local institutions and a student of public problems. Largely by his inspiration an effort was made to purify local politics and in 1906 there was a citizens committee, under the chairmanship of Rev. J. J. McCook, to work for cleaner elections. Young men rallied to the call and certain evils that were developing were squelched. Voting machines, which had been introduced in 1903, already had worked some reform, but were not yet above suspicion.

New problems were arising in municipal life as also in home life. There was much to excite the public mind. Hartford was having its share in what was coming on for the United States as a whole. The fear of silver currency was allayed, but there was something to take its place—something not to arouse alarm if recognized and properly handled, yet something that was new to this generation and therefore something about which there must be experiment in handling. In the previous quarter-century there had been a subsidence in the world's supply of gold, accompanied by a then unanalyzed spirit of discontent over economic conditions. Increase in sources and improvement in methods of separating the precious metal came simultaneously with the electrical marvels, the revolution in individual transportation through streets and highways, the accumulation and unequal distribution of capital, and the battle of highly capitalized railroads for precedence each over the other. Any or all of these things and their

notable adjuncts could not directly affect the "man on the street," but history is witness that, whatever the exceptional condition, it is reflected in the mental attitude and behavior of the people.

Locally was furnished an exciting example of the battle between railroad giants. The New York, New Haven & Hartford, whose dividends so long had fattened Connecticut bank accounts and in whose strength common people and institutions alike had cause to glory, was one of them and normally the favorite. The other was represented by the winding "milk-route" road, the Connecticut Western, which crept slowly around and over the hills of Northern Connecticut from the Hudson and was now a tentacle of a tremendous combination of capital looking for its own all-through line from the West to Boston's docks. The average man and the Legislature were told simply that residents of sparsely settled communities wanted better access to commercial centers, wanted Springfield's stores as well as Hartford's. The great "New Haven," serene in its power in the Legislature, prepared for the fight without taking the public into its confidence. The Connecticut Western began to acquire right of way from a point on its line west of Hartford to Springfield and to a connection with a line independent of the "Consolidated," as the New York, New Haven & Hartford had been called since it took over the other roads in Connecticut. But there proved to be a strip of ordinary land—the Montague farm—in East Granby which could not be bought. Backers of the "Consolidated" smiled but immediately awoke to find that, despite all that had been said in committee hearing, the Legislature had granted a five-mile detour around the obstructing property. The first trip, in 1902, over the "Tariffville loop" was an event reminiscent of the pioneer days of railroading. The question of obtaining the right to the strip of land went first to the courts and then to the Legislature, the halls of which were scandalized by lobbying; the House voted for the Connecticut Western, the Senate against it. Not long after, the land was sold to the Connecticut Western for a paltry \$150, and the year following that, in 1904, the "Consolidated" acquired control of the Connecticut Western. It was merely to continue its somnolent career till these later days when, with new arrangements and adjustments, its traffic has been reduced to a minimum. Time may bring a cure for its paralysis.

The "Consolidated" was losing in popular favor, its dividends

were decreasing, its market value dropping, assets in great institutions and little investments of poor people were affected by the year 1905, when the company bought the Hartford trolley system, with pronunciamento from President Mellen that Hartford was to be made the trolley center of Northern Connecticut. The local owners were loth to sell till the price went up to \$285 a share. The exceedingly well managed Farmington and Unionville line was taken next. So, likewise and as has been related, most of the trolleys in the state. To avoid all approach to competition, Mr. Mellen was buying "wind and water"—to use the expression used in the Legislature, where more charters sometimes were framed for Mr. Mellen's purchase. This was but a step toward acquiring Rhode Island lines, water routes and railroad connections through to farthest Maine and New Hampshire. The theory was that New England must fight for its own; otherwise the mighty western combines would make a mere back-door of it.

This is here recalled as a forceful illustration of an important feature of the period now under consideration. President Roosevelt was wielding the "big stick;" he was likewise the "trust-buster," and the people gave him two terms and might have given him a third. Under President Taft, Attorney-General Wickersham continued and widened the prosecution of monopolies; the Sherman anti-trust law was an approved weapon, and "restraint of trade" was an offense unendurable. For Hartford the effect of industrial combines was visualized by the automobile and bicycle industries, by unsatisfactory trolleys, by loss of river-freight competition or the indifference of it, and by the spectacle of the lobbies over on Capitol Hill. The "Consolidated's" eggs were "unscrambled," as a catch phrase expressed it; assets of institutions shrank dangerously and of individuals disastrously; experience was being had of the transition from the days of small capital well distributed to enormous capital in combines without skill, experience or wisdom in the handling thereof. The passing of a quarter-century has brought a period when, with regulations, knowledge and experience, combines are being encouraged along paths where it can be demonstrated that the natural reduction in overhead cost shall benefit the patron or consumer.

To add to the confusion of those days was the influx of population, which Hartford realized strongly. Pains have been taken

in the earlier pages and in the histories of the towns to indicate how immigration was being absorbed and churches and societies were being encouraged. Now the rush prevented concern about elementary principles. Houses undesirable for aspiring occupants were abandoned to the newcomers in favor of hastily constructed dwellings further out but not beyond bicycle distance. (The automobile was still above common reach and below popular favor.) Sanitation, sewers, street-lights, street-grades and like considerations called for large contracts which were to be signed by city authorities elected by the people. This tended to strengthen the then national disposition to manipulate elections, and both the money and the material were at hand for doing it. That Hartford stood up against it so well as it did is an item in its history. Nor is the manner in which it faced the financial stress the latter part of the decade to go unrecorded; generous aid of newcomers begot a lasting good-will and encouraged a coöperation which always will be fruitful.

But the population and real estate effects had taken Hartford, in common with other cities, unawares. It could cope with a normal growth, which allowed time for thought. Cities were vieing with each other in physical growth, jealously scanning census returns; size was the desideratum—character, cleanliness, culture, even tradition were, in comparison with size, hardly more than abstractions. Hartford contributed one demonstration of this to the list of demonstrations elsewhere. It was when the need of larger accommodations for the city administration was beginning to press. For nearly thirty years the revered old State House, supplemented by the Halls of Record on Pearl Street, had served the purpose as City Hall. It has to be recalled that, in this swirl of the period, there was a definite and forceful sentiment for tearing down and rebuilding, or selling the structure for business purposes and buying elsewhere. A special committee of the city government recommended a new building on the old site. A Taxpayers' Protective Association was formed to work for the same purpose. Those who favored selling clashed over new location and figures were compiled to show the "trend of population," with the one thought that the building should be where it would be convenient for the greatest number, a prize in a contest among property-owners. Here again, then, contemplating the result of the final triumph of tradition, history and

art, all unpurchasable—in a way that will be told—it is as difficult for Hartford of today to recall that particular feature of the transition stage as it is for the country to recall many not dissimilar features.

If Macauley's statement that real history is of the life and conduct of the people were taken literally, the paragraphs on the railroads and the State House would be eliminated. Had the matter of the State House come to a vote at a special and not a regular meeting, the proportion of freemen voting would have been even less than that at the time the constitution was rejected. People's attention was diverted in new directions; weighty subjects must be left to the sober thinkers. For the mass there was more interest in the first automobile test trip, from New York to Boston and return. This was October, 1902. It was exploited in the press for days in advance and the attention of the United States was directed this way. From New Haven to Hartford was the third period. It was open to all cars except electrics. Of the seventy-three which started, all but three arrived here, with records of from one and one-half to two hours. Cars and drivers were covered with dust. Great crowds thronged the streets. The hour and a half allowed for lunch and for the tuning-up of the vehicles gave the crowds an opportunity to look over the machines. While it had to be admitted that the showing was good for such a long distance, doubting Thomases were numerous and the prevailing preference was for the horse or the locomotive. Most of the cars made the trip from here to Springfield in two hours.

Much interest attached also to the grand firemen's parade in 1901 in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Chief Henry J. Eaton as a member of the fire department. He was given \$500 in gold by the city and a silver service by the department, and he was allowed twenty-four hours off duty, most of which time he spent smoking at headquarters. In a way, he was known internationally, for a picture of him speeding his magnificent gray horse ahead of one of the first steam propellers of the country was exhibited on the still-picture screen in England. He would not admit that he could not scale the loftiest tower or dive into the deepest cellar till 1903, when, at the age of seventy-two, he asked to be relieved and was pensioned. He had joined the department in 1851 and had been chief since 1868.

Less interest attached to the discussion of consolidation of

school districts. It is still a subject of discussion in 1928, but must be referred to here as one of the questions raised by new conditions but not to be taken seriously. Hartford was one of the few towns exempted from the provisions of the statute providing for consolidation. Against the argument of inconvenient boundary lines, of inequality and of greater aggregate expense was the argument of advantage of rivalry, of local pride, of dread of political influence and of impairment of excellence of certain districts of long standing.

Voting machines were introduced in 1902. Novelty had no terrors for a community where novelty in government was inaugurated and where novelty in manufacture was an every-day matter.

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In number of years—yes; but in the appearance of the veterans, when they turned out to honor and to be honored—no, this great transition period was not long after the Civil war. Strangely, and in this instance most fortunately, these men who made history were themselves like history, in that history does not measure periods by calendar years. To be sure, Memorial Day had become a day of sports and recreation for the on-coming multitude, but the decoration of graves, the exercises and parade were features assisted in by thoughtful citizens and carefully maintained. Such citizens included foremost men in every profession, trade and calling. They stood out patriotically against the flood that at times threatened to sweep away traditions.

A notable echo of the past—the happy results of which had now been so strongly emphasized by the North and South in the Spanish war—was the placing on the Capitol grounds of the "Petersburg Express." This is the huge sea-coast mortar used by the First Connecticut Heavy Artillery at the siege of Petersburg, Va., in 1864-65. Capt. Frank Miller of Bridgeport, when apprised that the mortar could be had from the Government in the '90s, caused it to be brought to him and permission was given for placing it on the Capitol grounds. The Legislature appropriated \$1,000 and there were subscriptions from members of the regiment, from the Hartford City Guard, and from the family of Governor Bulkeley in memory of Capt. Charles E. Bulkeley. The mortar having been mounted on an appropriate pedestal, it was

unveiled September 25, 1902, with fitting ceremonies and a parade.

At a later date, the bronze figure of a soldier boy, the gift of Col. Frank W. Cheney of South Manchester and the work of Sculptor Bela Pratt, was unveiled on the west side of the grounds, in memory especially of victims of southern prisons.

Archibald G. McIlwaine of Petersburg, who as a child was living with his family in Petersburg at the time the mortar was doing its destructive work, was president of the Orient Fire Insurance Company which, in the progress of local events, built its attractive new building directly across Trinity Street from the mortar's last and peaceful resting place, and the office of the intensely loyal and popular president looked out upon it. And other southerners, including Confederate veterans, were helping make Hartford what it is today.

Among the most impressive of the rallies of the veterans, and the last of the series of the more important, was in 1904, when the Army of the Potomac held its meeting here, guest of the city, and the ranks of 7,000 veterans in line were swelled by comrades from Grand Army posts all over the state. It recalled Flag Day, Buckingham Day and Farragut Day and all the purely local veteran assemblages, and fearing that it might be the last of these historic events, the city, under Mayor Henney, aided by a large committee and ample subscriptions, gave a hearty welcome. All patriotic and military organizations, with delegations from other cities and towns, participated. Col. Jacob L. Greene was chief marshal and Capt. W. G. Fitch chief of staff. Governor Bulkeley, as department commander, led the Connecticut veterans. Gen. Horatio O. King, president of the Society of the Army of the Potomac, paid a glowing tribute to Hartford and its place in American history.

The active soldiery were recovering from the dissipating effects of the Spanish war. The Government had set about to put into use some of the costly lessons it had learned and was bringing the National Guard into better uniformity with itself and with the regular army, as a second line of defense. Under Colonel Schulze, and later under Colonel Hickey, who had returned from the Philippines, and with Col. George M. Cole, returned from Cuban service with the "Immunes," as permanent adjutant-general, the First Regiment was more than retaining its old

had been formulated, delivered an historical address in introducing the President. Recently secretary of war, the President dwelt upon the importance of the states training their men for coöperation and of preserving national tradition.

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There is an achievement by Hartford men in relation to the Civil war which will grow in importance as the years go by. In 1904 some young men of literary and artistic taste had the courage to launch a magazine, the *Connecticut Quarterly*. It was devoted to points of interest in the various towns, items of history, research and genealogy, the text being set off with art sketches and photographic reproductions of exceptional merit. George C. Atwell, Edward B. Eaton, H. C. Buck and H. Phelps Arms (editor) were in the group. It became the Connecticut Magazine Company, incorporated, with Herbert Randall, photographer, scholar and poet, as president, and Francis Trevelyan Miller editor, and continued till 1908. In 1907 Mr. Eaton, the first president of the company, was instrumental in saving and reproducing many of the precious official photographs of the war. Photography was in its infancy commercially in the '60s. Matthew B. Brady of New York and Washington obtained consent to use the Scott-Archer collodion process for the first time on a large scale. After years of experimentation this process had given promise of dependability and endurance. Amazingly intrepid and provided only with personal letters from authorities, Brady selected a few companions, some of whom went within the southern lines, and started for the battlefields. His presence was known to very few and those who saw him here and there with his primitive cameras little realized his mission. After the war he found himself swamped with debt. One creditor in New York, the famous dealer Anthony, who had imported the precious chemicals, held 7,000 negatives as security, and a balance of 6,000 were in a Government storehouse in Washington. A proposal to place these with the New York Historical Society fell through. Representations to congressmen had no effect. Driven to it at last, the negatives in Washington were put up at auction and were bid in by Secretary of War Belknap for the Government at \$2,840 from moneys accumulated from the provosts marshal at

standard and made excellent record at the great army maneuvers at Manassas, Va. (1904), and in Massachusetts and Connecticut. In 1903 it responded quickly with the Second Regiment to Governor Chamberlain's call to suppress rioting by trolley strikers in Waterbury and was on duty there for the better part of a week.

An epoch in the history of the state and of the organized militia was marked by the building of the great arsenal and armory, dedicated November 12, 1909. The only arsenal for the storage of state supplies had been built on Windsor Avenue in 1812. The Elm Street Armory, on the site of the Connecticut General Life Insurance Company's present building, had served as rink, bicycle school, caucus hall, auditorium for Moody and Sankey, and as emporium for fairs; as drill shed it was luxurious for soldiers when it was leased in 1873 (and bought in 1887) for the assemblage of units that had been drilling in private halls. But its condition long had been disreputable and its capacity inadequate. At the same time, the roundhouse property of the railroad company, near the heart of the city and an enlarging relic of the days before Bushnell Park, was ruining the white walls of the Capitol by belching forth black smoke. The railroad company planned to move to East Hartford, the state bought the extensive grounds, once the site of Imlay's "Upper Mills," for an arsenal and armory, engaged the noted architect, Benjamin W. Morris, and put up a stone structure with the largest clear drill floor in the United States and arsenal requirements sufficient for many years to come. There were quarters for the state military and pension departments and for the individual units located in Hartford, and everything to provide comfort for soldiers who were first of all citizens with homes and employment. City Engineer Frederick L. Ford was chairman of the general committee.

Capt. J. H. Kelso Davis was marshal. The column, which consisted of the First Regiment under Colonel Hickey, the Governor's Foot Guard and Horse Guard and the Putnam Phalanx, marched from the old armory to the arsenal, where Maj. George A. Cornell had prepared the quartermaster's stores for removal, and thence to the armory at Capitol Avenue and Broad Street. President William H. Taft arrived in time for the dedication exercises and for the reception and ball in the evening. Former Governor Henry Roberts, during whose administration the plans

the end of the war. Gen. James A. Garfield and Gen. Benjamin F. Butler sought to get Congress to appropriate \$25,000 for title to all the pictures, but, though the commercial value was estimated by Garfield at \$150,000, the business element in Congress could not be persuaded till 1875, when it was too late to save Brady's credit. During the delay the negatives in New York had passed into the hands of creditors. In 1882, Bierstadt, the eminent chemist, informed the Government that the plates would soon perish, but the cost of printing from them (\$75 a thousand) was more than the Government would pay.

Here entered John C. Taylor, a sergeant in the First Connecticut Heavy Artillery, prominent in work of the Grand Army of the Republic around Connecticut and secretary many years of the Connecticut Prison Association. By patient endeavor he finally secured exclusive right to the use of the Anthony collection of 7,000. These he generously loaned to the Government that it might make prints to supplement the plates it held. Taylor had had a few prints made from the smaller plates and had mounted them to sell it in a limited way, he having neither the capital nor the inclination to commercialize. In 1906 the Government officially announced that the "invaluable negatives were rapidly disappearing" and forbade their being loaned for private purposes. Brady, who had told his full story to Taylor, died penniless in 1899, his work unrecognized except that which he did for individuals in his studio in Washington. Mr. Eaton on learning the facts consulted the War Department and found that only the private collection could be utilized for public benefit; he also found on investigation that this latter collection contained duplicates of practically all of the Government's negatives and the 1,000 additional. It happened that Johann Olsen of Hartford was familiar with Brady's early process with wet plate. The negatives at that time were fast depreciating, though some were even better than many of those made today. In 1907 Mr. Eaton had obtained full title to the plates owned by Mr. Taylor, with the understanding that he would present the scenes before the public. He brought them to Hartford, where Mr. Olsen did much to preserve and reproduce the negatives. The pictures of greatest historical value were selected and, accompanied by text written by Mr. Miller, who then was editor of the *Journal of American History* and of the *Connecticut Magazine*, they were brought out in a set of albums

under the title, "The Eaton Photographic History of the Civil War," later expanded by a New York house.

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Wise men in the councils of city government early in the period of transition foresaw the need of greater and better school accommodations. The need was first felt in the separate districts and as it was being met new interest was being aroused. It was considered fortunate that in 1897 an extensive addition had been made to the high school, thirteen years after the main building itself had been erected with expectation that it would fulfill all requirement for a long time. Faster than the public could realize, the new pupils in the lower grades were coming on to the doors of the high school. Two things had happened. One was that more people than expected had heard and believed that one of the attractions of Hartford was the quality of its schools, and the other was the avidity with which the newcomers evinced their desire to have their children attend the high school at least for one year. Two things militated. One was that expenses were increasing faster than the town was accustomed to. The other, as seen by conservative men, was that the people who would have to vote the appropriations and that portion of them who had to pay the taxes had not yet awakened to the changes taking place, while at the same time they were hearing the Rooseveltian cry of extravagance and waste in all quarters. It was not until late in the decade, therefore, that a commission could be appointed to arrange for another addition which was built on the Broad Street side of the property and was completed in 1915, at what then seemed like the very large sum of \$689,529, much of it for adjoining residential property that had to be acquired. Architects allowed for another wing when that should become necessary, and it was necessary by 1922. Moreover this original committee had been authorized to look for a site for another high school building at a distance from the center of the city and then for still another—of which more will be said further on. For some time before and during the building of the 1915 addition, the rooms in the original building were so crowded that part of the pupils attended forenoons and the rest afternoons. The statistics then showed that the building of the addition could have been delayed were it



THOMAS S. WEAVER
(1845-1922)



HARTFORD PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL

not for the large number of pupils who came for only their first year, and also that children of parents who could afford it were, in many instances, being sent to private schools, not alone on account of the congestion but because the attention of instructors had to be devoted chiefly to those who had no educational background and assistance at home. Names spelled in a fashion unfamiliar to older families were appearing on rolls of honor and on the entering lists for the colleges.

A remarkable figure appeared in the educational field when Thomas Snell Weaver was elected superintendent of schools in 1900. He succeeded Judge Herbert S. Bullard, whose law practice and then his position as judge of the City Court took all his time. Mr. Weaver was a newspaper man of wide experience—at that time on the staff of the *Courant*—and with a thorough knowledge of civic affairs. It was felt that he could give aid to the Board of School Visitors and that he would be persona grata to the several districts. Though well on in life, he started then upon a career which was to continue for twenty-two years, or until his death, and was to win for him the esteem and affection of all sections and factions of the city. The son of a teacher and writer, he was born in Willimantic in 1845. Following a childhood inclination, he learned the printer's trade at the age of fourteen on the *Willimantic Journal*, of which his father was editor. His talent for newspaper work had been developed in Worcester, New Haven and Boston when he came here in 1883 as editorial writer on the *Post*, where he continued for nine years. After a short period in his home town again, he joined the *Courant* force. As superintendent he at once established systems and made his work so intensely personal, especially for the night schools, that no one was considered to succeed him till death suddenly claimed him in 1922.

One of the special innovations was the establishment of an outdoor school in 1910. For the purpose the beautiful old home of Lydia Huntley Sigourney, the poet, was taken. Its grounds curtailed by the encroachment of business, it still stood on the slope of old Asylum Hill, reached by Hurlburt Street, which ran through the old lawn between it and the Park River, the rest of which lawn was occupied by beef-packing establishments and the great railroad embankment. Capt. John K. Williams, of the Twenty-second Connecticut in the Civil war, a druggist by call-

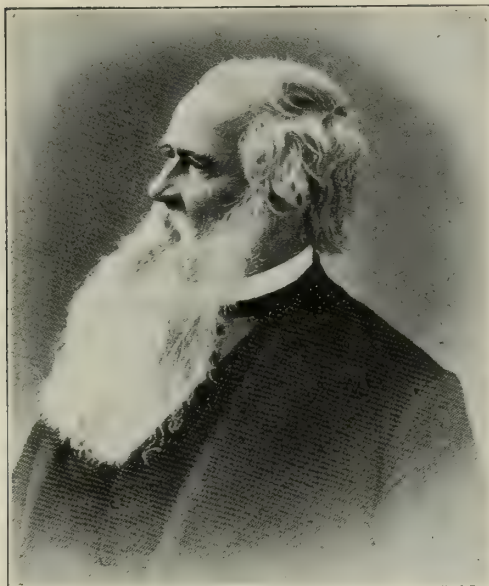
ing but always concerning himself for the welfare of school children, set up a special kind of tents on what was still a considerable lawn and devised "sitting-out" bags for the youngsters. Popularity soon followed the experiment. The facilities were taxed to their utmost when the new outdoor school building was opened on Stonington Street in 1921. The First (or Brown) District's kindergarten school, built on Talcott Street in 1889, and the first of its kind in the state, also received much of Mr. Weaver's attention, together with others of the same class which were being established in all the districts.

Frederick Freeman Bowers, who for forty-three years had been principal of the Brown School, died in 1893, aged 72. He was a native of Mansfield. In his later days his active duties had been performed by Charles L. Ames, today continuing as district supervisor, the dean of Connecticut School-masters, and member of the State Board of Education.

Since the days of the training by Irving Emerson, in the '70s and '80s, music had received much attention in the schools. Ralph L. Baldwin, who was to win distinction as a leader beyond the confines of the city and the state, was appointed supervisor of music in 1903.

Through the influence of Rabbi Hurewitz, the Hebrew Institute was dedicated in 1902. In addition to the class rooms there was a large hall in the building at the corner of Pleasant and Winthrop streets. Both English and Hebrew (Loschen Khodish) were taught, the rabbi acting as principal without salary.

If, standing by the open grave of Dr. Henry Barnard in 1900, one could have looked forward through even one decade as he looked back over the past six, he would have been still more reverent. He would have felt that this pioneer organizer of school systems had been an instrument in the hands of the Almighty to prepare the way for this epoch in the nation's history. The sources whence came a large part of the new population were to be more and more prolific for two decades, and the degree to which America could keep her institutions uppermost in the minds of a free people from many nations and speaking many tongues must depend in a large measure upon the strength of her schools. If one reads the pages of this history with comprehension of the life of the people, he sees that development of the schools along lines followed up to 1840 would have supplied but little to withstand



DR. HENRY BARNARD
(1811-1900)

First National Commissioner of Education



BIRTHPLACE AND HOME OF DR. HENRY BARNARD, HARTFORD

this pressure of the early twentieth century; if schools should fail, law must, and with it art, culture, ideals, government itself. Barnard lived to see blessings greater than the country that received had realized in its gradual progress.

Born of Hartford's old stock in 1811, the doctor went through the district schools and to graduation at Yale in 1830. His maturing mind was not on the bar, for which he had prepared himself, but rather on the schools, and the moment he got into the Legislature in 1837, his ideas began to formulate, with results already described. The Board of Commissioners for Common Schools and the State Board of Education furnished him opportunities to secure better buildings, better training, normal schools and institutes. As superintendent of education in Rhode Island for four years, he fathered plans which he was glad to come back to his own state to develop. The presidency of the University of Wisconsin (1857 to 1859) and of St. John's at Annapolis (1865 to 1866) lured him, and the need of personal income was urgent. But the whole country was awakening to the needs and in 1867 he was the one selected to fill the new office of United States commissioner of education. He did for the nation what he had done for Connecticut, and the books, magazines and papers on the subject which he published are said today to constitute the greatest in number and influence—not in this country alone—of those of any man. When he left the commissioner's office, it was to go on with his field work while his strength endured. Then he retired to the beautiful old homestead near South Green where St. Peter's now stands. His condition became forlorn. In a letter to United States Commissioner Harris he wrote that he never had earned enough to pay expenses, that the old home had to be sold and that he was heavily in debt and in feeble health, while his wife had been an invalid for twenty years. This was in response to a letter of inquiry and he added: "If you do not get a response in Connecticut where I worked for nine years, 1834-1842 and in 1850-1854, spending all my salary on my work, what can be expected elsewhere?" The *New York Tribune* in 1890 published an appeal for subscriptions to a fund. The Legislature had rejected the proposition for a pension. The *Courant* started a subscription list headed by Simeon E. Baldwin with \$100, but the end was near at hand.

The churches were better prepared to meet the surge of the hour than were the local schools. The foundations laid by Thomas Hooker and the others whose descendants still lived here and had drawn their like unto themselves were solid. In a strong sense, no greater good had been done Hartford than when the original churches of the Congrégational, Episcopalian and Baptist creeds withstood the tendency to move out and away from their old-home neighborhoods, in the business center though they were. Doctor Walker was endowed with prescience when he took stand with those who opposed removal of the "Hooker church" from Main Street. Its presence among the bustling throngs was a constant reminder of the rock the city was built upon. And it was just at this time that Mary Mather Hooker, wife of Edward W. Hooker, himself a lineal descendant, caused to be placed in the edifice a memorial window of rare beauty and appropriateness, representing the founder preaching to his congregation of founders, Teacher Samuel Stone near him.

Rev. Dr. George Leon Walker, in many ways suggestive of Hooker, died at the turn of the century, in March, 1900. He was then seventy, physically weak from his childhood, yet a tower of spiritual and civic strength. In the parsonage of his father in Rutland, Vt., where he was born, he seemed to have learned how to triumph mentally over the ills of the flesh. Compelled to abandon the study of law, he turned to the study of theology in his hours of illness and at Andover Theological Seminary gained a recognition which caused his selection for a church in Portland, Me., but only to be thrown back again upon his home, there to continue his studies with a wife and two children to cheer him. After his wife's death he was called to succeed Dr. Leonard Bacon at the historic First Church in New Haven and was honored with the degree of D. D. by Yale. In 1873 he was forced again to surrender to his spinal ailment and for four years lived in retirement in Brattleboro, Vt. When the Hartford church sought him in 1879, he found himself able to accept the position he was to make so notable in the list of pastors since Hooker. With supreme will power and the talents he never had ceased to cultivate, he was to rise superior to all ailment and to prove himself worthy of the choice of the society—to arouse it at the very outset to new zeal and to rejuvenation when that was so much needed if the church were to retain its prestige; to become a national figure in

framing the "creed of 1883" and in molding the work of the missions; to compile the history of the church and write other notable books including the life of Hooker; to serve as a member of the Yale Corporation and as chairman of the Board of Visitors at Andover; to make forced trips abroad a means of widening his horizon, not yielding to accumulating ills till the age of sixty-two and even thereafter to perform duties as pastor emeritus till his death. The knowledge that his son, Prof. Williston Walker, of the Hartford Theological Seminary and later at Yale, was upholding the family tradition was a joyous consolation.

Changing with changing conditions, the church was becoming again about as much of a civic organization as a religious. Its windows were memorials to such citizens as John Caldwell, Harvey Seymour, Calvin and Catherine Seymour Day, Thomas H. Gallaudet, Dr. Horace Wells and Elizabeth Wales Wells, the Catlin family, Ellen, George C. and Edward H. Perkins, Henry A. Perkins, Henrietta Perkins Bissell and her daughter; Ezra, George and George W. Corning and Bryan Edward Hooker; there were tablets and other memorials to John Caldwell Parsons, Thomas Scott Williams, Stephen P. Kendall, John Warburton Cooke, J. Coolidge Hills, John D. Parker (clerk of the church for thirty-nine years), Rodney Dennis, Frank G. Smith, Solomon Smith, Charlotte A. Jewell, Antoinette R. Phelps Pierson, Clarissa May Davis Ely, Dr. Walker, Sarah Emmons Perkins, Leonard D. Church (in the form of the organ given by his wife), Anson Hungerford, Clarence C. Hungerford, John Calvin Day, Francis B. Cooley and Daniel R. and Annie R. Sanborn (the camp site at Columbia Lake). The services of a Sunday still called for the best in plain thought and straightforward scholarship, as in the days of Hooker, Stone, Whiting, Joseph Haynes, Isaac Foster, Timothy Woodbridge, Daniel Wadsworth, Edward Dorr, Nathan Strong, Joel Hawes, Wolcott Calkins, George H. Gould, Elias Richardson, George Leon Walker and Charles M. Lamson—to name the pastors in their order,—but the pastor's duties only began there. Like the first one, he must concern himself about the affairs of the community, be a leader and also an administrator, for, what with the subdivisions for charitable, humanitarian, missionary, social and civic work, a library and an office for business affairs, the province of what was well called the "Center Church" could not be well maintained.

Happily, in 1900, one who had the qualities of youth, a broad education, an appreciation of history and a dispassionate outlook upon the times, Rockwell Harmon Potter was called to succeed the lamented Dr. Lamson. He was born in 1874, the son of Spencer S. Potter of Glenville, N. Y. He had rounded out his course at Union College, where he had been graduated in 1895, with courses at the Yale Divinity School, the Union Theological Seminary, where he received his degree of B. D., and the Chicago Theological Seminary in 1898. Immediately upon his ordination in 1898 he became pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church of Flushing, N. Y., where he preached till called here. Rutgers College has given him the degree of D. D. and Williams that of LL. D. As president of the Connecticut Bible Society and the Institute for the Blind, director of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, trustee of Union College and of Mount Holyoke College, moderator of the National Council of Congregational Churches and since 1925 president of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, he has commanded the respect of his associates in many good causes. Accepting the deanship of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, he resigned the pastorate in 1928.

The conference room of the church, in the building on Main Street next north, which had been used since 1832, was supplanted in 1909 by the Center Church House on Gold and Lewis streets, the gift of the Cooley family, as has been said. The edifice itself was one hundred years old in 1907.

There was another addition to the list of nationally eminent bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the diocese of Connecticut when Chauncey Bunce Brewster was consecrated in 1899 and made his home in Hartford—where in these later days Christ Church has been made the cathedral. The bishop is one of a distinguished family in the church. He is a son of Rev. Joseph and Sarah Jane (Bunce) Brewster, who lived in Windham at the time of his birth in 1848. At Yale, in the class of 1868, he won high honors and in 1871 received the degree of M. A.—the D. D. following later from his alma mater, from Trinity and from Wesleyan. Deacon in 1872, he became rector of Christ Church in Rye, N. Y., the following year where he remained eight years. After that he was rector of Christ Church in Detroit (1881-85), Grace Church in Baltimore (1885-88), Grace Church in Brooklyn (1888-97) and then coadjutor bishop in this diocese in 1897.

His younger brother, Benjamin, has been bishop of Maine since 1916. The bishop is the author of several works, prominent among which is his "Catholic Ideal of the Church." Though he was eighty years old on September 5 of this year, 1928, it can be said that the increasing years and the greatly increasing diocese have brought only increasing love and esteem from all his fellow citizens without regard to creed, and it is with reluctance that his wish to retire is granted.

At Christ Episcopal Church, the greater the demand the more generous has been the response of the members. The edifice itself was greatly beautified by the addition of the pinnacles in 1902, the gift of George E. Hoadley. In 1908 the Nativity Chapel was constructed in the southwest corner of the church, given by Miss Alice Taintor in memory of John and Amelia Taintor and Louise Taintor Kneeland. Rev. Lindall Saltonstall resigned as rector in 1901, at the end of ten years of service and was succeeded the next year by Rev. Dr. James Goodwin. He was the son of Francis Goodwin, who had done much in many ways to help the city. Born in Middletown and in 1865 graduated at Trinity in 1886, he was well endowed with the family liking for literature and art and also for history and sociology. He continued his studies in New York, at Oxford and in Paris and was ordained to the priesthood in 1890. Trinity gave him the degrees of M. A. and D. D. Previous to coming here he rendered service in New York and in Berlin and Nashua, N. H. For fifteen years—and he was taken seemingly at the hour of his greatest usefulness—he was to maintain the great parish as a stronghold of religious and charitable influence. He was a member of the park board and its president in 1913. Always interested in and entering into the activities of the community, he was chaplain of the First Company Governor's Foot Guard, was a member of several clubs, including the Yacht Club, and was a trustee in a number of institutions. It was during his rectorship that the chimes were placed in the tower, himself among the donors, the others being George E. Hoadley, Jane Tuttle, Mrs. Mary I. B. Russell, Mrs. J. H. Rose, Mrs. Charles Holland, the Misses Mabel and Eleanor Johnson and Miss Alice G. Tuttle. Three years later the old chapel in the rear of the church was made into a choir room by Mrs. James J. Goodwin, and the altar of the old chapel, with its mosaic reredos representing the good works of Dorcas, was placed in the baptistry of

the church. The new parish house on Pratt Street was dedicated the year of his death; it was the gift of Mrs. James J. Goodwin in memory of her husband and an endowment of \$125,000 was provided.

Not only the Church of the Good Shepherd but the entire community mourned the death of the youthful rector, Cornelius G. Bristol, in 1901. Yale '86 and Berkeley '89, he had succeeded Rev. John H. Watson in 1893 and, gathering the forces of the young people, had entered at once into the work which all the parishes found to be increasing. Rev. Dr. George H. Clark, who had been rector of Christ Church from 1862 to 1867, died in 1896.

St. John's Episcopal Church edifice on Main Street had to give way before the plans in connection with the Morgan Memorial in 1908, but in that year the cornerstone was laid for the beautiful structure on Farmington Avenue, spacious at the time but now, in the rectorship of Rev. William T. Hooper, to be added to materially, yet without harm to its architectural grace.

At the Asylum Avenue Baptist Church Rev. George M. Stone was made pastor emeritus after a fifty years' service in the ministry which had brought him recognition throughout the country.

Rev. Dr. William De Loss Love resigned in 1910 the pastorate of the Farmington Avenue Congregational Church to give more time to his work with the Connecticut Humane Society and was succeeded by Rev. Dr. Charles F. Carter. Doctor Love, son of a prominent clergyman of the same name, was born in New Haven in 1851. He was graduated at Hamilton College in 1876 and at Andover Theological Seminary in 1878. When he came here this was the Pearl Street Congregational Church. It removed to the new edifice in 1895 and later there was affiliation with the Park Congregational of Asylum Street, which also was feeling the encroachment of business. The doctor succeeded Rodney Dennis as president of the humane society and greatly widened the scope of its work, with headquarters in the former residence of John C. Parsons on Prospect Street. His investigations into the conditions of aged people and children and the study of causes brought about a material improvement throughout the state. Meantime his historical research was of much value. His "Colonial History of Hartford," 1914, is a work of very great worth for the light it throws upon subjects that had been in controversy. His loss, in 1918, to the humanitarian institutions of the state was deeply felt.



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